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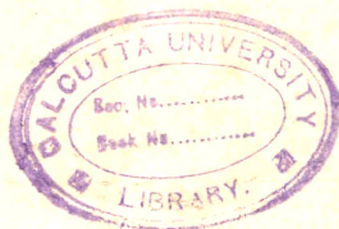
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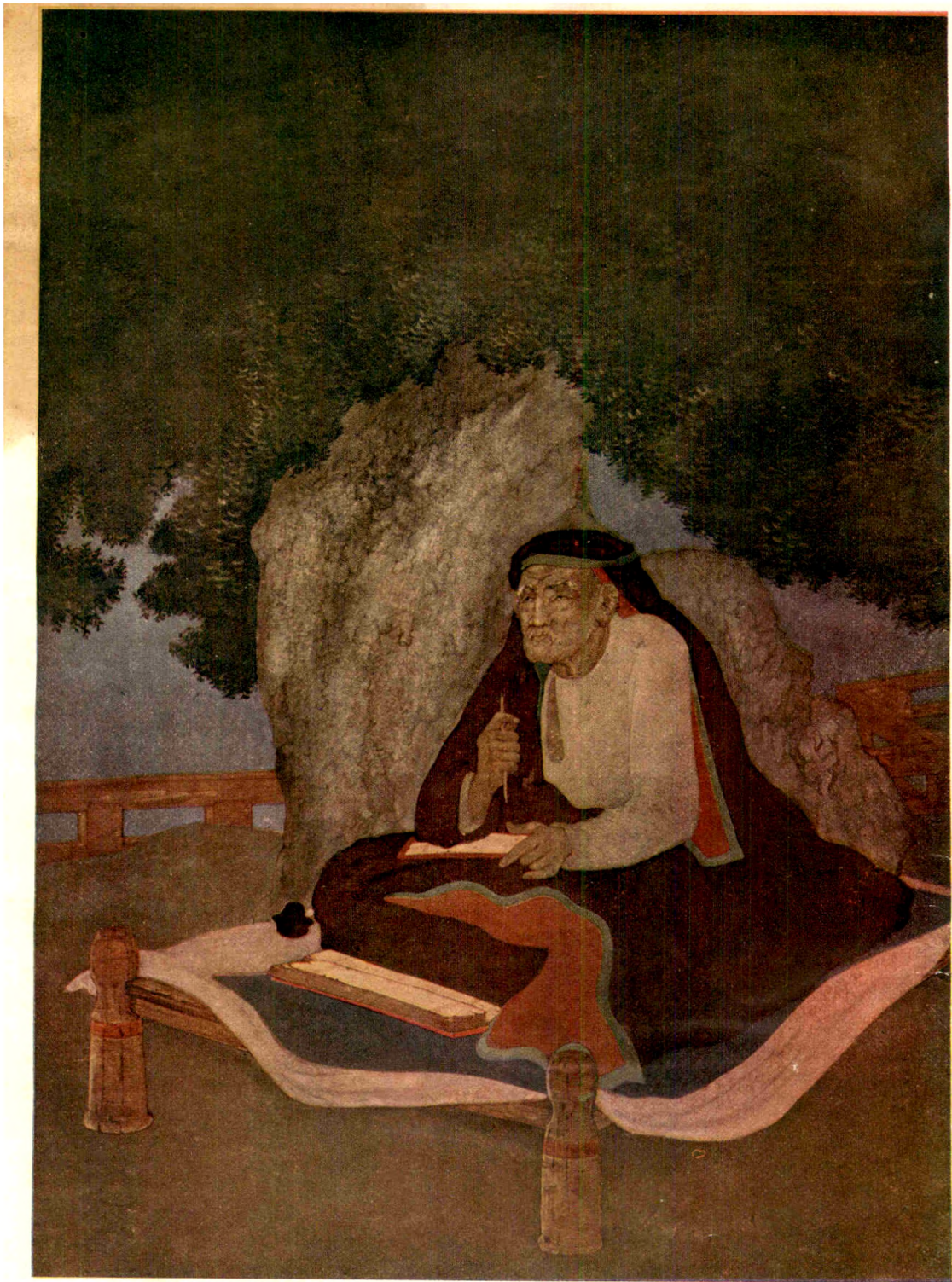
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AMERICA'S INTEREST IN INDIA

By DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

PART I

THE claim is not infrequently made that India's affairs are solely "domestic concerns of Great Britain"; therefore, they should be left to Britain alone; and any suggestions concerning them, or criticism of the manner in which they are managed, is "meddling", is an impertinence and a wrong. In other words, with regard to everything that pertains to India, Britain has a right to say to the world, "Hands off! It is none of your business."

Is this claim valid? After Poland had been seized by Russia, Germany, and Austria and divided up among them, was then Poland's right to liberty a mere domestic question of her captors? And had other nations no right to object? If so, why at the close of the Great War, did the Allies set her free, and restore her to her old place among the nations?

If to-day China were grabbed by Great Britain or Japan or France, would the question whether that great country ought to be held in subjection by a foreign power, be merely a domestic affair of the nation that had done the grabbing? If so, why did our own and other nations object to Japan's keeping Shantung? On its very face, is not the idea either the extremest folly or sheer insanity, that the political freedom or slavery of a great nation like India, of 320 millions of people—one-fifth of the population of the entire world—can in any true sense whatever be called a domestic affair of a little nation of 45 millions—one-eighth of its numbers—wholly unrelated to it, and located at a distance of one-third the circumference of the globe? The plain truth is, there is no

great question now before the world which has less right to be considered a domestic matter or which more justly demands to be recognized as a world concern, that that of the freedom or the enslavement of India. And for three reasons:

1. Great Britain demands to have the largest navy in the world and to control the seas. Why? Primarily in order that she may be able to keep India. No one can deny that the possession of such a navy and of such sea control is a world concern of the first magnitude.

2. Nearly all the wars of Great Britain for a hundred years and more, in all parts of the world (and she has fought far more than any other nation), have been caused directly or indirectly by her possession of India. These wars have all been matters of world concern.

3. The greatest danger now threatening the future of mankind is a conflict between Asia and Europe—the yellow and brown races with the white. What makes that danger imminent is Europe's treatment of China, Persia, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Egypt; and, above all, Britain's possession of India. If here we have not a matter of world concern then nothing can be such.

To say that England's right to control India is a domestic question, which no other nation has a right to deny and with which none may interfere, is virtually to declare any nation has a right to rule any other nation, if it has the force; which is to give up the whole principle that nations have a right to freedom and self-determination, and that just government rests on the consent of the governed.

If and when any of us in America protest against Britain's tyranny in India, the

Reply is, sometimes made by Englishmen, and not without reason: "Physician, heal thyself." "Men living in glass-houses should not throw stones." Sometimes the reply takes the form of a question: "Would you Americans like it if we Englishmen protested against your negro lynchings and your holding of the Philippines against the will of their people?" I think the answer we ought to make is: "Whether we like your question or not, it is just, and entirely proper on your part; and even if for the time being it makes us mad, as it will be likely to, in the end it will do us good. If such questions were asked Americans oftener than they are, they would set us wondering whether it would not be wise for us to substitute for our glass houses other houses less fragile. The fact is, observations by nations of other nations—observations of their superiorities and their defects; outspoken recognition, on the part of nations, of the excellencies of other nations and also criticisms of their shortcomings and wrong deed, if made in the right spirit, if made not cynically or bitterly, or to set one's self up above others, but courteously, constructively, and with the purpose of helping to bring about better conditions for mankind—these are among the most valuable things in the world.

The truth is, the world is one in all its deeper and real interests. Every nation is related to every other, and all are related to the whole. No nation can do another wrong without all suffering. None can be injured without all the rest to a greater or less extent being injured. None can prosper without the rest being benefited. In the very nature of things, political freedom—freedom of nations and peoples—is a matter of world concern. Every nation held in bondage just so far limits the world's freedom, and thus makes the world a less desirable place for all the other nations to live in. On the other hand, every nation that is free adds just so much to the general freedom of the world, and thus makes world conditions better for all other nations. Therefore, when any civilized people which is held in subjection by another enters upon a struggle to gain its freedom, every other civilized people has a just and necessary interest in the struggle, and ought for its own sake and for the sake of the cause of freedom in the world, to extend to the struggling people its sympathy, and moral support.

We cannot assert too emphatically the broad truth, important to all humanity, that freedom for nations and peoples is not and in its very nature cannot be, a mere domestic question of the nation holding the struggling people in bondage; it is a matter which the whole world should and must trust itself in if freedom is to make progress among mankind. So long as there is one important nation or people in the world held in bondage by another, the peace of the world is imperilled. That oppressed and wronged nation or people is a volcano which at any moment may burst into an eruption of revolution and war, and the war may spread no one knows how far.

Says Bishop Charles H. Brent:

"Moral questions have no boundaries. The world of to-day is steadily revealing itself to be a world of identical moral interests. If we exploit abroad, the downfall of the exploited will eventually become our own downfall."

Gandhi is right when he says that

"India's present condition of bondage and helplessness hurts not only India, not only England, but the whole world."

India held in subjection by Great Britain works much injustice to the United States of America. It ought not to be overlooked that India is a great and important nation with which the United States has a right to have and would be much advantaged by having, free and unobstructed commercial, industrial, cultural, and other intercourse. This we could have if India were free; but we cannot have it with her controlled by any foreign power. For England to hold her in subjection, carry on her government, and manage her affairs with British interests supremely in view, and to prevent her from having commercial and other relations with us and other nations except under conditions which are fixed by England and which give Englishmen advantages over all others, is unjust. It is unjust to us and to every other nation in the world. I repeat, India is a vast land—almost a continent—rich in resources of nearly every kind—agricultural products, forests, fisheries, minerals. In the nature of things all the world has an interest in these. Why should they be controlled by a single power, in the interest of a single power, and that power not India? India is a great market; why should that market be controlled by a single nation, instead of being open to all nations on an equality? India has a great foreign commerce; why should that commerce

AMERICA'S INTEREST IN INDIA

be managed and shaped to the disadvantage not only of India but of all other nations except Great Britain, and to the primary advantage of Britain alone?

What would Americans say if we were obliged to transact all our business with Japan or China or Russia or Germany or France under conditions fixed by Great Britain and shaped for the benefit of Great Britain? Would we endure such injustice? Yet the wrong done us would be no worse than that to which we are subjected now in relation to the great and important nation of India. Britain has no more right to control our business with India, and herself monopolize the trade and commerce of that vast country, than she has to control our business with Japan or France, or monopolize the commerce of those nations. Thus Britain's robbing India of her freedom and nationhood and holding her in subjection to British control, is not only an immeasurable wrong to India herself, but it is a great injustice to this country and to every other nation in the world, an injustice to which neither the United States nor any other nation should submit.

The United States Government called an International Conference in Washington to consider reduction of armaments and also certain other important matters regarding the Pacific Ocean and the Orient. It was essential that India, the second largest nation in the Orient should be represented. Was she represented? No. Our Government was mocked by having sent to us, by India's foreign masters, so-called representatives of India who did not represent India at all, who were not chosen by India. True, they were Indian by birth, but they were selected under the authority of Great Britain to represent British interests and not the interests of India. If this was a wrong to India, it was also a wrong to the United States and to all the nations represented in that Conference.

The possession and forcible rule of India by Great Britain, has probably been the most powerful single influence in the modern world, against democracy, against just government based on the will of the peoples governed, and in support of autocracy, imperialism, government by force. It has been so because it is by far the most imposing and conspicuous example in modern times of a great nation conquered, ruled, and exploited by and for the benefit of another nation. We may

almost say that it is the *mother-example* of the kind in the modern world. India is so great, both in area and in population; its place in the history of mankind has been so prominent; its wealth and its resources in the past have been so vast; and the wealth that it has yielded to the nation which has ruled and despoiled it has been so immense, that its domination for nearly two centuries by a foreign power takes its place not only as an event of first magnitude in modern history, but as the greatest political crime of modern times,—because it affects more people, is more wide-reaching in its influence, and has been more disastrous to the progress of political liberty and justice among modern peoples, than any other political crime of the modern world.

I have called Britain's conquest and domination of India a "mother-example" of its kind. And a terrible brood it has brought forth. For, it has set a precedent so conspicuous that all the world has had its attention drawn to it, and so dazzling, so attractive and so appealing to the lower passions and ambitions of nations that it has been irresistible, it has caught and spread like wild fire, until all the leading nations of Europe have felt its influence, and have had aroused in them ambitions to follow, to conquer for themselves dependencies, in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea (and in America except for the Monroe Doctrine), and thus gain for themselves wealth and prestige and power, as Britain has done in India. Even our own nation has felt it. Except for Britain's Indian career, the United States would never have gone away to the coast of distant Asia and seized the Philippines. Everybody, who remembers those days knows that our militarists and imperialists held up what Great Britain had done in India as their strongest argument and justification. And even more than that. It is well-known that some of our most prominent leaders not only military men but political leaders at that time contemplated and actually advocated in high government circles the procuring for ourselves of a "good fat slice of China," urging as our justification for so doing the example of the European nations in Asia, and especially that of Britain in India. And there seem to be reasons of considerable strength for believing that had it not been for the honorable and inflexible opposition of John Hay, at that time our secretary of State, we actually

would have proceeded to capture and take permanent possession of a section of China.

No other event in modern history has kindled so much envy and jealousy in other nations as Great Britain's creation for itself of a vast empire in Asia; and therefore no other has had so powerful and wide-spread an influence in causing other nations to say, "We too! Why should we not do what England has done? If she may capture and rule and despoil great India, why may we not conquer and exploit any land in Asia or elsewhere that is not strong enough to resist us? And if Britain claims that her motive is India's benefit, of course, we will proclaim just as loudly that our motive is the same."

This subject need not be pursued further. It is enough, simply to emphasize our contention, that England's domination of India has been in the past, and continues to be still, the greatest of all destroyers of the spirit of democracy in the world. If in the future, the spirit of freedom is to make any headway among the nations, by far the most important single thing to be done is the creation of a world-wide public opinion which will condemn and drive out of existence the shocking spectacle of the oldest and second largest civilized nation in the world held in subjection by a foreign sword.

Many Americans are troubled by what seems to them the marked growth in this country within recent years of an imperialistic spirit. Such a spirit is manifesting itself as appears to them, in many insidious, unexpected, largely unnoticed, but real and threatening ways. Some of these ways are—in the increase in the number of persons among us who speak lightly of democracy, and wonder if a more aristocratic and autocratic form of government is not better; who look with more or less favour upon Mussolini and the Fascisti movement in Italy, and the rise of dictators in several other nations; who scout the ideas of the human equality found in our Declaration of Independence; who boast of "ancestry" and aristocratic or distinguished "blood" wherever they can find the slightest peg to hang such boasting on; whose highest ambition is to get admission to British aristocratic society or to be invited to a function at Buckingham Palace, or above all to marry a daughter to an English lord or other foreign titled person; who regard the world as having been made for the white race and especially for Nordics, and look down on all the other races;

and who would like to have Britain and America unite against the so-called "yellow peril" and "brown peril" that is, unite to dominate Asia and as far as possible the rest of the world. I say this imperialistic spirit, this anti-democratic spirit, this aristocratic and arrogant spirit (which nearly everywhere allies itself with militarism and largely with capitalism) seems to many thoughtful persons to have been insidiously but steadily growing in this country for some years past.

From what source does it come? It is believed that it comes largely, indeed mainly, from England. Not, of course, from the nobler, triter England, the England which in the days of our American revolutionary struggle pleaded for justice and freedom for America, and which to-day would give justice and self-rule to India; but from that England which in 1776 sided with George III and Lord North, against the rights of the American Colonies, and which to-day is determined to retain India in its grip, as then it was determined to retain America.

Every student of English history knows that this undemocratic spirit, this aristocratic, autocratic, imperialistic, "nabob" spirit, is not indigenous to England. England got it from outside and within the last two centuries. From what source? It is more and more believed by those who look into the matter, that the true answer is, she got it mainly from her conquest and rule of India. The evil spirit of arrogance, domination, pride of class, indifference to the rights of others, imperialism which the men who have gone to India and spent half their lives in autocratic rule there have instinctively imbibed there, has been brought back by them to England, on their return from their plan of autocratic rule abroad, to poison the ideals and the political and social life of England.

Nor could this evil spirit—this poison—be confined to England. It was inevitable that it should spread, especially that it should come across the sea to us, because of our close relations with England. It has done so, and it will continue to do so, to poison our ideals and our life, as long as England continues to dominate India by force, and therefore as long as that unjust domination continues to poison England's own ideals and life.

This is one of the reasons why India is America's concern, and why American public opinion ought strongly to demand India's freedom. We should demand it in self-

defence; and so should every nation in the world.

PART II

Those who claim that British rule in India and India's struggle to escape from that rule, are solely the domestic concern of Great Britain, with which no other nation has a right to meddle, should do a little reading of history. As a fact, have nations struggling to free themselves from the oppression of a foreign yoke never received sympathy or encouragement from other nations? Have we ourselves never extended sympathy or aid to such struggling nations? Has Great Britain herself never done the same? The fact is, the true spirit of both America and England has always been that of wide interest in liberty, and sympathy with nations and peoples in any and every part of the world who were struggling to shake off alien despotisms and gain for themselves freedom and nationhood. England's record in this respect has been very noble. Let us glance at it.

We in America can never forget the sympathy extended to us by several of England's greatest statesmen, and also by many humbler people, in our Revolutionary War. Nor can we cease to remember that in our Civil War the working people of England to a remarkable degree stood by our national government, even against their own interests, because they believed our national cause to be the cause of human freedom.

When Greece early last century went to war to throw off the yoke of Turkey, the English people took a very deep interest in the struggle. They did not for a moment think of it as a mere domestic affair of Turkey, in which they had no right to interest themselves. Lord Byron's dramatic espousal of the Greek cause attracted the attention and was the admiration of liberty-lovers in all lands.

With Italy's struggle to free herself from the yoke of Austria, England warmly sympathized, and showed her sympathy by the strong public utterances of Gladstone and other public men, and also by giving shelter and aid to Italian refugees Mazzini, Garibaldi, and many others—who were driven into exile on account of their efforts to obtain their country's freedom. The enthusiasm with which Garibaldi was welcomed to England after his patriot army had won its entry into Rome was not less than that which greeted Kossuth in America after his heroic

struggle for liberty in Hungary. A personal witness thus describes the great scene in London:

"I was one of the number who had the honor and pleasure of giving welcome to the brave Garibaldi when he came to London after his glorious victory in freeing his country. He was met at the railway station by tens of thousands of young and old, rich and poor, and escorted through the streets to the Duke of Sutherland's mansion. It was such a spectacle as seldom if ever has been seen in London before or since. Pen cannot describe it. When we arrived in front of the horseguards those nearest Garibaldi's carriage unhitched the horses, and the carriage with the hero was dragged the rest of the way by thousands who delighted to do him honor. It was the enthusiasm of a liberty-loving people for the work done by that one man not only for Italy, but for the whole world—a victory won for freedom over tyranny."

These facts and incidents show the noble and true England, the England that did not regard the struggle of Greece and Italy as mere domestic concerns of Turkey and Austria. If this England had always been in power, India would never have been conquered and enslaved! If this England were in power to-day, India would soon be set free.

Turn now to America. The United States, assisted as she was by other nations in obtaining her own freedom, has manifested throughout a large part of her history an earnest sympathy with nations, wherever located, who were struggling to throw off a tyrannical yoke and to establish for themselves governments based on principles of justice and liberty. Said Washington in a notable public utterance delivered the same year as his Farewell Address:

"My sympathetic feelings and my best wishes are irresistibly excited whenever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banner of freedom."

When the South American nations were engaged in their struggle to throw off the yoke of Spain and gain their independence, the sympathy for them in the United States was ardent and almost universal. Nobody thought of their struggle as a mere domestic affair of Spain in which we should not interest ourselves. Ours was the first nation to recognize the new republics. This did not occur until 1822, but as early as 1816 Henry Clay urged that we should carry our national sympathy so far as forcibly to intervene in their favor.

President Monroe in his annual message

to Congress in 1822, expressed in unmistakable language his own sympathy and that of the American people with Greece in her struggle for freedom. One memorable evidence of America's sympathy is seen in the fact that the eminent Boston philanthropist and educator, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, later the husband of the equally eminent Julia Ward Howe, went to Greece (as did Lord Byron in England) and rendered distinguished service to the Greek people in their war for liberty.

With the revolutionary or semi-revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848, to establish liberal government in that country, the United States manifested profound sympathy from the beginning. Our minister to Berlin, Mr. Donelson, was instructed to keep in close touch with the movement and give it any encouragement he could without diplomatic discourtesy or offence to the Berlin government. He was informed from Washington that an important part of his mission was—

"to manifest a proper degree of sympathy (on the part of America) for the efforts of the German people to ameliorate their condition by the adoption of a form of government which should secure their liberties and promote their happiness."

He was instructed that it was the

"cordial desire of the United States to be, if possible, the first to hail the birth of any new government adopted by any of the German States having for its aim the attainment of the priceless blessings of freedom."

The profound sympathy of this country with the struggle of Hungary for freedom under the leadership of Kossouth, in 1849, is well-known. President Zachary Taylor showed his own interest and that of the American people in the struggle by appointing a special agent with authority to recognize the independence of the new State "promptly, in the event of her ability to sustain it". In his annual message (of 1849) President Taylor declared that he had thought it his duty,

"in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people, who deeply sympathized with the Magyar (Hungarian) patriots, to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent government, to be the first to welcome Independent Hungary into the family of nations."

"The feelings of the American Nation are strongly enlisted," he declared, "by the sufferings of a brave people who have made a gallant though unsuccessful effort to be free." On the failure of the Hungarian revolution Kossouth and his companions took refuge in Turkey. The American Congress

passed a joint resolution (which was approved by the President, March 3, 1851) declaring that the people of the United States sincerely sympathized with the Hungarian exiles, Kossouth and his associates, and concluding as follows:—

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled that the President of the United States be, and hereby is requested to authorize the employment of some of the public vessels to convey to the said United States the said Louis Kossouth and his associates in captivity."

Accordingly an American frigate was sent to bring the exiles from Turkey. Kossouth arrived in this country in October, and his stay here was an uninterrupted triumph, exceeded only by the welcome given to Lafayette twenty-five years before. He was greeted with enthusiasm at the National Capitol by both Houses of Congress. President Fillmore received him most cordially and invited him to dinner, and Daniel Webster made the principal speech at the great Washington banquet. Said Webster:

"We acclaim the pleasure with which we welcome our honoured guest to the shores of this far land, this asylum of oppressed humanity..... Let it be borne on the winds of heaven that the sympathies of the Government of the United States and of all the people of the United States have been attracted toward a nation struggling for national independence, and toward those of her sons who have most distinguished themselves in the struggle. Let it go out, let it open the eyes of the blind: let it be everywhere proclaimed, what we of this great republic think of the principles of human liberty."

It should not be overlooked that the United States Government was the first to recognize the French Republic in 1848, and also the present French Republic inaugurated in 1870.

One more marked illustration of our hatred of tyranny and our sympathy with liberty abroad should be noticed. I refer to the historic fact that in 1867, our President and Congress compelled Napoleon III to abandon his effort to set up in Mexico an imperial government contrary to the will of the people of that country. In this case we did not stop with expressions of sympathy with Mexican freedom, but we went so far as to offer military aid in its defence.

Such are some of the notable occasions and ways in which, throughout a large part of our national history, the people of this country through our most eminent and honored leaders have expressed our sympathy with nations and peoples struggling for

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freedom. I have set forth the facts in some detail so that the true tradition of America in the matter may clearly appear.

Says Dr. E. B. Greene, Professor of History in the University of Illinois:

"A study of American history shows that the well-established tradition of the Republic has been that of sympathy with popular government abroad; that this sympathy has repeatedly been declared in public utterances of our official representatives; and that we have never felt ourselves bound to suppress in the formal documents of our Government our deep interest in free institutions, and our sense of the essential unity of the cause of liberalism and self-government throughout the world."

Have these facts of the past no bearing on struggles for freedom going on in the world now? Have they no bearing upon the greatest of all such struggles, that of the people of India to free themselves from a foreign yoke? If Washington and Monroe and Clay and Webster were alive to-day would great India in her brave and just struggle for freedom and nationhood, lack friends, sympathizers and defenders in America? Who can believe it? Our fathers did not regard the struggle of any oppressed people anywhere, to shake off their yoke and obtain freedom, as the mere domestic affair of the oppressing nation. They regarded it as a matter of world concern, which ought to enlist the interest and sympathy of every liberty-loving nation and person in the world. In an address delivered before the

* "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad" page 15. (A pamphlet published by the Committee on public Information, Washington D. C. 1917.)

India Society of New York in February 1925, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of "The Nation", said:

"I believe that what is going on in India is of such enormous import to America and to the whole world that no American has a right to overlook it. I think the world needs nothing so much to-day as to see the Indian people set themselves with all their minds and with all their strength to the task of self-government, however great the odds with which they must contend. I believe that the heartfelt sympathy of Americans, yes, even those Americans who love England and as I do, should go forth to the people of India in all their aspirations."

In such words as these we hear the voice of Washington, of Jefferson, of Franklin, of the Adamases, of Patrick Henry, of Webster, of Garrison, of Channing, of Sumner, of Lincoln, of all the men who have done most to make this country illustrious and honored by the world as a leader in the cause of human freedom.

Nothing can be more clear than that the true tradition and spirit of America as manifested in all our noblest history is that expressed in the ringing lines of our honored poet, James Russell Lowell:—

"Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there be on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?"

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?

No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free."

THE DOCTOR'S VERDICT

A Story of Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan

By KWANKIKUCHI

(TRANSLATED BY TAKEO IWAHASHI AND JOHN A. BRAILSFORD.)

1

A calm beautiful day. On Izu Peninsula lingering tints of cherry blossom tell that the spring is hardly over, while on the slopes gay patches of yellow rape flower are ready to welcome the summer. The

waters of Sagami Bay have taken on a more sombre blue beneath a mist that stretches as far as the eye can see. A stream of white volcanic smoke issues from the Isle of Oshima on the horizon.

Near the seashore two *samurai*, with faces.

set and drawn. Their expression is almost that of a mad dog. Each has the ancient head-dress of his class--the big *chonmage*. One is short and has a sword-scar across one cheek. His nostrils are distended and the corners of his eyes wrinkled up with an expression of anger and tenseness. On his hollow cheeks a rough growth of whiskers. His whole appearance betokens weariness. The other, a dark-skinned man, with bushy eyebrows, looks as weary as his companion.

The short man, Torajiro Yoshida, is wearing the typical *samurai* garb. His friend, Jujiro Kaneko, has his figure concealed beneath a sort of overcoat.

The American ships had come, and for more than a week the two had been loitering about in the hope of getting aboard. First they induced boatmen to row them out to the ships' anchorage in Kanagawa Bay at night, but just as they were about to steal aboard, the boatmen betrayed them. Another time they smuggled themselves aboard one of the boats that took coal and water to the strangers, but there were *yoriki* (old-style policemen) in charge, who prevented them from boarding the American vessels.

Then they heard that a party of the Americans was to land at the village of Yokohama, and they hastened there from their inn at Hodogaya, intending to hand them a letter addressed to the officers in command, pleading for permission to come aboard. But when they reached Yokohama, they found nothing but excited, gossiping crowds. The Americans had already returned to their ships.

One day they stole a boat, intending to row out to the anchorage at night--Kaneko being handy with an oar. But when they returned after dark, the boat had gone. They stood in despair, while the noise of the waves and the yelping of stray dogs seemed to mock them.

"I'm just beginning to learn that stealing is not as easy as it looks," said little Yoshida with a laugh, but with no thought of yielding. Then the rain began to pour down, and they were drenched when they got back to their inn at midnight.

They spent two days at the dirty country inn, gnashing their teeth in helpless chagrin. The next night, they understood, would be their last chance. The day was gloriously fine; the beauty of spring seemed to have spread to the ocean. As they waited for night to come, suddenly there was a move-

ment on the ships' decks. The black monsters weighed anchor and made off in the direction of Yedo (Tokio), greatly alarming the Japanese officers who had been commissioned to watch their movements. However, after approaching the Yedo offing, they turned towards the open sea. The rumour spread through the village that one of them was returning direct to America and the rest making for Shimoda. In the bitterness of their disappointment Yoshida and Kaneko cried aloud. However, having ascertained where the ships had gone, they set off on foot from Hodogaya to follow them, passing through Kamakura, Odawara and Atami. On the 17th of the month they sat out from Atami for Ito, and as they set down to take their lunch in an orange grove near the beach about three miles from Ito--where the fragrant orange blossoms were already bursting--they heard voices:

"Look, look! The *sengoku* (thousand-ton) ships! No, bigger than *sengoku*. See, there are two".

Yoshida looked towards the sea and caught a glimpse of the black monsters far out, furiously ploughing the ocean and belching black smoke--the ships they could not forget even in their dreams with sails set and their big paddle-wheels turning, carrying them over the ocean like huge whales.

"Look, how splendid!" said Yoshida, forgetting his patriotic resentment for the moment in the enthusiasm of admiration.

"They're wonderful people; these Westerners," answered Kaneko, adding, with patriotic fervour, "To hell with them, chasing over our sacred seas as if they owned them". He stamped his foot, as if bemoaning that he had no wings to fly.

Yoshida took a mouthful of rice from the bowl he had brought from Atami, and said, "Never mind, mate. Just wait a few years. I'm going to America. I'm going to learn their art of warfare. They will teach me--and then I'll drive them out with their own weapons--see? Ha, ha, ha!"

II

They entered the town of Ito the following morning. The two steamers they had seen were at anchor in the harbour. Having taken a room in an inn, they went to the officials of the port and asked questions in a casual manner. They learned that these two ships had come in advance of the main

squadron, bringing no interpreter able to speak either Japanese, Chinese or Dutch, so that there was much difficulty in arranging even for their supplies of coal and water. Our adventurers decided that it was hopeless to try to approach the Americans without interpreters. There was nothing to do but wait.

The next morning Yoshida noticed that the rash which had appeared on his fingers and wrists was coming to a head. He had first noticed it when they were leaving Kamakura. Each day those tiny pimples itched intolerably, as if innumerable little insects were crawling over his skin. He scratched and and scratched, but the scratching brought him nothing but more itching. As the days passed, not only did the rash spread, but the itchiness became more intense, so that he could not sleep at night. The disease spread to his abdomen and loins and, with less virulence, down his thigh. He knew then that it was scabies. He thought he had caught it from a person at the Hodogaya inn, who

had scratched the hands frequently. He tried not to worry about it, but the attempt was in vain. He could not but fume to think that so small a thing as this itch might stand in the way of the accomplishment of his great ambition. He would try to cure it while waiting for his chance to board the fleet. He was encouraged to hear that the hot springs at the village of Rentaiji, about three miles from Shimoda, had a great reputation for curing skin-diseases. He went there and took the waters.

The next day the Powhatan, with Commodore Perry aboard, entered the harbour, followed by three other vessels. From the 21st to the 26th of the month Yoshida and Kaneko schemed day and night to get aboard. Once they followed some of the foreigners, who were roving in the suburbs of Shimoda

and handed them the letter previously prepared. Each night they would leave their inn, pretending that they were going to stay at Shimoda, and would go down to the shore to seek some means of reaching the American ships. When the night was far advanced, they would settle down to rest in the open.

On the night of the 25th they stole a boat from a stream that runs through Shimoda, but the sea was stormy and they found it impossible to reach the offing. They were well-nigh exhausted when they got back to shore at Kakizaki. Taking shelter in the Benten shrine there, they were soon asleep.

In the meantime Yoshida's scabies, so far from disappearing, was ripening into great patches of white-headed pimples. It seemed such a trifling thing, compared with their great plans, that he tried to make nothing of it—to forget the torment—but to forget was precisely what he could not do.

On the evening of the 27th when they came down to the beach at Hakozaiki they found that the Mississippi had changed her anchorage and was less than two *cho* off shore. (A *cho* is about 120 yards). And the flagship, the Powhatan, was only about half a *cho* from the Mississippi. At this good luck Yoshida and Kaneko felt that they were walking on air. And there on the beach below the shrine were two boats, which seemed to be asking to be stolen. They hurried back to the inn at Rentaiji, took supper and made their preparations, pretending, as usual, that they were going to spend the night at Shimoda.

Yoshida packed his few clothes, two Dutch grammar books and a small selection of Chinese poems into two packages. He did not attempt to take anything more.

When they returned to the beach after nightfall, the sea was surprisingly calm, and the dome of heaven was lit with a myriad



Yoshida and Kaneko—Drawn by Kei

twinkling stars. They stood the great black forms of the six ships, like islands, each with a blue light swinging at the masthead. Their hearts throbbed for joy. It was disappointing to find that they could not move the boats, which had been left high and dry with the ebbing of the tide; but they settled down to rest in the shrine, awaiting the rise of the tide. Waking about midnight, they could see by the starlight that the water was up to the foot of the shrine. It was full tide. They ran eagerly to the boats, with never a thought but to seize the chance of reaching the stranger ships. But their troubles were not over. The long sculling sweeps with which the boats were worked were there, but the little pivots, without which the oars were useless, had been broken. They tried both boats. The one was as bad as the other. By way of makeshift they tied the oars to the gunwale with their cotton *obi* (sashes). These soon wore through under the strain, and the strong outer *obi*, made of *kokura* silk, had to be used.

The sea had looked very calm from the beach, but in the offing it was quite rough, and they were in no little danger. Moreover, as Yoshida had no experience of rowing, he put forth tremendous exertions to very little purpose, rather spoiling the work that his mate was doing. The boat turned this way and that, now headed straight for the Mississippi and a moment later showing the lights of Shimoda or the trees of Kakizaki above its bow. Their arms ached at first and at length became almost numb. But at last they were alongside the Mississippi.

"Hullo, Americans," shouted Kaneko, placing one foot aboard the ship.

They heard strange voices calling shrilly to one another and saw outlines of human figures appear and disappear above them. Then a glass lamp was lowered over the side. Looking up they could see several foreigners' faces.

Yoshida took out his *yatate* (portable ink-pot and brush-pen) and wrote in Chinese characters:

"We wish to go to America. If thou hast kindness, I pray thee introduce us to thy Commodore."

Holding the paper, he climbed up the accommodation ladder.

Unfortunately, there was no interpreter aboard. One of the foreigners took the paper and wrote something in a foreign

language on it, then pointed to the Powhatan making signs to Yoshida to go there.

Although he understood what was meant, Yoshida felt it was impossible for them to row out to the flagship, well-nigh exhausted as they were by the effort of reaching the Mississippi. He pointed to one of the ship's boats and by signs asked the sailors to lower it and take them to the other ship, but the request was not granted.

There was nothing for it but to face the waves again. The further they went out the rougher the sea became. Tired, and with hands badly blistered, they could not get the boat to go as they wished. When, after a long struggle they reached the Powhatan and were struggling to get to the lee side, they were driven in between the rudder and the hull, and the waves banged their boat against the side of the ship with a thump that was sure to be heard by the men on watch. Quickly came the black figure of a foreigner clambering down the rudder. He held a boat-hook with which he tried to push their boat off, shouting and railing at them as he did so.

Quick as thought Yoshida leaped on to the rudder, and Kaneko tried to hand him a painter. But the foreigner interfered. So Kaneko also jumped on to the rudder, dropping the line in the confusion of the moment.

The boat drifted off, with their swords and other belongings. But they had not a moment to think of their loss. They were aboard the flagship.

The sailor, thinking they wanted to see the novelties aboard, showed them the compass and other things. They shook their heads and made signs that they wanted writing materials:—theirs had gone with their boat.

Soon came Williams, the interpreter. He asked them to follow him and led them to a cabin, where a big lamp was burning. Bright as day it seemed to them, as they contrasted the radiance of the lamp with the glimmer of a Japanese *andon* (black paper lantern).

Two men were there besides the interpreter—Davis, the Lieutenant-Commander of the Powhatan, and Watson, the ship's doctor. Dr. Watson was able to speak and read Dutch and he had some knowledge of the life of Oriental peoples.

They gave Yoshida a quill pen. He had never used one before, but he wrote in Chinese that it was their earnest wish to go

to America. Williams looked at what he had written and asked in fluent Japanese what language was that.

"It's Japanese," said Yoshida.

"Looks more like Chinese to me," said Willaims laughing.

His familiarity with Japanese delighted them. Indeed they were pleased beyond words with their good luck—like a baby that has found its mother's breast after long seeking.

Their scheme had become a passion. Here was their chance to fulfil it.

III

A conference was called in the Commodore's room to discuss whether the request of the two Japanese should be granted. Commodore Perry and his staff officers, the Commander of the Powhatan and Lieutenant Davis, Dr. Watson and Mr. Williams, the interpreter, were present. It was already after 11 o'clock, but so unusual an affair had created much excitement. Davis was more deeply stirred than any, having caught something of the enthusiasm of his visitors, which had impressed him as soon as he saw them.

The conference seemed inclined to go against them.

"Is that your idea, then—that we ought to turn them down?" asked Davis, in an argumentative tone.

"Well, I guess it's no use running the risk of complicating things between the two Governments over a little affair like this," said the Commander, who had taken this attitude from the beginning.

Davis rose from his chair saying, "No, No! Excuse me Commodore, but I can't see it that way. Even if it should cause us a little trouble, it's the fair and decent thing to do. I couldn't help admiring them when we got that letter of theirs the other day—clever, too! I'm for them. I like their enthusiasm. I never knew before that there were fellows like these among the Orientals. And their letter was so reasonable. Don't you think so? Say, chief, wouldn't it be just fine to take these fellows back to God's own country and show them a bit of civilisation! Eh! You'll do it, Commodore, won't you?"

Davis rapped on the table as he spoke and his eyes shone with the enthusiasm of youth. He was little more than thirty years old.

"Take a reef in, boy, you're getting excited. We've got to be a bit careful, you

know. Better look at the thing from both sides, don't you think?" So spoke the bearded Commander, as if soothing a youngster. "We can't tell what there may be behind this little affair. These Japanese have made a pretty appeal to our sympathy, but what's their little game, I'd like to know. They may be straight or they may be out to get the best of us some way. Even in the little time we've been among these people, we've found out that they're as keen as mustard—real cunning. Ever since we got their letter, I've been wondering whether these two were not spies. Isn't there every reason to think that the Government would employ men who can write in such an appealing way? It looks a sure thing to me that the Government has sent them here—disguised as poverty-stricken beggars—in the hope of tripping us up. You remember what that big highbrow Hayashi told us at Yokohama—that it's against the law of the country to go abroad. So, you see, if we help these young fellows, we'll be running up against the Japanese law, and I'm inclined to think they've been sent here by the Government just to see if they can catch us. See? If we took them away there'd be a hell of a fuss made about it and they might smash up the treaty and everything."

"Oh, no, Cap'n. You're too suspicious," said Davis. "You haven't seen these two. You couldn't think that way if you did. Gee, how their eyes shine at the thought that they're going to see America! No—you could never believe that they were dirty spies. Their clothes are soaked and their hands covered with blisters—they must have had a deuce of a struggle to get here. If they were spies, I guess they'd have found an easier way than that. And in getting aboard they lost their swords, and you know what that means to these *samurai* fellows—almost worse than losing dear life. They're all right. They want to go to America, and they were ready to risk anything for it."

Commodore Perry, who had maintained a dignified mien, now began to speak in a grave tone:

"Yes, I'd like them to come with us, and my reason for balking at it isn't quite as you think, Davis. It's this way: We go to a deuce of a lot of bother to get a treaty signed and our Government and their Government bound by it—and then these two fellows come along and want us to help them to break the law of Japan. We'd like

to do it, sure ; but it's not a fair thing. Don't you see? I hope to see the day when any young Japanese can come to America and learn all he wants to. But the time will come all the quicker, I reckon, if we turn down these young fellows in their attempt to sneak out. Anyway, I hope so."

Davis thought for a moment and then returned to the charge:

"Thanks, Commodore. You've just about shut me up. But listen. Just let me put this to you—What's going to become of these fellows? They want to come to our country—they're in dead earnest—not a bit of doubt about that. Well, suppose we turn them down—what does it mean? They'll have their heads hacked off, both of them. If we put them ashore, the police will arrest them, and there won't be any mercy shown. Why, it's like driving them up to the executioner ourselves. What's their crime, except that they got excited over our coming here, took a fancy to us and wanted to see more of our civilisation? That's all. And after all, were we sent here simply to get a formal treaty signed? Wasn't there some idea of waking up these people to their sleepy little island? And here we've got a couple to wake up—the first of the crowd—and what are we going to do with them? Isn't it the easiest thing in the world, if we make up our mind to it, to take them back to America without letting any of their own people know? We wouldn't hurt anyone's feelings. Say Commodore, isn't that the real American thing to do? Can't we let 'em stay'?"

Davis's eloquence carried his hearers with him. Even the commander of the ship who had been so obdurate, remained silent. A flush of emotion appeared on the face of Commodore, and it was evident that he was inclined to turn in favour of the young Japanese. He lifted his face and looked around those present.

"Well, gentlemen? Williams? ... Watson what do you say?"

Dr. Watson suddenly recalled the skin disease which he had noticed on the wrist and fingers of one of the Japanese as he was writing under the lamp.

"Well, Commodore," he said, "It's up to me to speak as a doctor. I noticed that one of the Japanese had scabies on his hands. Scabies is a disease we don't have much to do with, but I don't think it's a safe thing to have aboard the ship. I guess I ought to let you know about that—though I

don't want to be hard on the young fellows".

This took the wind out of Davis's sails. Another change came over the face of the Commodore. Now he had good reason to disregard the compunction and regret which the thought of refusal naturally aroused. After a long silence, he said:

"You see how it is, Davis. I have as much sympathy as you with these two Japanese. But here is something we've got to take into account before our feelings. It's doubtful whether it would be any kindness to let these men stay. Gentlemen, you will all agree with me—we must consider the health of our men first... well, Williams, put them ashore, please. Smooth them down as best you can. Davis, order a boat out for them, will you please?"

The order was soon carried out. Dr. Watson watched the two Japanese climb down the ladder. That was the end. They yielded to their fate, finding that it was in vain to appeal to the Americans, even with tears. The Doctor observed that, once they knew the refusal was final, they accepted their fate in manly fashion, with good grace.

The Doctor retired to his room—but not to sleep that night.

IV

Two days later Dr. Watson went ashore in the morning with another officer. It was a fine day. After strolling on the beach, they walked to the rear of the town. Many children followed them, keeping close behind with the grimmest tenacity, despite all efforts to shrike them off.

They came to a building that looked like a barrack, with a soldier keeping guard at the gate with a spear-like weapon. People were crowding up to the fence and peering through. They moved off as Watson approached, as if afraid of him. He looked through and saw, about two yards from the fence, something like an animal's cage. He could distinguish something moving about in the gloom, and, as he continued gazing, he made out the figures of two men. Two pale faces appeared at the bar and smiled at him with teeth gleaming. He was horror-stricken. Only slowly did he recognise the faces. But they were unmistakable. There was scarcely room for the two in the cage, and they were crouched face to face. The Doctor felt as though a darkness had come over him. Without thinking, he called out in English:

"By God, what are you doing there?"

Of course, they did not understand, but their faces gleamed with joy as they saw they were noticed by the officer. One of them—he of the scabies—struck his hand to his neck at right angles, to signify what their fate was to be. At the same time he laughed defiantly. His dauntless attitude, which seemed even more stoic than that of Cato, the Roman patriot, made a deep impression on Watson. He felt a quiver run through his hands, which were gripping the fence. He began to think what he could do to save their lives.

Then the young prisoner who had smiled so dauntlessly, made a sign that he wished to write. Watson searched his pockets and found a pencil, but no paper. However, a Japanese boy brought a thin piece of wood from somewhere. Watson could not hand it to the prisoner, as the distance was too great. But, as he was looking for a way out of the difficulty, the old man in charge of the cage came to his assistance.

The prisoner, after looking curiously at the foreign pencil, began to write with a flowing hand. After a quarter of an hour the board was brought back to Watson by the same old man. Every inch of space on it was filled. After nodding a farewell, Watson hurried back to the ship, appealing to Heaven to have mercy on them. He sought out the Chinese interpreter, La Shin, a Cantonese, who gave a translation of the writing on the board. It stated:

"If a hero fails to achieve his ambition, all his deeds are regarded as the deeds of a robber or political miscreant. Such has been our destiny. We are shut up in a gloomy prison, and the people come around to mock us in our captivity. Even the aged folk of the village smile at us with the smile of contempt. Torture! Loneliness! Scorn! Despair! That is our whole life now.

"Freedom to wander all over our country, this little island of the Far East, could not satisfy our longing for the great freedom. We had planned to travel around the wide

world. But now where is that long-cherished hope? Ah, it is cruel that this plan for which we had worked so long has so suddenly come to nought. And here we are imprisoned in a narrow cage, with no freedom to eat, no freedom to rest, no freedom even to sleep. Escape is impossible. What shall we do then? Weep? That would be too silly. Laugh? No, any rake can laugh. What then? Silence? Yes, silence be ours, now and evermore."

Commodore Perry and all the other officers who had been present at the conference heard the interpreter's translation and were deeply moved. "He's a brave man—and a philosopher," the Commodore said, as if to himself, with a sigh.

Then came a burst of sobbing. All looked round in surprise. It was Davis. The Commodore came up and patted him on the shoulder:

"Yes, Davis, you were right after all... Go ashore now, quick. See what you can do to save these men—whatever you think best—I'll back it."

Davis was much gratified and went off in high spirits.

Not so the Doctor. His agony of mind increased. He could not rest. Had he done right or not in speaking as he had done—as a doctor? He thought to ease his mental torture by studying the information about scabies in his books. He plodded from his cabin to the ship's library—a sad man.

[So ends the Japanese novelist's story. Every Japanese knows that the two in the cage were saved on that occasion from the executioner's sword, though Yoshida afterwards paid with his life for having his own ideas of patriotism. Neither of the two ever saw America or any other foreign land.]*

* The story of Torajiro Yoshida, a popular hero of Japan, is known to many from the essay of Robert Louis Stevenson. Here his unsuccessful attempt to get passage to America with Commodore Perry's fleet, in violation of the laws of his country, is the basis of a sketchy tale by a well-known Japanese novelist.

SIND IN THE EIGHTIES

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

VI

GERMAN THOROUGHNESS

ON one occasion when I was going to Karachi from Bombay by sea one of my fellow-passengers on board the steamer was a German. He was a Doctor of Science about forty years of age, good-looking and had nice manners. He used to sit by my side at table and also on the deck. He had been sent out by Prince Bismarck to report on Indian agriculture and the Post Office in India. He had letters of introduction from the Secretary of State for India. In Bombay he had stayed with the Governor and at Karachi he would be the guest of the Commissioner in Sind. He could not speak English fluently and sometimes broke off with a smile when he could not find a suitable word. But I had no difficulty in understanding him. He spoke with awe of Prince Bismarck, that giant of a man whose large, bulging, eyes appeared to see clean through a man. My German acquaintance had an insatiable curiosity and his inquiries covered a wild field. On arrival at Karachi he went to the Government House, but the next day he called on me with a note-book in his hand and interviewed me in the fashion of a newspaper reporter. He was greatly interested in the Congress movement—he called it “motion”—and took down my answers covering several pages of his note-book. He inquired minutely into the genesis of the national movement in India, its aim and scope, how far it had leavened the feelings of the people and at what rate it was spreading. He put questions about the existing relations between the Government and the people, the social conditions in different parts of India, the employment of Indians in high offices, the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans. He took me methodically through almost every Indian problem and pumped me dry. I do not believe he had any sinister or ulterior motive, or that he was thinking of “der Tag” while he was engaged in extracting from me as much information as possible. Prince Bismarck might have been a man of “blood and iron,” but he was far too wise

and clear-sighted to be obsessed by any ambition of a world-empire, or the conquest of India. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 he was all for consolidating the German Empire and maintaining the peace of Europe and the world. The official whom he had deputed to India had definite instructions to enquire into the methods of Indian agriculture and the working of the postal system in this country, but since he was out for getting information he made it his business to collect as much information as possible on all subjects connected with India. It was merely an example of German thoroughness.

SIR DONALD MACKENZIE WALLACE

After the retirement of Lord Dufferin from the Viceroyalty of India Sir D.M. Wallace continued as the Private Secretary of the next Viceroy for a few months, but he soon resigned his appointment and on his return to England was appointed Foreign Editor of the London “Times.” His book on Russia was considered a standard work. When leaving India Sir Donald passed through the Persian Gulf and travelled overland through Persia, Turkey and Russia. From Bombay to Karachi he came by a British India boat in which I also happened to be a passenger. Dr. John Pollen, who was then stationed in Bombay, came on board the steamer to see Sir Donald off. Dr. Pollen was very pleased to meet me and introduced me to Sir Donald. Sir Donald stayed all day on deck and at night he had a hammock hung up on the upper deck and slept in it. He abstained from wines at meals and had a big bottle of Rose’s Lime Juice Cordial, which he offered to the other people at table. During the two days that we had to pass on the steamer I had frequent conversations with Sir Donald. Upper Burma had been annexed by Lord Dufferin and King Theebaw and Queen Suppyalat were kept as state prisoners at Rutnagiri in the Bombay Presidency. Sir Donald defended the annexation on the ground that it was inevitable. I strongly

protested against the application of the appellation of "dacoits" to the Burmans who were resisting the British and the excesses that had been committed by the invaders. Sir Donald would not enter into details but maintained the time would come when Lord Dufferin's policy would be justified in history. He went on to say that he had met a well-known Calcutta journalist and had no difficulty in convincing him of the soundness of the policy pursued in Upper Burma. He was clearly referring to Sambhu Chandra Mukerji of the *Reis and Rayyat*. Sambhu Chandra had been invited to meet Sir D. M. Wallace and Lord Dufferin. From that time he attacked the Congress and defended Lord Dufferin's policy in Burma. He became a personal friend of Lord Dufferin, who subsequently wrote some letters to Mr. Mukherji.

LADIES AND LANGUAGES

A few months after my arrival at Karachi I brought over my wife and first child from Calcutta, Hiranand followed my example and his wife gave birth to a daughter some time later. A third young lady also came for a short time to stay with her husband in the house. These young ladies had no common language for carrying on a conversation. My wife spoke a few words of Hindustani but Hiranand's wife did not understand a single word of that language. Hiranand took upon himself to teach his wife a little Bengali and my wife a little Sindhi, but his class of two pupils did not make much progress and he gave it up after a month or two. As, however, my wife had constantly to come in contact with Sindhi ladies and visited Hyderabad more than once she learned to speak Sindhi quite fluently in a few months. Sindhi and Cutchhi are almost identical languages and both are very difficult because although the words are mostly of Sanscrit origin the construction of sentences follows the Persian method and adjectives and verbs have masculine or feminine genders in accordance with the subject. I understand Sindhi perfectly but never learned to speak it well because I met only men who spoke either English or the broken Hindustani used throughout the Bombay Presidency. Ladies then observed strict *purdah* and I had no occasion to speak to them.

METEORIC SHOWERS

In 1885 and the following year in the month of September we witnessed at Karachi

an extraordinary phenomenon. Meteors or shooting stars are seen about this time of the year or in the summer. But I do not remember having ever seen anything like what we noticed for two successive years at Karachi. About 9 o'clock in the evening I saw meteors flashing through the sky in quick succession. I called out Hiranand and we sat up nearly the whole night watching the meteoric shower. The whole sky seemed to be alive with rushing meteors leaving behind them a trail of light. As the night advanced the shower increased in intensity and reached its height about midnight. There was not a minute's cessation and the sky appeared to be full of living, luminous serpents darting swiftly across the heavens. There was no moon and the dark background of the sky with the glimmering stars intensified the effect. It was an impressive and awe-inspiring sight and I could appreciate the accounts I had read of savage tribes falling down in terror on their faces and shrieking aloud when they witnessed a meteoric shower. Gradually the meteoric shower diminished and finally ceased at about 3 o'clock in the morning. I wrote about the phenomenon in my paper and some people, including some Europeans discussed the subject with me. Next year about the same time the phenomenon was repeated but the shower was not so thick as in 1885.

B. M. MALABARI

Behramji Merwaniji Malabari was editor of the Bombay *Indian Spectator* a weekly journal, and also the *Voice of India* a monthly periodical founded by Dadabhai Naoroji. The *Voice of India* was a small publication containing extracts from the chief Indian papers on different questions with a page of introduction. The *Indian Spectator* was a cautious and carefully edited paper. The paragraphs which were attractive were well-written and were often humorous. These were mostly written by Malabari himself. There were one or two leading articles which were usually written by others. The *Indian Spectator* was what may be called an 'acceptable' paper. In a lecture delivered in Bombay by Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, he held up the *Indian Spectator* as a model critic. As Sir William Lee-Warner was a typical bureaucrat of the spreadeagle order his appreciation was significant. Latterly, Malabari used to write in the first person.

singular, following the example of Mr. W. T. Stead in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Review of Reviews*. He appeared in the role of a social reformer in 1885. He wrote two notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood and circulated them for opinion, and the opinions he received whether in personal letters or in newspapers were published, sometimes with running comments in the *Indian Spectator*. In orthodox Hindu quarters Malabari's social reform campaign was strongly resented on the ground that he was an outsider and had no concern with Hindu society. Malabari felt himself ill-used and wrote several times that he was "only a Parsi." Humanity, however, is higher than communalism and a Parsi, or a Mahomedan or a Christian would be perfectly justified in raising his voice against an evil Hindu custom just as a Hindu is entitled to protest against a Parsi, Mahomedan or Christian social evil in the name of humanity. Whether he can obtain a hearing or not is another question. But there is a great deal of difference in the experiences of a social reformer from inside and another from outside. Malabari was severely criticised by some Hindu newspapers, but hard words break no bones and Malabari had no bitter experiences like those of Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar or Kursondas Mulji. There was no tangible outcome of Malabari's agitation. It had no relevant bearing on the Age of Consent Act. The most stalwart supporter of that measure in Bombay was K. T. Telang, who in a series of admirable articles in the *Indu Prakash*, then edited by N. G. Chandavarkar, supported the Bill and traversed the arguments of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, who had opposed it in the Imperial Legislative Council. I corresponded with Malabari before we met and I stayed with him twice for a few hours in Bombay when he was living in Hornby Road. At one time Malabari had an idea of starting a daily paper. He wrote to me asking for a rough estimate and suggesting that I should take up the editorship of the proposed paper. Some correspondence passed between us but nothing came out of it. I met Malabari again in Lahore and Calcutta and I had a letter from him a few days before his sudden death at Simla. Malabari told me himself that the *Indian Spectator* never paid its way and there was a small loss every month, but he had other sources of income and left a considerable fortune amounting to

several lakhs of rupees. Malabari was in high favour with successive Viceroy and Governors of Bombay, and when Lord Randolph Churchill visited Bombay Lord Reay sent him to Malabari's house to meet a select gathering of Indian leaders. He never attended the Indian National Congress even when it met in Bombay and called himself a recluse. Malabari latterly established a monthly Magazine called *East and West*.

P. M. MEHTA

Pheroza Shah Merwanji Mehta was a striking and imposing personality in the public life of India and on the Congress platform. In Bombay he was considered the first citizen and no other person filled the presidential chair of the Bombay Corporation with such ability and distinction. He was an M. A. of the Bombay University and a barrister with an extensive practice in Bombay. In the Bombay Legislative Council and later on in the Imperial Legislative Council he was an outstanding figure. He was a Rupert of debate and his brilliance in repartee and his flashing rapier play in argument have rarely been rivalled. In conversation he had a frank and hearty manner and he had very high qualities of leadership. When he was elected—the word then officially used was "recommended"—as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council he disconcerted the official members by his outspokenness and crushing rejoinders. The non-official Indian Members of Council at that time were always in a hopeless minority and they never could carry anything against the solid phalanx of the official majority, which faced them like a stone wall. Referring to this unfair poise in the Council Pheroza Shah Mehta, addressing the official members, declared on one occasion, "we may have the balance of reason on our side but you have always the preponderating weight of votes." On another occasion he spoke with such fearless independence that Sir James Westland, then Finance Minister, complained that the tone adapted by Pheroza Shah Mehta had never before been heard in the Council Hall. Commenting on this incident I wrote in the *Tribune* of Lahore, which I was then editing, that Sir James Westland was right because the voice of Pheroza Shah Mehta was the voice of the people and had never been heard in the Council Chamber so long as the Indian members had owed their place in Council to nomination, that is, official favour.

Pherozezshah Mehta had been elected, or "recommended," by the Bombay Presidency Association. He read the paragraph in the *Tribune* and wrote to me at once that I had rightly interpreted the note of "Westland's Wail." For his great services in the Bombay Corporation Pherozezshah Mehta was knighted but he was not the man to seek official favour at any time in his life. When the Congress was threatened with a split in 1906 in Calcutta, which actually took place the next year at Surat much of the bitterness was directed against Pherozezshah Mehta personally. He was jeered at as a knight and flouted as a dictator. At Surat he was assailed with foul abuse and the Deccani shoe which fell in the lap of Surendranath Banerjea and was preserved by him in a glass case was really hurled at the Parsi leader. The cleavage in the Congress marked the parting of the ways but it reflected no dishonour on the older leaders who had served the country according to their lights and who could not appreciate or sympathise with the impassioned call of a new nationalism. The statue of Pherozezshah Mehta in front of the office of the Bombay Corporation and the naming of the Hanging Gardens of Bombay after him are fitting memorials of his distinguished and untiring services to the city of Bombay.

PROSECUTION AND IMPRISONMENT

In 1889, when I was editing the "Phoenix" I was prosecuted on a charge of defamation. That was the only occasion that I had to face a trial during my long association with journalism. Frequent complaints appeared in the paper about the ill-treatment of prisoners in the Shikarpur jail. My correspondent was a teacher in the Government school at Shikarpur. He afterwards became a successful pleader at Sukkur. In a short newsletter of two paragraphs it was stated that the death of a prisoner in the Shikarpur jail was suspicious and there were rumours of foul play. If there was any insinuation it was against the Jailor, who however did not take any action himself. Instead the Superintendent of the Jail, who was a medical officer, applied for sanction to proceed against me. The Bombay Government in sanctioning the prosecution stated that if the Editor gave out the name of his correspondent and satisfied the Commissioner in Sind that he had acted in good faith the case against

him need not proceed; nor was it necessary to proceed against the correspondent if he tendered an apology. It was obvious that the Government of Bombay did not consider the matter very serious. A copy of the Government Resolution was sent to me. I was not called upon to offer an apology, but I could not dream of giving out the name of my correspondent, whose good faith I never doubted for a moment. It was a very ordinary case and the only thing noticeable about it was the number of hearings it involved in various Courts before it was finished. The case was first tried by Mr. C. E. S. Steele, the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Sukkur, an able and accomplished officer. In a case of this kind it was impossible to get any evidence from the jail itself. The defence was that there was no intention of defaming the Superintendent of the Jail and the suggestion in the newsletter was for an enquiry by higher authority. Evidence on both sides was taken and the Magistrate discharged me without framing a charge. I knew, however, that I was by no means yet out of the wood. An application was made before the District Magistrate to set aside the order of discharge and to order a fresh trial. The District Magistrate held that of the two paragraphs of the newsletter one, in his opinion, was not defamatory but the other he considered libellous, and he directed a new trial by another Magistrate. Against this order an application was made to the Sadar Court before Mr. Macpherson. The wisdom of this course was questionable on account of Mr. Macpherson's well-known attitude in criminal cases, but my legal advisers and other friends relied on the well-reasoned judgment of Mr. Steele discharging me in the first instance. Mr. Macpherson might have simply rejected the application on the ground that he took the same view as the District Magistrate, but he went further and deliberately declared that both paragraphs of the newsletter were libellous. He did not pause to consider that this would seriously prejudice me in the new trial because the Magistrate was bound to be influenced by the opinion of the highest Court in the Province. The case was next tried by an inexperienced, young Civilian who bluntly asked me the name of the correspondent. I refused to disclose the name and the Magistrate, who displayed both impatience and temper during the trial, sentenced me to simple imprisonment for

two months and a fine of five hundred rupees. Dayaram Gidumal happened to be officiating District and Sessions Judge of Shikarpur at the time and I was released on bail the same evening. But Dayaram declined to hear the appeal himself and fixed a date for the hearing when he would cease to be Sessions Judge and revert to his substantive appointment as Assistant District and Sessions Judge. In simple gratitude I should mention that throughout this long drawn-out and protracted trial Tahilram Khemchand and Harchandrai Kishindas stood by me unflinchingly. They neglected their professional work for defending me, they raised funds for the defence, they appeared in every court where the case was taken, and their vigilance and sympathy never wavered or faltered. Any man would be proud and deeply grateful to have such friends. The new District and Sessions Judge had the reputation of being somewhat eccentric. When the appeal came up before him Tahilram and Harchandrai engaged Mr. Russell of the Bombay Bar to appear for me. Mr. Russell, who afterwards became a Judge of the Bombay High Court, had come to Karachi in connection with another case, but was persuaded to stay on for a few days to argue my appeal at Shikarpur. Mr. Russell was an Irishman and a persuasive and eloquent advocate and he did his best for me. But the Judge upheld the conviction and sentence alleging among other grounds that the circulation of the paper had increased on account of my prosecution. There was not a shred of evidence on the record to justify this assumption. I was conveyed to the jail at Shikarpur and was assigned a separate cell for myself. On the second or third day the Superintendent of Police came to visit the jail. At his suggestion I was given a cot. Another visitor was Mr. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Sind, whom I knew very well. He told me I should have given out the name of the correspondent, but I replied that that was out of the question as he had not acted in bad faith. The jailor showed me great consideration and I requested him to obtain permission for me to do some literary work during my imprisonment. He promised to write to the Inspector-General of Police to obtain the necessary sanction. The warders and such of my fellow-prisoners as could have access to me were very good to me. Meanwhile, Tahilram and Harchandrai did

not let the grass grow under their feet. They applied for revision in the Sadar Court through Mr. Russell who was still at Karachi. Luckily for me Mr. Macpherson was on leave and Mr. Hosking, a very able and conscientious Judge, was officiating for him. The Manager of the "Phoenix" filed an affidavit declaring that the circulation of the paper had not increased. Mr. Hosking quashed the sentence of imprisonment but upheld the fine. Tahilram sent me a telegram at once informing me of the order and an Amil prisoner came running to me, evidently pleased to be the first to congratulate me. He was followed a few minutes later by the jailor himself with the open telegram in his hand. He seemed to be both pleased and relieved that it would not be necessary for him any longer to have me on his hands. I told him that he would have to wait for a copy of the judgment before he could let me out. He said it was not at all necessary and if he got a telegram from the Registrar of the Sadar Court confirming the information I had received he could release me at once. He proposed to send a telegram, reply prepaid, to the Registrar at his own expense and I could repay him afterwards. This was done and in anticipation of the reply the jailor took me out of the inner-jail and had a bed put up for me in the comfortable verandah of the jail hospital. The reply arrived at about 9 o'clock at night and I was released at once. It was the tenth day of my imprisonment. As a memento of my life in jail I bought a small carpet from the jailor and sent him the price along with the cost of the telegram. There was a carriage waiting for me and I drove to the house of Dowlatram Sarat Singh, Government pleader. The next morning I got a telegram from Harchandrai asking me to stay another day at Shikarpur as they were arranging a suitable reception for me. I telegraphed back that there should be no demonstration and I did not propose to delay my return to Karachi. I left Shikarpur the same evening. At the station while I was waiting for the train with a number of people around me Dayaram Gidumal came in and I sauntered with him up the platform to have a quiet talk. I told him he should not have hesitated to hear my appeal himself. His reply was that my case had affected his personal feelings and it was impossible for him to be in a judicial frame of mind. He added that Mr. Steele should have acquitted me instead of discharging me, and in

that case the Bombay Government would not have appealed against the acquittal. At Karachi the platform was crowded when the train arrived and some of my friends protested that I should have let them have their way as the people of Karachi were anxious to show their appreciation of my conduct. I pointed out that there was absolutely nothing to make a fuss about and although I was very thankful to be back again among my

friends I should be allowed to return home quietly. But they all insisted on accompanying me to my house in procession. As I have previously stated there was nothing remarkable about the case except that it was heard no less than seven times before different Magistrates and Judges.

I left Karachi and Sind in May, 1891 to take up the editorship of the *Tribune* at Lahore.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE SOMALIS OF FRENCH SOMALILAND

By N. S. RANGA, B. Litt. (Oxon)

DJIBOUTI is the capital of French Somaliland. There is the Governor General to govern this province of the French Republic. There are about 400 Europeans, 200 Arabs, 100 Indians and 25,000 Somalis in this town. There is usually very little rain and this place is very hot and there is scarcely any vegetation. It was only ten years ago that the gardens around the palace of the Governor were decorated with artificial trees but at present there is a very good supply of water which is brought from an inland place and so a few trees could be grown in the gardens. For all outward purposes there are all the signs of western civilisation such as electric light, fans, ice, water supply, motor cars and horse carriages. A Frenchman boasted that his Republic has converted the desert into a civilised town.

A responsible person once told me that the French Government was losing very heavily on the railway to Abyssinia, on the harbour at Djibouti and on the whole of the government establishment. And it is still true to-day. Yet it maintains its so-called trust for the world's civilisation because it is anxious to maintain the balance of influence in the politics of Abyssinia at which the French, British and Italian Governments look with covetous eyes. The recent rapprochements between the last two governments are watched with great anxiety by the people of this place.

Abyssinia is the centre of all interest to

every one of this place. If the French Government allows the other Powers to get full control of Abyssinia, then the economic organisation of this place will be completely dislocated. At present piece-goods and other manufactured goods are imported into Abyssinia and it is worthy of mention that most of the cloth sold in the Abyssinian market is imported from Japan and merchants find the Indian cloth to be too expensive. Djibouti imports horses (those used in the town are worth only Rs. 30 in Abyssinia) cattle, beef, fruit, hides, coffee and goats.

Nothing is produced in Djibouti. Rice and other food stuffs of very inferior quality are imported into this place from India via Aden. The horse-carriages are brought from America and the hand carts from Austria. A few Italians and Greeks are interested in the import and export business but the export business in coffee and hides is mostly in the hands of Arabs and a few Somalis. The number of Somali merchants has been on the increase since the last six years and there are now three leather merchants, two coffee merchants and a few shop-keepers.

Small donkeys are used to transport sand and earth. But men are employed to pull the hand-carts, working in groups of 4 or 6 coolies and it is these workers who transport everything to and from the railway station and the docks. They get on the whole about 8 francs each per day of twelve hours work in the hot sun. It is noteworthy.

that women are not engaged in this sort of work as they are in Madras and Delhi. The workers who are employed in the store-houses of leather to air and clean leather are paid 6 to 7 francs each per day of 12 hours, and those who are employed for the month are paid only 220 francs. The workers at the railway station are paid 6 francs per day per head if they are bachelors and 7 to 8 francs a day per worker if they are married people. They work for 10 hours a day. The postmen are paid 300 francs per month per person. A Policeman is paid 200 to 275 francs plus board and lodging per month. Porters in a hotel are paid 150 to 200 francs plus food per month per worker and two boys who are of 15 years of age are paid 50 francs each per month with food, and another boy who is only 12 years of age is paid only 40 francs. Somalis who ship things are paid one rupee (15 francs on 20th July 1926) each per day of 12 hours while their brother workers of Aden are paid Rs. 1-8. These and other workers go to fish in the sea whenever there is no work in the town and earn on the whole about 5 francs each per day. The drivers of the horse-carriages are paid 5 francs per hour and each of them is able to earn on the average 15 francs per day.

Only women are employed in cleaning coffee and even though this is a very slack season for coffee business, as many as 250 Somali women were employed on the 17th July. Even girls of 8 years of age and above are employed in this work and they earn nearly as much as women. These workers work between 6 A. M. and 6-30 P. M. with a short break at dinner time. They are paid 5 francs for cleaning one sack of coffee seeds of 20 kilos and an ordinary worker is able to earn only 5 francs a day. Though this work is done in dusty and dirty factories the workers are not provided with special uniforms to be worn while working and the women are obliged to wear the same dirty clothes at home and in the factories. It is very unhealthy for girls to work in these ill ventilated factories.

Still many Somalis are unemployed for many months in the year. Some Frenchmen say that there is no unemployment in this place and that the Somalis are very lazy and do not want to work if they have some money. But the Somali and Indian merchants assure me that the Somalis are as industrious and ambitious a people as any other. I

met more than 6 Somalis who went to France and worked as Garçons in the hotels and returned with their savings. One of them who is a Garçon in the Hotel Des Arcades said that he used to get 30 francs a day with food and a room at Lyons while he is now paid only 175 francs per month, with food. He said he could not earn more in the Djibouti hotels as there is not much work in the hotels. He understood better the reasons for the lower wages and unemployment of Somalis, than many Europeans of this place.

STANDARD OF LIVING OF SOMALIS

Every commodity consumed by the Somalis is of the most inferior quality and an Indian urban worker refuses to consume the sort of rice, chillies, red-grains, and cholam which are sold in the local markets of this place. The Somali's daily food consists of boiled rice, chapati (thin bread) made of cholam and rice flour, fish or a little meat and little or no ghee. Though every Somali is very fond of ghee and though it is cheaper here than in Bombay as it is imported in large quantities from Abyssinia, Somalis are unable to get it except on festive occasions. A small plate of boiled rice is sold at 50 centimes, a plate of very bad meat and soup at one franc and 2 chapatis at 10 centimes in an Arab restaurant where many prosperous Somali workers eat. A worker eats rice, meat and 8 chapatis and pays 1 franc and 90 centimes per meal and any one who has seen this food will testify that it is not enough to keep a human being in proper working order. Yet a Somali is obliged to work for 12 hours a day and maintain his wife and two children.

A kilo (about 2½ lbs.) of inferior rice is sold in the retail market at 4½ francs and better sort of rice at 6 francs, cholam at 2 francs, redgrams at 5 francs and salt at ½ franc. A cup of very inferior coffee with a little sugar in it and without milk is sold in a Somali restaurant at 12 centimes. It is heart-breaking to see these Somali women begging a few grains of rice etc., in addition to the quantity already paid for. Every night there are crowds of boys around the European hotels to beg morsels of bread and some Europeans drive them away as if they were flies. Starvation is a common feature of many Somali homes and most Somalis suffer from insufficiency of food.

Many Europeans complained that the idea of comfort of the Somalis is very low and that they do not need and do not want shoes, caps and shirts. But many of the drivers of the horse carriages earned enough in Europe to buy their carriages and they take genuine pride in the clean cushions of their carriages and they wear clean and nice clothes. The Somali women who are employed as maids by Indians dress themselves in better and cleaner cloths than other women because they are paid better. Somali women wear a long skirt, a cloth to cover the breasts and another to cover their heads. These cloths are imported from India and are of very inferior material. Men wear a lungi, a shirt without sleeves and no cap. I saw only very few women who wore shoes and others do not wear them because they cannot afford that luxury.

Most of the Somalis live in small huts made of palm leaves. The floor has no coating of any kind and so the house is very dirty. In such a house we find only one or two cots and one or two stools with mattresses. In the evening the house is practically

dark and very few people keep lights in the nights. Most of them have no private water pipes and lavatories as the Europeans have. They have to bring water from the few public water-pipes and no wonder that they do not bathe every day while the Europeans bathe twice a day. They have neither electric fans nor ice and their houses are full of flies. There are no streets as in the European quarter and there are no street lamps. The narrow but long lanes are dusty and dirty and no one cleans them. There is always a very bad smell in their quarters. The local hospital serves the interests of the Europeans better and the venereal diseases contracted from the Whites and the other tropical diseases are not cured by any medical help. An intelligent Somali said that the so-called civilisation is not introduced for their sake but for the comfort of the Governor-General and his administration and that the Somalis are never made able to enjoy any benefits under the new civilisation. Where are the Factory Acts and where are the Conventions of the International Labour Office in Somaliland?

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BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES

I have seen it asserted by persons in authority and holding responsible positions in Native States, who are naturally supposed to be well-acquainted with the relations which exist between the Native States of India and the Government of India, that the status and position of British India is in no way better than or superior to the more important Native States of India; or that "British India is but a State like other Indian States". They go even so far as to say that "The Emperor of Japan has as much power as any ruler of an Indian State". Or in other words the powers of a ruler of an Indian State are in no way inferior to those of the Emperor of Japan. For instance, Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe, a Minister of the Indore State, makes the following bold statement which is neither justified by Science of Politics nor by the Indian Treaties on which Sirdar Kibe takes his stand and lays so great

a stress. Unfortunately few have studied the Treaties with the Native States or followed the subsequent developments. It is, therefore, no wonder that such baseless statements should go unchallenged. Sirdar Kibe has the courage and confidence to declare:—

"But the criterion for admission to the League of Nations is to be found in the status of its members. British India has been admitted as a member of the League. In its relations to the Government of Great Britain, British India is a State like other Indian States. While the relations of the latter with the former are governed by instruments known as treaties, its powers are defined by Acts of Parliament. Like all other Indian States it cannot make peace or war, independently of the British Government; moreover, even its finances are under the control of a member of the British Cabinet. In a word, as stated by the Marquess of Curzon, one of the most famous and masterful Governor-General and Viceroy of India, the Government of India is a subordinate Branch of the British Government. Moreover, unlike the Indian States, as regards judicial matters, it is not self-contained. Yet, in spite of all these drawbacks, it has

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been admitted as a member of the League. Those Indian States, therefore, whose disabilities from the point of view of Sovereign States are not greater *de jure* than those of British India, cannot but be eligible for the membership of the League".

Before exposing the fallacy and ignorance of the first principles of Political Science which this statement betrays, it cannot be denied "that the treaty position has been changed and that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, but always benevolent, has insensibly come into being". That "there is no doubt that with the growth of new conditions and the unification of India under the British Crown, a political doctrine has constantly developed". The political doctrine or political practice so developed enables the Government of India to punish a Native State with fine, by loss of salutes and other honours, by depreciation of judicial powers, and even by deposition of their rulers. In spite of their being "Self-contained" in judicial and financial matters, they are subject to the Court of Enquiry which can be appointed by the Viceroy to enquire into the misrule of a State which may be the effect either of misuse of judicial powers or of the finances of the State. It is safer to rely on Acts of Parliament under a constitutional system, in which the Native States are at present, than on inaccurate references to International Law or to a position which is afforded by mere arguments drawn from use or abuse of the phrases and which is supposed to be secured to the Native States by their Treaties. A State in its perfect form has, in virtue of its independence, complete liberty of action, and that liberty of action is not destroyed by the fact that it has concluded agreements fettering its action, provided that such agreements are terminable at any moment or upon stipulated notice, or provided that they are not of such nature in themselves to necessarily subordinate the will or the power of the State to that of another power or State. By their Treaties the Indian Rulers got the right, though they never had the power to denounce the treaties. The forms of international law are to some extent maintained, though the conditions which gave validity to those forms had disappeared long ago on the conclusion of the subsidiary treaties. By these agreements the Native States entered into a habit of obedience to a political superior, and from this point ceased to be *sovereign* and they lost *independence*.

The Native States of India are neither sovereign, nor semi-sovereign, nor part-sovereign. They are non-sovereign while British India is part-sovereign. Doctor Lawrence says :—

"The questions connected with *Part-Sovereign States* next demand our attention. Though, as a general rule, the domestic government in a political community exercises over the members of that community all the powers of sovereignty, it is obvious that it might exercise a portion of them only, the remainder being vested in the government of another country, or given to some central authority, or even suspended altogether. When the powers thus shared concern internal affairs, International Law has nothing to do with that case; neither has it when the home government deals with internal affairs, and some other authority possesses complete control of foreign relations, though both cases are important to the student of Constitutional Law and must be carefully classed by him. But when the external affairs of a community are directed by another country, International Law recognises in that community a state unlike fully independent states, seeing that the rulers cannot exercise all powers of external sovereignty, and yet capable of being ranked among its subjects, seeing that the local government does control some portion of the relations with states. Communities of this kind are generally distinguished from independent states by the epithet *Semi-Sovereign*; but as the term seems to imply an equal division of powers of sovereignty between the local and foreign rulers, we will use instead the adjective *Part-Sovereign*, since it more correctly describes a class of communities in which any proportion of the powers of external sovereignty, from nearly all to almost none, may be possessed by the home government."

The Native States of India are in the habit of obedience to a political superior, the King-Emperor, therefore they are not *independent*, nor are their rulers possessed of *sovereignty*. They possess no external or foreign relations and rules of International Law do not apply to them. Their authority inside the State is *divided* between the ruler and the British Government. As such they are subjects of Constitutional Law and not of International Law.

Doctor Lawrence defines a *Part-Sovereign State* as

"*Political Communities in which the domestic rulers possess a portion only of the powers of political sovereignty, the remainder being exercised by some other political body, or even suspended altogether*... When a State is neutralised by a great international treaty, and is therefore deprived of the right of making war for any other purpose than the defence of its own territory from attack, it is in a condition of *Part-Sovereignty*. We thus obtain three divisions of *Part-Sovereign States*, and it will be convenient to consider each division separately. But before we do so, we must exclude altogether from our classification such communities

as the Native States of India and the Indian tribes of North America. The former are some times spoken as independent states ; but in reality they are not even part-sovereign in the sense given to that term in International Law, for they may not make war or peace or enter into negotiations with any power except Great Britain."

If Sirdar Kibe had studied the question of sovereignty and had known the connotation of the term Part-Sovereign, he may not have objected to the eligibility of Austria or Bulgaria for membership of the League of Nations, because Bulgaria is bound by a treaty to accept certain financial and military restrictions or because Austria is bound not to have treaty relations with certain foreign states. He forgets that they have not, like the native states of India, lost *all* control over their foreign relations ; and as such they are still recognised as subjects of International Law.

The Native States of India are allowed to exist, under British supremacy, in the British dependency, India. Their rulers, though they owe political allegiance to the King-Emperor, as his subjects, are yet permitted to manage their own affairs as far as possible. The Government of India is part-sovereign, while the Native States are non-sovereign. The Government of India, though subject to the control of the British Government in its foreign relations, is master of its own house and is free in its internal government. The Native States have no foreign relations, and their authority of internal government is *divided* between their rulers and the British Government. The foreign relations of British India or the Government of India are its own though controlled and limited. It is dependent or inferior, while the British Government which controls its foreign relations, is its superior. It is practically supreme over its subjects, but not being a member of the international society, it is not externally sovereign, or rather fully-sovereign. Its position can be described as one of semi-sovereignty or part-sovereignty ; it being not necessary for a state to be independent in order to be a state of international law. The Government of India does not stand side by side with the British Government as its equal. Nor is it in Corporate Union with it for internal purposes, although for international purposes they both with others form the whole, one dominion represented abroad by the British Government. The Government of India through its Foreign and Political Department deals

with foreign powers such as Persia, Nepal or Afghanistan; and controls the relations with the Indian Ruling Princes and Chiefs through Residents and Political Agents.

Let the Princes be not misled by such spacious arguments, and imagine themselves in a position which is neither warranted to them by their treaties, nor by usage, nor is the Science of Politics willing to concede it to them. The plain truth is that they owe their present position to British protection and can continue their existence by British policy. The policy, in the words of Sir John Strachey, which saved them from Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse and consequent extinction, has been as follows :—

"The mutinies of 1857 showed conclusively that the Native States of India are a source to us not of weakness, but of strength. In the words of Lord Canning "These patches of Native Government served as a break water to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave". With hardly an exception, they remained faithful in circumstances of severest trial and difficulty. Before Lord Canning left India a *Sanad* was issued to each of the Principal Chiefs, assuring, in the name of the queen, that, on failure of natural heirs, the British Government would recognise any adoption of a successor by himself or by any future Chief of the State",

Though the times are changing, the Princes can continue their political existence only through the good will of the British Government, their loyalty to the British Crown, good government and contentment of their people. There was a time when the authority of the British Government depended on its prestige, the force of arms, and the alliance of ruling dynasties. But in the future, it may have to seek allies not in the Princes but among peasants. It may have to appeal to the appetites of the lower classes, while the Ruling Princes and the territorial magnates of British India, who may lose or fear to lose dues and services, may try to oppose the new order. The Princes and the Great Zamindars cannot expect the British Government, with no patience, with no sense of human dignity, with no feeling of pathos of the common lot, to lack the sound and noble gifts which sweeten and inspire public life. It will have to depend on the internal support of the populace, and on appeal from force to conscience. The alliance of the British Government with the Princes, though admirably adapted for its immediate purposes, might be considered as directly opposed to the cause of liberty, and to all the feelings and tendencies which the Reforms in British

India have encouraged in the thinking class. Although the British Government may be able to fascinate some of the older Sirdars or even intellects of the Native States, the heart and brain of the younger generation of these states as well as British India whose aim is national unity are sure to be ranged against the policy of inaction, stagnation or reaction. The future agitation will be a movement of peoples, rather than a coalition of princes, which may result in an outburst of passion for political liberty in the people who inhabit the Native States in the shape of a demand for "Roman Citizenship" on a claim to be placed on the same level as His Majesty's subjects in British India. This passion when once stirred will have the support of public opinion all over the world and which both the Princes and the British Government will find themselves helpless to extinguish. The simplest remedy in the

hands of the suzerain power against recalcitrant or refractory princes or their coalition will be to espouse the cause of their people, when the talk regarding the personal loyalty of their people or their popularity among their subjects will vanish and the princes will find themselves alone and helpless though we know the British Government will never have recourse to such methods. The time is gone when the British Government could declare that it had

"no manner of concern with Maharaja's subjects with respect to whom he is absolute." "The improved means of communication, and especially extension of Railways, have brought about great changes throughout India, and the people themselves in the Native States are no longer as helpless and silent as they once were; they are becoming alive to the fact that in the last resort they can appeal with British Government for protection against oppression".

X. Y. Z.

THE KADVA KANBIS AND THEIR PECULIAR MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

BY CHHAGANLAL THAKURDAS MODI

AMONG the Hindus generally the marriages are celebrated in certain months almost every year. They altogether avoid only the year of Sinhastha, i. e., every twelfth year when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo. There are only two sections of the Hindus that have the peculiar custom of celebrating marriages at certain intervals of 9, 11, 12, 15 years, and these sections are the Kadva Kanbis and the Bharwads (Shepherd class) of Gujarat and Kathiyawar. The Motala Brahmins, residents of the Surat District, and the nagars of Junagadh in Kathiyawar celebrate marriages every third or fourth year. The native place of these Motala Brahmins is Mota, a village in the Surat District, and their population is not large. The nagars of Junagadh celebrate marriages every 3rd or 4th year, and the day of marriage is the same for all families, and fixed by some wealthy and respectable member of the caste. They adopt this custom chiefly with the object, it is presumed, of spending as little

as possible in marriage festivities. Such a curious custom does not appear to be prevalent and general in most of the other castes.

In this article detailed information is consequently given only as regards the Kadva Kanbis and the Bharwads.

THE KADVA KANBIS

The Kadva Kanbis are mostly the inhabitants of the following districts and States :—

- (1) Baroda State—in the districts of Baroda, Kadi, Amreli and Navsari.
- (2) Districts of Gujarat proper—Ahmedabad, Broach, Kaira, Panch-Mahals and Surat.
- (3) Kathiyawar States—Jhalvar prant, Gohilwada prant, Halar prant and Sorath prant.
- (4) Cutch, Mahikantha, Palanpur and Rewakantha.

The total population of Kadva Kanbis in all these districts comes to nearly four lakhs and a half. Of these nearly one lakh

and eighty thousand claim to be the subjects of H. H. the Maharaja Saheb Gaikwar of Baroda. Again 91 p.c. of these inhabit the Kadi district only and about 9 per cent only live in the other three districts. Of the remaining population of nearly 2 lakhs and 70 thousands, the largest population is in Halar prant (nearly 84000 i.e. 30 p.c.) while Ahmedabad district, Mahikantha and Sorath prant claim respectively 62000, 37000 and 35000, i.e. nearly 23, 14 and 13 p.c. of the whole. The population in other places vary from 500 to 18000, the least being in Cutch and Panch Mahals.

The chief occupation of this caste is cultivation of the soil, as nearly 90 p.c. of the actual workers are agriculturists.

This community appears to be most backward in education. In the Baroda State, owing to the introduction of the system of free compulsory education those who possess some knowledge of reading and writing must be about 50 p.c., but in the districts of Ahmedabad, Broach, and Kaira, the total population of Kadva Kanbis in which is 72000, the male and female literates, according to the census of 1921, are 36 and 4 per cent, while the illiterates are 64 and 96 per cent. The number of English-knowing males therein was only 643 and that of females 103. The Halar prant, which boasts of nearly 84000 males and females hardly contains 20 p.c. of male literates, while the female literates not even the percentage of literates in Ahmedabad, Broach and Kaira districts.

Different interpretations are given as to the origin of the Kadva Kanbis. Some trace the origin to Kush, the second son of Ramchandraj, and give the story as follows—

Lava and Kusha, the two sons of Ramchandraj came to Sidhapur, a town in the Kadi district of the Baroda State, about 64 miles north of Ahmedabad and on the Rajputana Malwa Railway line, on a pilgrimage and thence went over to Unjha, a village of the Sidhapur Taluka about 8 miles on the south, for the worship of the Uma Mata. There they saw some Sudras in an extremely poor condition, and so appointed some of them to perform the worship of the Goddess. Those settled there by Lava were called Levas and those by Kusha were called Kadvas.

According to another story, the Kadvas all sprung from clay figures fashioned by Uma or Parvati, the wife of Shiva at the

request of Uma, inspired the figures with life and founded for them the village of Unjha in Sidhapur Taluka of the Kadi district. Here a temple was raised in Uma's honour. Of this same story another version is given as follows :—Shiva was one day performing austerities while Uma or Parvati amused herself with making 52 (Bavan) pairs of images of males and females. At her request he inspired them with life and so originated the 52 divisions of the Kadvas for whom he founded the village, where they installed mother Umaji as their Kula Devi, and their descendants visit the temple from even the most distant localities in fulfilment of their vows.

Some, again, say that the Kadvas were so named because they had been created from the perspiration of the Ked (waist), and they derive the word Kanbi from Kan-Bij, Kan-grain and Bij-seed, the seeds of grain being required to maintain themselves.

Kadvas are said, again, by others to be "Kar grahis"—one of the six divisions who took hold of by the hand and carried away one of the six girls for marriage. In Bhavishya Uttara Purana, the portion called Sudratpatti, contains a chapter about the origin of Keishi Valas, and these are said to be the same as the Kadva Kanbis.

As stated above the total population of the Kadva Kanbis is said to be nearly four lakhs and a half, and they are distributed over all the five districts of Gujarat and Kathiawar and Baroda State. They are found chiefly in Ahmedabad district, Kadi district and Halar prant. These Kadva Kanbis almost without exception consider the village of Unjha with the temple of Umamata there as the chief seat of their tribe, and they resort to it from long distances, as said above to fulfil their vows. Except in Surat, there are no subdivisions among Kadva Kanbis, who have restrictions about intermarriage.

The village of Unjha which is the chief seat of the Kadva Kanbis contains even at present the temple of Umamata, the Kula Devi of this community. The present temple is a large one erected in about 1858 A. D. It is surrounded by a lofty brick enclosure. It is in this temple that the principal members of the Kadvas in Unjha village meet and get settled the year in which the whole community everywhere should celebrate the marriages. It is said that every 9th, 10th, or 11th year, they inquire of the Goddess as

to when they should celebrate the marriage rites in their tribe and lots (Chitthis) are drawn to decide whether the solemn marriage day is to be in that year or the next.

Different periods viz. 9 to 12 years are mentioned by different gentlemen and writers about the interval that passess or should pass, between the seasons for celebrating marriages among the Kadva Kanbis, but the interval most commonly observed is 9, 10, or 11 years. As far as human memory goes they do not celebrate marriages within a period of 8 years, neither do they wait for 12 or 13 years for the same.

On inquiry from different sources it is found that during the past 126 years marriages took place, mostly in Vaishakh month in the following years :—

Samvat	A. D.
1855	1799
1866	1810
1876	1830
1886	1830
1896	1840
1907	1851
1916	1860
1927	1871
1936	1880
1946	1890
1957	1901
1966	1910
1978	1922

As referred to above, the year in which marriages could be celebrated is settled in the temple of Umaji in Unjha. Two headmen of the village with Brahmin Astrologers go to the temple in the 9th or 10th year of the last marriage season. It is said that they first worship the Mataji, and then they draw lots (Chitthis) as to the year which is regarded as propitious by the Mataji, the patron Goddess of the Kadvas, and according as the lot falls, the particular year is declared as the proper time for celebrating marriages. When the year is thus known, the astrologers' name a special day, and this is always selected from the latter half of Chaitra masa or from Vaishakha masa. As the Goddess is supposed to have granted permission (Devi Boli—Goddess gave the order) for the celebration of marriages in that particular year all persons of the Kadva Kanbi community perform marriages in their families on that day wherever they may be.

Another day is also chosen for the marriages of those who are prevented from sickness, inability to get a suitable match etc., from performing the marriages on the general day. The day thus chosen is about

a fortnight later than the first and is called "Mandaw Rat."

The two days thus fixed are communicated by the Unjha headman to the heads of their Ahmedabad castemen and thence they are communicated to different places wherever this community resides.

The general belief among the Kadvas is that marriages of all girls over 40 days old should be celebrated on the particular day in the particular year fixed, and if any girl remains unmarried, she cannot be married for 10 or 11 years more i.e., before the next season found propitious for the same. Owing to this impression, the parents feel very much concerned and become anxious to find out suitable husbands for their marriageable daughters, in case they are not able to secure such bridegrooms by the date fixed, they resort to different expedients. The most common expedient is to arrange to have a proxy bridegroom. To this man is married one or more girls for whom eligible husbands have not been found in time, and he is paid a certain sum in lieu of the consent that he gives to undergo such a marriage. This man is called "Bayvar" (बायवर) i. e., hired husband. This Bayvar may be either married or single. The day after the marriage the man is paid a certain amount of money and is made to renounce his claim on the bride or brides he was married to as Bayvar, and consequently such girls are considered as widows from that time. In case such a proxy bridegroom is not forthcoming or when the proxy is dispensed, the other alternative is to marry the girl to a bouquet or ball of flowers, which is treated as an actual bridegroom. The flowers are thrown into a well the next day, the Kankans (Marriage bracelets) are taken off from the hands of the bride, and she is made to bathe, "Sachai Lasna"—with clothes on and from head to foot, and she is supposed to have become a widow and free to remarry. As widows can re-marry at any time in this caste by undergoing the ceremony of "Natra" or second marriage, the parents find eligible husbands for them at leisure.

The marriage day being common, the Brahmins, who perform the marriage-rites, are very busy and they cannot attend to all families in a village or town. The consequence is that the brides and bridegrooms in different streets are brought in one place and the ceremonies are there gone through. This being the case, it is said that one man gets through as many as a hundred cere-

monies. The ceremonies, performed, in this hurried way by such Brahmins, who are moreover, for the most part not versed in Sanskrit lore, hardly resemble the real rites enjoined by Hindu Shastras.

Inquiries made in several directions to trace the origin of the present custom among the Kadva Kanbis of thus celebrating marriages after 9, 10, or 11 years, do not lead to any satisfactory explanation. There are some works, large and small, in which the custom is referred to, but in none of them is given the cause of adopting such a custom. Looking to the periods intervening the different marriage seasons of the past 126 years, as given above, it appears that no man living from among the Kadvas can definitely state when such a custom was introduced and what the real reason of the same was. Very old men of orthodox opinions as well as young men educated in modern ideas have not been able to explain satisfactorily when or how the custom originated or the reason of adopting it. They at the most say that they celebrate the marriages in this way because it has been the custom in their caste from time immemorial. Different inferences are consequently made as to the origin of the custom or the reason of sticking to it. One of these is that the Kadvas are mostly agriculturists and they have to attend to their field work and labour for producing grain and grass. They thus cannot afford to spare much time every year in marriage affairs at their own place or in such functions at their friends, and relatives, without some loss. Some of the wise and prudent men of the caste, in consequence, it is stated, decided to have one month only for celebrating the marriages, and that at certain intervals. The month of Vaishakh (or between Chaitra 15th to Vaishakh sud 16th) has invariably been the month in which the marriages take place, and that is the month in which cultivators are comparatively free from work connected with tillage.

The other probable reason appears to be the matter of expenditure. When all families of a single caste have to celebrate the marriages of their eligible daughters on the same day, they are not compelled to invite guests—their relatives etc.—for dinner or processions, and expense on account of dinner and other minor matters is thus not incurred by them. Each one therefore can manage to spend very small amounts in marriage

festivities without incurring any obloquy, and the custom thus finds favour with them, all, rich or poor, high or low. These Kadvas have no restriction about widow-marriages, and excepting in a few families of high birth or respectability, the widows generally do marry. Consequently, the community as a whole do not feel it a great hardship or very serious inconvenience, to wait till the solemn day of marriage is fixed or to see the young female members of the family becoming widows at a very early age. All this evidently shows that there is no religious idea underlying the custom. No religious restriction appears to prevent them from celebrating marriages in different years when the grown-up girls are of marriageable age, as is the case amongst other castes, but it simply appears to be reverence—very likely blind reverence, to maintain the custom, the origin of which they are not able to trace, nor do they care to know the reasons, as it does not substantially affect them, but on the contrary benefits them monetarily to an appreciable extent.

Some years ago Seth Becharadas Ambaidas Laskari of Ahmedabad, a leading member of the Kadva Kanbis, tried to move the Government to reduce the period of interval at least to seven years instead of 9 to 11, but many of his caste people did not like the idea, and did not give him support in inviting Government interference. He had consequently to give up the attempt.

THE BHARVADS

Amongst the Bharvads marriages are celebrated at intervals of a certain number of years. Some say the period is not fixed, some give a period of 10 years and some say that the period is of 12, 15 or 25 years. In the year 1895, the Bharvads had celebrated marriages in the Navanagar State in Kathiawar, after an interval of 24 years, and over 770 Bharvad couples were married on this occasion.

The population of this community in the four districts of the Baroda State, in Ahmedabad district and in Kaira district is about 32,000. The number of literates amongst them is insignificant.

As a general rule, the Bharvads meet and celebrate the marriages of all brides and bridegrooms in one place. One of the leaders of the community arranges to erect a mandap and a marriage pillar—an ornamental wooden post—and incurs the expenditure of feasting the assembled people. In lieu of

this trouble and expense incurred by him, the parents of the bridegrooms each pay him a sum of Rs. 12-8-0 (some say Rs. 33). They do not celebrate marriages in the place once utilized by them, and for that purpose the wooden post is erected on the spot.

As the marriages are celebrated at certain intervals, girls are to be wedded in their young age. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed in this community, the younger brother of the deceased husband having the first claim. Except in some parts of Gujarat divorce is also easy among them.

As in the case of Kadva Kanbis, the Bharvads appear to follow the custom of celebrating marriages at certain intervals with no religious idea, but simply out of reverence for a long prevailing custom and for the sake of convenience.

The Bharvads have no patron Goddess just as the Kadvas have, and have thus not to depend on, or follow the "order" of, any Mataji. How this custom originated amongst the Bharvads is not known and is not explainable, but one of the chief reasons of adopting it or sticking to it must be the question of expenditure.

A PREFACE TO THE HINDU CATEGORIES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SECTION 4.

INTERNATIONAL JURISTS OF THE SUKRA CYCLE.

(a) *Pre-Grotian.*

AN account of Hindu international law and custom on the lines indicated above, such as might correspond to Cybichowsky's *Das antike Voelkerrecht* or Tauebler's *Imperium Romanum (Staats-Vertraege und Vertrags verhaeltnisse)* is not possible in the present undertaking. We are here concerned with *Sukraniti*. It is a book of political philosophy and has hardly anything to do with positive law and custom, at any rate, until certain solid evidences be forthcoming to point to the objective, historical character of some of the passages. For the present we are interested in the categories of international law such as the Sukra authors developed in the course of their speculations on the *saptamga*.

An important technical question arises at once. Are we justified in employing the term international law, or the categories of this branch of jurisprudence, in the analysis of the philosophical speculations of the Sukra cycle? The question naturally has its European counterpart. And it may be worded, as it

has often been done by Western scholars dealing with Western topics, as follows:—Can the concepts and categories of international law be credited to the philosophers, jurists or politicians who preceded Grotius (1583—1645)?

It will be noticed that the problem before us is but parallel to the one discussed in the previous two sections. Only there the subject-matter was actual international law, the positive customs. In the present instance, on the contrary, the subject-matter is the theory of international law. Whereas the other question was primarily historical, the present one is mainly philosophical. The scepticism in regard to the existence of positive international law in the pre-Westphalian periods is matched by the scepticism in regard to the existence of a philosophy or speculation on the same subject in the pre-Grotian world.

Curiously enough, Grotius and Westphalia imply virtually the identical date in culture-history. Grotius died in 1645, just three years before the Peace of Westphalia. And his book on the laws of war and peace appeared in 1625, the seventh year of the Thirty Years' War.

Now, in the realm, of institutional

achievements of a legal or constitutional character Hindu India is pre-Westphalian. In my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* the conclusion has been reached that whatever be the actual dates of the political institutions in the Hindu states, *substantially* speaking, i. e., in terms of quality they are "pre-modern" (i. e., preindustrial revolution in certain respects, and even pre-Renaissance in certain others). To characterize the entire *corpus* of Hindu achievements in "public law" as pre-Westphalian would therefore be in the main quite appropriate.

In regard to the Hindu *philosophy* of politics in all its branches the conclusion is identical. Whatever be the exact chronology of the authors of the legal, financial, economic, constitutional and other texts, their thoughts and ideals are essentially "pre-modern". The point has been emphasised again and again in the present publication as well as in others. The speculations of the Sukra cycle in regard to international law will be found on examination to be pre-Grotian.

(b) *The Grotian Complex*

The term "pre-Grotian" is being employed here in a strictly technical sense. We are taking Grotius, for the purposes of this book, not as the individual Dutch philosopher who lived from 1583 to 1645 and published his great book in exile at Paris in 1625, but as a synonym for all those ideas and ideals, no matter who the promulgator was in which the foundations of modern international jurisprudence were laid.

This philosophical complex comprises, for our present purpose, four other names besides that of Grotius and covers about two centuries biographically speaking, from 1480 to 1660. To this group belong two Spaniards, (1) Vitoria (1480—1546), the Dominican monk, and (2) Suarez (1548—1617), the Jesuit Father. Of the other two one is an Italian, Gentilis (1552—1608), who because of protestantism, the new religion to which his father became convert, had to live the life of an exile and enjoyed a successful professorial and legal career in England. The last name is that of Zouch (1590—1660), an Englishman, professor, lawyer and judge. It is evident that with the exception of Vitoria all the others were contemporaries of Grotius, Suarez and Gentilis being but seniors by age.

Not all these names* are of equal importance in the history of legal philosophy. Posterity, at any rate, has not assigned the same value to the work of the five different thinkers. But ideologically speaking, they belong together and should be regarded as constituting but one group.

In regard to one name, that of Gentilis, † at any rate, the judgment of scholars has been very flattering. He has often been appraised as almost a co-founder with Grotius of modern international law. His *De Jure Belli* or Law of War 1588—1598) is considered universally to be the best work on war previous to Grotius's book which came about a generation later Hautefeuille in his *Histoire du droit maritime* goes so far as to say that if the human spirit had not produced Grotius's work, Gentilis's treatise on war would have remained until to-day one of its greatest masterpieces.

In recent judgment Grotius and Gentilis have more and more appeared not so much as rivals as complements to each other. For, where Grotius is weak Gentilis is strong and where Gentilis is weak Grotius is strong. Gentilis is fundamentally historic and positive in spirit whereas Grotius is essentially a philosopher and idealist. Contemporary practitioners in positive international law find therefore greater points of contact with Gentilis than with Grotius. On the contrary, those jurists who wish to investigate the basic and fundamental "principles" of the law of nations find Gentilis entirely disappointing. To them Grotius is the veritable master. For our present purpose, therefore, we are justified in including Gentilis in the Grotian complex as but part of a whole.

Why, now, do we bring in the theologian Suarez § into the same group?

It is because although he is by profession as non-political as possible his work on law, *De Legibus*, embodies an eminently modern conception of international law (which he calls *jus gentium*) and more especially that of a community of states.

However "perfect" i. e., self-sufficient the

* For all information about these five founders of international law I am indebted to five of the ten monographs in *Les Fondateurs du Droit International* (Paris, 1904) with a preface by the editor, A. Pillet, professor of the history of treaties at the University of Paris.

† For Gentilis see *Les Fondateurs*, pp. 89-91.

§ "The merits of Suarez are discussed *Ibid.* pp. 100,—101, 103, 110—117, 119, 123"

communities may happen to be, says he, none can live without the help of the others. The states themselves are "sociable beings". And in order to establish this conception of a society of a state Suarez does not have recourse either to Roman law or to Canon law. Rather, he establishes the need of certain new laws and customs, called *jus gentium* that can regulate this international community.

These two principles formulated by Suarez were unknown in the ancient and medieval world. But it is on these postulates, so to say, that the Grotian system is philosophically founded.

It is for the same reason that the other Spaniard and Church Father, Vitoria,* although his work is about a century older than Grotius's, is being accorded a place in the Grotian system. In his *Relectiones Theologicae* or Theological Lectures (1557) the term *jus inter gentes*, i. e., law of nations is used for the first time in the history of legislation. And this term he uses in his definition of *jus gentium* (international law).

Further, in the same spirit as Suarez, Vitoria announces the interdependence of states. "There is a *societas naturalis*, a natural society, of nations," says he. "It is not permissible to a Frenchman to forbid the Spaniards to travel or even live in France, and vice versa". The juridical organisation of an international community is suggested by Vitoria. And this is to include non-Europeans and non-Christians as well, e. g., the American Indians and Moslems as clearly explained by him on various occasions.

Thus, although a theologian he happens to be the "laicizer" of international law. And this both from the standpoint of the relations between Christians and non-Christians as well as from that of the Pope's relations with the sovereigns of Christendom. Vitoria's "modernism" is equally manifest in many of his principles of war. These have become commonplace in and through the international deliberations of the present generation. Last but not least, he has the credit of proclaiming the principle of independence for the American Indians, a principle which the African Conference of Berlin (1885) has placed on record in our days.

In philosophical workmanship it is difficult to analyze the depth and extent of a thinker's

spiritual indebtedness to others. One does not know precisely how much of his ideology Grotius owes his senior contemporaries and precursors in the same line. The work of Suarez is perhaps unknown to him. But Vitoria he knows intimately. And as for Gentilis, Grotius has not only made use of his writings but has also liberally borrowed of them the references to past history. The Grotian complex can therefore be described as a philosophical unit in no arbitrary sense.

Now remains Zouch* to consider. He wrote a number of books on problems of international law, but his originality is considered to be virtually nil. According to Wheaton, Zouch's chief merit consists in paraphrasing the work of Grotius.

Grotius was unpopular or rather hardly known in England, for by the *Mare Liberum* (1608) he advocated the freedom of the seas, a thesis not to be swallowed by the English people, to which indeed Selden (1581-1654), the English publicist, wrote a reply, *Mare Clausum* (1635). It is the constant references of Zouch in his *Jus Feciale* (1650) to the theories of Grotius that made the Dutch philosopher popular among the English students of international law. It may be said, therefore, that 1650 is the date by which Grotius became a British commodity and since he owes this "conquest of England" to Zouch, the latter's contribution to the Grotian complex will be conceded to be quite considerable.

It may be added, finally, that the term "International law" was, as we have noticed in a previous section, coined by Bentham in 1790. But he got it by translating the phrase *jus inter gentes* which occurs in Zouch's work. One must not, however, give Zouch the sole credit for this expression, for, as we have seen, it can be traced back to Vitoria. In any case, as it is to Zouch that the modern world owes the term through Bentham Zouch has another claim to be associated with the Grotian fathers of international law.

(c) *Modernism in the Ancients*

It is beyond the chronological limits thus established for the ideological system known

* Vitoria's contributions to "Grotianism" may be seen *Ibid*, pp. 7, 8 15, 19, 34--35.

* See the chapter on Zouch, *Ibid* pp 321--322, 328--330. It may be mentioned incidentally that although he is the popularizer of Grotius his work is more historical than philosophical. He belongs, like Gentilis, to the "positive" school of law.

as the Grotian complex that we have to locate the speculations of the Sukra cycle in international law. But it will have to be noticed very often that the Sukra jurists employ categories that belong to the Grotian world. Even in the matter of substantial contributions the conceptions of *Sukraniti* will once in a while appear very "modern." The Hindu professors of international law who are responsible for this treatise speak at times the language as well as the thought of Grotian fathers from Vitoria to Zouch.

The distinction between the ancient and the modern is, as a rule, deep indeed, and yet it is not always quite sharp and clear. The "survivals," persistences of the primitive the innate universals, the eternal verities, the fundamental uniformities etc., are too many and too conspicuous to be ignored or minimized in the history of philosophical evolution. Even although as curios, these identities or resemblances between the past and the present deserve observation and study in an analysis of the manifestations of the human *psyche*.

We have seen how in the field of institutions the French Revolution could not do anything but abolish the *droit d'aubaine*, unjust and inhuman as it was, and go back to the "primitive" Roman law of aliens (*peregrins*) as embodied in the *jus gentium*. In other words, the modern conception of equality had to be imported by Europe from the example of the ancients. Or rather, the ancients knew how to solve certain problems and the moderns have but learnt to do alike.

Similarly, the old Hindu law of *Stridhana* (women's property) established an institution the like of which has been attempted by modern mankind only so late as in 1886 (The Married Women's Property Act of England. Another instance of how a human achievement chronologically primitive, may still be substantially modern.

The history of public finance will furnish an interesting case. In the Middle Ages, as Brissaud tells us in his *Histoire du droit public français* "taxation" as an institution all but disappeared. The lords or *seigneurs* knew only tolls or fines such as could be exacted from vassals or serfs for the use of the masters' properties. It was not before the birth of the nation-states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a "public" function

of the state *i. e.*, as the right of the ruler to compel the citizens to pay out of their property began to be established in Europe. And yet in India under the Mauryas and the Cholas * and likewise in the Roman Empire the rulers knew how to demand "taxes" from their subjects as subjects *i. e.*, not merely as tenants or vassals on their personal estates. "Modernism" is thus an ancient phenomenon.

Such instances can be multiplied. They will not serve perhaps to disprove that the dynamic march of history has cumulatively established a state of things which *ensemble* is fundamentally different in form and spirit from that prevailing in the older epochs. But they none the less can serve to convince us that one should not be surprised if here and there certain items be brought forward in which the moderns and the ancients appear but as doubles of each other. †

It is only in this sense that the following judgment of Pillet in the general preface to *Les Fondateurs du droit international* is acceptable. Speaking of the pre-Grotians he says: "The law of nations as a scientific doctrine is not the fruit due to the progress of our epoch, not even a product of the French revolution or of the religious reform of the sixteenth century. The law of nations is much older than all this; and if it is impossible, in spite of Grotius, to retrace it back to the Greeks and the Romans, its origins must have to be sought, if one is to be just, in the remotest time of the Middle Ages."

The international jurists of the Sukra cycle have had no Hindu Grotiuses to continue and develop their work until today. So far as Hindu thought is concerned it would therefore be absurd to claim for its creators a retrospective continuity from the moderns backwards, just as Pillet does for the medieval thinkers of Europe. But in an impartial examination of the laws of war and peace as developed in the Sukra cycle the touchstone of the Grotian complex will not fail to furnish us with many significant data regarding the juristic sense and political tendencies of the medieval mind.

* Articles on "Finance" and "English Finance" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.); *Pol. Inst. and Theor. Hind.* p. 117.

† *Supra*, ch. III, See 2 (c), (d), sec. 3 (c).

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE KU. KLUX. KLAN.

By A. K. SIDDHANTA M.A., S.T.M. (*Harvard*)

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS :

AN impartial statement on the K. K. K. is very difficult to obtain from the press because the secrecy of the Klan combined with the temper of the modern press would not allow that.

Placing the anti-Klan Hearst (American) publications on one side and the secret Klan literatures on the other, one can however see the two extremes.

As an alien who has no interest in acquiring an American Citizenship, the writer has found it rather easy to see the Klan from an impartial view-point. A few illuminating articles in that famous American Weekly, "The Outlook" (by Stanley Frost) and Prof. Mecklin's book on the subject have helped the writer to strike the 'golden mean.' The Klan literature handed over to the writer by a Klan-member were of the greatest help (especially the Ashville Report, July 1923).

To be frank, the Klan, inspite of its strength, has not appealed to the writer with any amount of real strength. To a sensible American, the Klan will not be thought of as a 'national' help : it is a good protestant fraternity for whites alone but when it talks of America as a whole it reminds one of the mother of two, who will not allow one of her children to enter its home because she loves the other one alone.

2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to the latest edition of the 'Webster International'.

"The Ku Klux Klan is a secret political organisation in the Southern States (U.S.A.) active for several years after the close of the Civil War, and having for its chief aim the repression of the political power of the freedmen : after this organisation had come to be chiefly made up of the more restless and lawless elements and had committed numerous outrages, the Government, in 1871, by the passage of the Enforcement Act (popularly known as the Ku Klux Act or Force Bill) took steps to suppress it, and thereafter its activity gradually ceased."

According to Prof. J. M. Mecklin (his recent book "Ku Klux Klan"), in 1873 the Klan was outside the South, a synonym for the most sinister and dangerous forces in American life. No one dared to prophesy at that time that within less than half a century this secret, oath-bound order, which was once associated in the North with clandestine murder and masked rebellion, would be resuscitated and spread to every section of this great country. Such however is the fact. From the original 34 members with which Mr. Simmons started in 1915 the number has now (1924) reached more than five millions* All the principal journals and papers in this country are daily printing lines columns or pages which are directly or indirectly concerned with the Klan.

When, however, we enter into the topic we must first distinguish between the two stages of the Klan organisation that have occurred during the last ten years (1915-1924).

3. 1915-1924 : THE KLAN CREED

The Modern Klan was organised by William J. Simmons in 1915, enjoyed a precarious existence for several years, suddenly assumed proportions of national importance in 1920 (after the Clarke-Tyler conjunction), survived the attack of the powerful 'New York World' and a searching investigation by a committee of Congress, and today boasts of a following that approximates more than five millions.

(a) SIMMONS-CLARKE REGIME

The first stage of the modern Klan life starts from Oct. 16, 1915, when Colonel William Joseph Simmons together with 34 friends (three of which were bona fide members of the Old Klan) signed the petition for a charter. The charter was issued by the state of Georgia Dec. 4, 1915, and a special charter was granted by the superior court of Fulton country, Georgia, July 1, 1916

The following is taken from the Constitution

* The number is however now, 1926, on the decline.

and By-laws of the Order—a Summary from the Klan pamphlet—"Yesterday, To-day and Forever" by the Imperial Wizard

(OBJECTS AND PURPOSES) ARTICLES II (SUMMARISED).

Section 1. The object of the order shall be—a common brotherhood of strict regulations for the purpose of cultivating and promoting real patriotism toward our Civil Government, to practise an honorable clanishness toward each other; to exemplify a practical benevolence; to shield the sanctity of the home and chastity of womanhood to maintain white supremacy, to teach and faithfully inculcate a high spiritual philosophy through an exalted ritualism, and by a practical devotedness to conserve, protect and maintain the distinctive institutions, rights, privileges, principles and ideals of a pure Americanism.

Section 2. To create and maintain an institution by and through which the present and succeeding generations shall commemorate and memorialize the great sacrifice, chivalric service and patriotic achievements of our original society—the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction Period of American history.

Section 3. This order is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Justice and Patriotism; its peculiar object being, *first* to protect the weak and the innocent from the lawless and the brutal *2nd*, to protect and defend the U. S. A. constitution and law. *3rd*, to aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws.....to do the duty without fear and without reproach.

As to what it is,—the Klan is, according to Emperor Simmons's words, a standard fraternal order promulgating fraternal conduct and not merely a 'social association.' It is a duly incorporated, legally recognised institution, honest in purpose, noble in sentiment and practical in results that should command the hearty respect of all real Americans throughout the nation. It is not encouraging or condoning any propaganda of religious intolerance nor racial prejudice. It is an association of *Real* men who believe in *Being* something in *Doing* things worthwhile and who are in all things *100 per cent Pure* American, yet it is vastly more than merely a social fraternal order.

As to the prerequisites to citizenship in the Invisible Empire, the Imperial Wizard's statements may be boiled down thus:—

(a) This order is not an ultra-exclusive institution, but its membership is composed of "picked" men. (b) The member of the order must take his oath seriously, must swear an unqualified allegiance to the U. S. A. government, its flag and its constitution.

(c) No man is wanted in this order who does not esteem the government of U. S. A. above any other government, civil, political or ecclesiastical, in the whole world.

(d) Only native-born white American citizens who believe in the tenets of the Christian religion and owe no allegiance of any degree or nature to any foreign government, nation, political institution, sect, people or person, are 'eligible.'

(e) The organisation stands for such principles as—maintenance of law and order among themselves;

suppression of graft by public office-holders; preventing the cause of mob-violence and lynching; sensible and patriotic immigration-laws; separation of church and state and freedom of speech and press, a freedom of such that does strike at or imperil our government or the cherished institutions of our people.

(f) The Klan has no intention to make any fights on the Roman catholic church as a religious organisation but it opposes any attempt to combine the church and state in the U. S. A. Further the Klan does oppose the attitude of the Catholic church on our public school system.

The Klan is not anti-Jewish: it is strictly a Christian organisation and hence Jews cannot sincerely be a part of it.

The Klan is not anti-negro: only it believes in the god-given inferiority of that colored race; so long the negro stays by itself without claiming social equality and intermarriage he will be left undisturbed.

(g) The white race is the ruling race by right of inheritance and so long it has not to surrender this right or to compromise it with any other race black, red, yellow or brown, it won't bother with the others.....Let all the non-white race understand that in the long run the white man is the truest friend and safest counsellor of all other races.

The first five years of the Klan life (1915-20) were very slow in growth. The Imperial Wizard Simmons had proven himself to be a capable, "spellbinder" but an unpractical dreamer with little organising ability. His society was in financial straits and it had a membership of not more than five thousand. At this juncture two expert organisers joined Simmons: Mr. Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler were both experienced organisers and proceeded to "sell" the Klan to the American public (to use Prof. Mecklin's phrase). That was in June, 1920. And by the next year (October 1921) when the Klan was investigated by Congress, the Klan had grown to about 100,000 members.

This period of remarkable expansion was accompanied by a wave of lawlessness and crime which rightly or wrongly, was associated with the Ku Klux Klan. The New York World, in spite of its altruistic intentions could not prove conclusively the accusations brought before the Congress against the Klan. The World's exposure was published in 18 leading dailies, including such southern papers as the New Orleans Times Picayune, Houston Chronicle, Dallas-News, Galveston News, Columbus (Ga) Enquirer-Sun, and the Oklahaman.

Perhaps the secrecy of the order and the loyalty of its members towards the Klan saved itself from an untimely death.

For the want of definite legal proofs, no ground for Federal action against the Klan was established. The Klan, in consequence, got a better footing and ever since that year (1921) it has flourished like a green bay tree and to-day (1924) there are about five millions of Klan people.

(b) THE EVANS' REGIME

The Congressional inquiry, the exposures in newspapers and magazines, and the storm of condemnation which followed nearly broke Simmon's heart. He understood it very little as Stanley Frost puts it ("Outlook" Dec. 26, 1923). Although the Klan was so organised that he could never have been ousted, he resigned, undoubtedly under pressure from the Evans' crowd.

If Colonel Simmons was a preacher and a dreamer, Dr. Hiram W. Evans, a Texas-dentist was a practical man. About the first thing that Evans did when he took charge two years ago was to cancel Clarke's contract—a contract with Simmons whereby this clever organiser of drives was getting 80% of the initiation fee of \$10 (ten dollars) each. Clarke had built a splendid home in Atlanta but Evans lived for a while in a \$65-a-month flat and his present home is a modest one. When Evans took charge, the Klan treasury held about \$100,000. The finances, by the way, as Stanley Frost puts it, are under complete control of the Wizard. By July 31, 1923, the treasury held assets of \$1,087,273 and liabilities of \$1,705 only.

After attending to the graft-question, Dr. Evans took up the question of lawlessness. The practical mind of Evans discovered that 'non-violence' would strengthen the Klan cause considerably in the North. First he attended individual cases of violence and when he found out that this was not enough, called a meeting last July (1923) at Asheville, North Carolina. The full text of all the papers read at this July meeting of Grand Dragous (i.e., State heads)—which have been kindly lent me by a Klan member reveals a newer-light. Of those 26 or 27 papers read in that meeting some are as bright and cheerful as the others are gloomy and dangerous. There is the same stress given on the white skin, on its non-Jewish and non-Catholic but its protestant side; the racial ideals e.g., 'we stand for white supremacy' and that 'we must keep this a whiteman's country' were preached to the extreme; but more thought was given

to make the Klan a solid and widely expansive body. Among the constructive program placed before the meeting the one read by the Grand Dragon of Oregon (on the Junior Klan question for boys) seemed something very interesting to me and I shall critically examine it in a new section later. Be it remembered here, the Evans' regime did not change the ideal originally set by Simmons which I have already quoted partly: all what Evans did was to re-word them only in a few cases and follow a practical and safe method to achieve the end. Evans accepted the Simmons' ideals, purposes, and organisation and tried to achieve success in a better method: with this attitude Evans had naturally to retain all the weaknesses that were present in the Simmons' Klan.

4. THE OLD EVILS IN THE EVANS-REGIME.

We have already noted the several prerequisites to citizenship in the Invisible Empire and I have quoted to the effect that the Members of the Order must take the oath seriously. This Oath of allegiance to the Klan is covered by four sections with 'blank' spaces to be filled up by the intending member. The sections are on (i) Obedience, (ii) Secrecy (iii) Fidelity (iv) Klan-nishness. Anyone interested with the actual wording of the Oath may apply to any Klan-offices which are in these days (1924) open almost day and night or can see part of it quoted by Stanley Frost in "Outlook" (p. 21) of January 2, 1924.

When General Forrest, the Grand Wizard issued an order which dissolved the original Klan in 1869 after its four years of life, the idea behind his act was the abolition of 'an Organisation of Terror'—an organisation which was so effective that its creators destroyed it carefully and completely.

Yet this is the organisation which the new Klan has imitated and of which it claims to be the heir: this is the tradition it took over. What is worse, the new Klan (Simmons' and Evans') has added to the formulas and purposes of the older order, which drew no line against Catholics, Jews or alien borns, consequently, some members of the older Order now opposes the Klan, as started by Simmons, systematised by Clarke and polished by Evans. One such member wrote, (quoted in "Outlook" Jan. 2, 1924).

This outfit is a plain imposter. There is nothing of the Old Klan about it but the name and nonsense. * * The old Klan had Catholics in it and Jews.

No man who loves the memory of the confederacy is going to join a crowd that would bar out (1866) Judah P. Benjamin, General Beauregard, and a dozen like them. No, Sir!"

Thus we see the twentieth century Klan which as Simmons says (Mecklin P. 4) he took twenty years to think out as to how to launch, came out after all in 1915 as a very narrow organisation---narrowed down to native-born, white, Protestants only. From the protestant point of view. Simmons' attempt might have had its bright side, but from the national---nay from the really Christian point of view it was very narrow indeed. As a 'crusade' as a 'curing agent' within Protestantism itself, the Evans' Klan has undoubtedly its value but the Christian 'brotherhood of man' does not necessarily mean white, Protestant brotherhood only. The Klan is claimed to be a white Protestant fraternity with its own *secrecy* and rituals. Talking of secrecy, however, the Klan differs from the secrecy maintained by others in that it hides its members as well. Yet this 'hiding' is very necessary for the success of the Invisible Empire: quick and effective work is thereby easily attained. Time is perhaps coming when the hoods and masks will be replaced by that 'Klan button' all the time. The invisibility of this Klan Empire make itself utterly irresponsible except to the consciences of Klansmen: it is a great risk no doubt; the public would naturally oppose a 'power' which has unlimited scope and power in the dark. Further, the implied threat of the mask is a weakness to Klan structure itself. The mask itself is a threat and public opinion would naturally reach against it, besides, an irresponsible adventurer or a disguised criminal can find an easy shelter within this masked band, if, of course, he has the tact to retain his disguises carefully within the Order.

Further, in a democratic country like America the Empire idea with an emperor at its head is not very encouraging. The power and autocracy with which the Imperial Wizard reigns and controls the funds does certainly not suit the mind of America: the form of organisation therefore must be changed. The old 'order' need not be adopted now! Why adopt those grotesque and ludicrous names and language. Stanley Frost says, 'By official title its officers are an array of mythological monsters and nightmare absurdities which just naturally start chuckles (P. 22. Jan. 2, 1924 Outlook). For example, gathered round the Imperial Wizard,

are a Klonsilium composed of the following "genii" all "imperial"---Klalliff, Klazik, Klokard, Kludd (chaplain) Kligrapp (secretary) Klabe (Treasurer), Kladd, Klarago, Klexter, 'Klousel, Night-Hawk and four Klokann. . .

The proclamation of the Klan constitution reads.

"To all Genii, Grand Dragons and Hydras, Great Titans and Furies, Giants, Exalted Cyclops and Terrors, and to Citizens of the invisible Empire" etc.

The days of the week in the Klan Kalender are, "dark, deadly, dismal, doleful, desolate, dreadful and desperate"; the weeks are "woeful, weeping, wailing, wonderful and weird" and the months are, "bloody, gloomy, hideous, fearful, furious, alarming, terrible, horrible, mournful, sorrowful, frightful and appalling". Thus the revised Klan constitution (by Dr. Evans) was officially proclaimed on Nov. 29, 1922 or on the Doleful Day of the Weird Week of the Terrible Month of the year of the Klan LVI" (original Klan dates to 1866).

All this symbol of 'alarm' and 'terror' is not only funny to the public mind but quite unpsychological for an intelligent member to take seriously as he ought to. It was asserted by Dr. Evans that all these difficulties together with many others are partly or wholly real ones and that he was making attempts to remove or modify them. But the Imperial Wizard defends the mask and hood very earnestly because they are very valuable as an advertising feature and are impressive to the average mind at least. All this is necessary to gain more and more members: thousands are being initiated at every initiation ceremony so that before the November election (1924) the order might control members enough to control the helm of the government by ousting all non-protestants and non-whites.*

Is the Klan trying to bring out the Kingdom of God in America on a strictly sectarian basis? All Americans, have to face this question with an open and a critical mind.

5. THE KLAN-MIND.

Eliminate the 20 millions of Catholics, the 12 millions of Negroes, the two or more millions of Jews and 20 millions of foreign-born---54 (or so) millions in all; and from

* Fortunately for U. S. A. the Klan people did not succeed as well as many outsiders expected.

among the 50 millions that is left find out your Klan-member.

The Imperial Wizard Evans openly declares that the Klan is mainly for the average people and hence the background, rituals and work of it would be such as to impress such a class more than the others. It is true that the Evans-regime of the Klan boasts of a pretty good number of the better sort of people,—protestant preachers, businessmen or students; but most of them do not react on the 'popular' external aspect of the Klan as the others do. The preachers who think of Catholicism as nothing but a bundle of old-type formulæ, the businessmen who need some protection from the more efficient business-like Jews, and the students who want to see more of life through a big organisation or who were brought up in an uncritical homogeneous atmosphere—such people would naturally add to the members of the Klan. The presence of such an element might do the Klan some good in the long run—when the betterside of humanity, the really moral side that is now lying hidden in such 'qualified' folks would take the upper hand and change the Klan wholly from inside or destroy it altogether when the time comes.

The Klan originated in the south and even now it has its stronghold in the south where the majority of the native whites are intensely protestant. Originally Presbyterians, they are now mostly Baptists and Methodists (Mecklan P. 100). It is no wonder then why the Baptists—not all of them—are not anti-Klan. Why criticise the Roman Catholics? These Southern Protestants are no better than the Catholics so far as the strength of 'un-reasoning loyalty' goes: Uncritically and loyally these "Southern Protestants swallow the crude ejaculations of Mr. Bryan and the Fundamentalists against Evolution and Modernism in religion'.

It is this mental background with its provincial fear of all things foreign and its uncritical but loyal Americanism which places the people in a better situation to fill the Klan—through. The strength of the Klan lies in that large, well-meaning but more or less ignorant and unthinking middle class, whose inflexible loyalty has preserved with uncritical fidelity the traditions of the original American stock. Let the truly patriotic American, the American who believes in a true Democracy find out if the most

dangerous weakness in a democracy is the uninformed and unthinking average man!

But the Klan is not confined to the South: it has spread considerably to the North as well: it is so because there are Psychological factors which are common to the mind of America as a whole.

This organisation with its mysterious signs, its queer name, its fantastic costume, and its ritual offered some relief from the deadly monotony of small town-life. Its moral idealism which is so superficial and cheap from the international and interracial point of view, fills a need not met by business or social and civic life. Poor *dry* souls! Has Protestantism been failing through its want in rituals etc.? Why not go then to Catholicism and take something from them as the Church of England has—instead of going away from it to find something akin to it in some unreligious way? Sinclair Lewis, through his "Main Street" portrays the dreariness of small-town life in the middle West (U. S. A): no wonder the Klan is popular in parts of this region as in the south:

Thus we see that the Klan has learned, as its inveterate enemy, the Catholic Church, learned long ago, the power of the appeal to the spectacular and the mysterious. Are we entitled to draw the conclusion then that "the Klan is a refuge for mediocre men, if not for weaklings and for obvious reasons"?

The Klan talks of 100 p. c. Americanism and so one finds on every page of the Klan literature an insistent, imperative and even intolerant demand for *like-mindedness*: the eternal quarrel of the Klan with the Jew and the Negro is that mental and physical differences seem to have conspired to place them in groups entirely to themselves so that it becomes to all intents and purposes impossible for them to attain with anything like completeness this like-mindedness synonymous with 100 p. c. Americanism.

Behind this like-mindedness of the Klans' insistence there is a measure of *democratic commonsense* however. The modern Klan, more or less a post-war organisation, undoubtedly represents the natural reaction of conservative Americans against the perils of revolutionary and un-American ideas. It is a militant attempt to secure team-work in national life (Mecklin P. 111).

Back however, of the Klan's crude insistence upon like-mindedness, there is a shallow and superficial thinking. To the average Klagsman what appears on the surface

of things to be alike is alike, what appears unlike is unlike. The mere accident of a black skin is a great excuse for the negroes' total elimination from the charmed circle of 100 p. c. 'white' Americanism.

That it is God's wish that a Negro be a subordinate citizen to his white Church-brother, and that every Catholic and Jew are consciously or unconsciously 'alien' in nature---these are too sweeping generalisations for a thoughtful mind to accept. 'All the Klan asks is a superficial conformity'---says Prof. Mecklin on this point.

The problem of the Klan is the problem of stubborn, uncritical mental stereotypes. Thousands of Klan-members have stereotyped conceptions of all foreigners as Bolsheviks, of labor unions as socialistic, of men with black skins as essentially inferior to men with white-skins, of the Pope as the Anti-Christ of the book of Revelation and of every Catholic as an actual or potential traitor to his country. Much might be said in defense of stereotypes as part of our mental furniture. They are useful in that they are economical. The average man, for whom the Klan is ever open, is saved by the mental stereotypes of all the mental wear and tear which would otherwise have been a bar to his progress. *But* our stereotypes should at all times be our mental servants and never our intellectual tyrants. Does the average Klan folk go any way better than the Catholic Churchman in this respect?

Lastly, the part played by the feelings aroused by the war must not be ignored in the Klan-Psychology. The war, with its hymns of hate, its stories of poison gas and human carnage, its secret spivings upon fellow Nationals, its account of Belgian atrocities, its imprisonment of radicals, its fearful tales of Bolshevik designs upon American institutions, had opened up the fountains of the great deep of national feeling (Macklin P. 122). The Klan offered just what the war-torn distraught emotions of the nations demanded: The irrational 'fear' psychology that followed on the heels of the War has had a great influence on the Klan. The fear of the Negro in the south, the fear of the Catholic in power, the fear of the Jew in business---all these fears have compelled the Klan to build a fortified wall round its protestant boundary. The fear-Psychology has taken a great part in America's modern Immigration policy. America is a great business-country. The highly individualistic protestant has a

lower position in this business world than the Catholics and the Jews---the latter two having better co-operative instincts guiding them. Is the Klanism then just an attempt to make the protestants more like the other two enemies in unity and co-operation in business?

6. KLAN AND AMERICA:

America is more like India than it is like England at least in one aspect: I mean in its heterogeneity of race-mixtures. On my way to America from England I met with the world represented in one boat. These people, who have been coming in great numbers so long and would still be coming on now though in lesser number, have to be assimilated. If there are non-assimilable elements they must not come here: those who have already come but have been living so long as aliens must either be assimilated or suffer the consequences. That is what may be termed the sentiment of a fullblooded American.

The Klan's attitude towards the Immigration policy of U. S. A. is very natural and justifiable. The patriotic motive of the Klan-man is very praise-worthy: he is right when he pleads for a reduction of the number of immigrants: but when he pleads for the superiority of the nordic race and the inferiority of the mediterranean races there is some doubt in our mind as to the real motive of the Klan-man behind such ideas.

Further, when the Klan-mind goes to Americanise America by pleading for abolishment of all parochial schools it is going a little too far: the sentiment of the Catholics is as valuable as that of any others. If the Catholic father feels that there is no religion in America's modern public schools, he has a right to break his boy or girl in a more suitable atmosphere: Religion does not keep a man from being patriotic. The American Catholics are not Roman Catholics in the strict sense of the term: To a Catholic the Pope may be great but in times of 'need' and 'call'---the country comes first. This was exemplified in the last war. America fought with Germany and yet many German Americans fought against their fatherland. As a country itself, America has a great assimilating power. The welcome the new comer gets here (The black-skins alone excepted), the privileges and liberty he enjoys in this country turns him at once as one of the many. Any one who has worked in an American

Catholic home knows how different is he from the others of his faith outside America. The aged alien may not easily assimilate but his children could if only they are not discouraged. The Klan is now thinking of opening a *Junior order for the American boys*. Such an act would but prepare America for another civil war in the future—a War between the Protestants and non-Protestants. The Grand Dragon of Oregon in his speech in the July meeting (at Asheville, last year) said, "the boys of America have been much neglected so far: The Y. M. C. A. The Boy Scouts of America, the De Molay and various Church organisations have done much but have all fallen far short of the wholesale achievement and permanent service which the growing needs of the boy require." Then the Oregon Dragon describes what the Junior Order of the Klan could do in this line: the gospel of *hate* would be preached complete and the future American would grow up in a narrow atmosphere if he is allowed to feel differently about the non-Protestant and non-white from the very childhood. The international bond of love and fellowship that is so well fostered by the 'scouting' and other Kindred Organisations can never be surpassed by a sectarian, narrow fraternity. If the Klan feels for America first and for America as a whole, it should think twice and see how the different elements up here can live more in peace and harmony. All what Dr. Evans and his associates need now is a little bit of thinking in the truly Christian way.

The Klan in politics is a very interesting figure in these days. As there are both Democrats and Republicans who are Klan members, it cannot come forward and have a platform of its own: because in such an attempt as that it will destroy itself. So all the Klan can do now is to name its 'pet' candidate.* The Klan is trying to capture the whole country by and by; and the first step to that effect is to enlist as many members as possible. The quality of the membership has naturally now been deteriorating everyday and when the elections are over, if Dr. Evans eliminates most of the undesirable elements that are now pouring in the Order there will come a danger to the Klan itself from all such rejections as has already come from the Simmons-Clarke pact.

If however all members be retained inside the Order without question then too the danger is there: the worse types will contaminate the better ones and hence the quick dissolution might come as it came in 1869 so suddenly.

7. CRITICISM AND CONCLUSION

The Klan gives its first importance on the 100 p. c. Americanisation. Well, the conditions of nationality are 1) Homogeneity of mind (2) inter communication (3) Leadership (4) a clearly defined national purpose (5) international rivalries (6) administration of backward people (7) continuity of existence. Let us see how far is the Klan helping America to form a real nation.

(1) The American Government through its laws, liberty and principles of education is doing its utmost to produce a 'homo'-out of the 'hetero'-geney' but the K. K. K. is trying to produce a white protestant homogeneity on a principle which does not back the broad principles of the Government which is *for* the people and *by* the people. In its wording of its principles the Klan does not preach hate but outside its circle it amounts to that: narrow sectarianism can not lead to a universal brotherhood.

(2) If by 'national life' is meant the white protestant life of America, there is the 'freedom of communication' there; but between the K. K. K. and the non protestant world there is a thick wall.

(3) Lack of good leadership has been a great factor in the Klan so far: time will show if Dr. Evans is a good leader; to me he is all right as a Klan-man and might do well as a President of Klan America but certainly not of the broader and more sensible America.

(4) The Klan has a clearly defined purpose but it is hardly 'national'. The Klan ideal is only for 50 p.c. or less of America. If the Klan wants to unite the white protestants it might be a great success but let it please stop talking of the national policy of America as a whole.

(5) Through rivalries alone the Klan might be doing a great good to the country if, of course, such rivalries lead through the proper channels. Through rivalries, each organisation might find its good and bad side with reference to the whole (which is the 'Constitution of America' in this case) and could lead itself towards the common goal.

* In the last U. S. A. elections they did support their pet candidate but not very successfully.

We shall wait for the coming constructive programs of the Klan. But the danger comes when the rivalry is based on religion or on some such delicate issues.

(6) This nation would do itself good if instead of 'letting go' the Negro problem, i.e., instead of being either bitter or indifferent to them, the Klan takes up the problem in a constructive mood. When the Klan comes forward and stops all those lynchings, when it seeks to give the Southern Negroes their share of education then only it would be doing a great 'good turn' to the nation.

(7) America so far has been a very new country and it can assure its future continuity of existence through a common, co-operative thinking,—a step which is impossible for the Klan of to-day.

So taken as a whole, the Klan is not doing so much of patriotic service to the country as it thinks it is. It is a great white-protestant experiment for average people and as such is a blessing to such people but so long it stays on its narrow unchristian level, America as a whole does not much expect from it except as a 'menace'

to the other loyal American citizens who are outside the Klan. Its attitude towards the color of the skin is ignorant and amusing; its arguments for a white-supremacy is unscientific and unhistorical (For ex. it says, "Distinction among races is not accidental but designed"); its sentiment for keeping America a white man's country is rather a 'late' effusion and is paradoxical: the economic life here wants Negroes to come but they must stay as ignorant and obedient people: thus the Klan pleads for a subordinate citizenship for the Blacks: 12 millions of these blacks have so much scared the 'whites'! The 'purity of blood' question is a great thing and the Klan can start the work by first educating the white males and then the blacks as well. The right type of education, and not laws and external regulation, can only stop the intermixture of blood.

In short, when the Klan attempts to make the average white protestants unified in business, Church life and in politics—it might be a success but it should not talk of attempting anything higher so long it sticks to its present ideals.

STATUS OF INDIANS ABROAD

(A HISTORICAL SURVEY)

BY R. DAYAL, I. C. S.

[Communicated by the President, Indian Unity League, Cambridge]

INTRODUCTION

THE problem of the Indians overseas is of vital importance, not only to India but to the whole human race. For India, it is a question which affects her honour and self-respect; but for the rest of the world, its right and just solution means the stability of peace and harmonious relations between different peoples. The Indian problem is only a part of the greater and more complex inter-racial problem,—the problem of the whites and the coloured. The general racial prejudices are in no slight degree responsible for the embitterment and resentment felt towards the just aspirations of the Indians to acquire equal rights with the European

racers, wherever they happen to live together. They are almost completely resident in the different parts of the British Empire and only a small number are in foreign countries. But the problem involves not only the status of the few millions that are resident abroad, but the status of the whole Indian race.

The question splits itself in two parts. The first refers to conditions regulating the admission of Indians to other parts of the world, in particular to those of the British Empire: the second bears on the disabilities of those Indians who are actually domiciled in those parts.

I

To take these two aspects in order, we

shall first deal with the Emigration of Indians. From 1800 onwards Indians crossed to Sumatra to work on the sugar, spices and cocoanut plantations. The emigrants mostly belonged to the working class and this has much to do with the later complexities of the case. The officially assisted emigration dates sometime after the abolition of slavery in 1833. In 1830, some 150 emigrants were taken over to Bourbon by a French merchant. The abolition of slavery was unfortunately followed by its worse (because it was disguised) version in the form of 'indentured labour system'. One need not be surprised if the private diaries of British statesmen in these times were to reveal that the prospect of commanding a large number of Indian labour had much to do with the acquiescence in the abolition of slavery, accorded by the British colonists and planters. The French, the Spanish, and the Dutch colonists depended on Negro-labour, and so did the British for a long time. But when once in possession of a great country like India, the British got an advantage over their commercial rivals in respect of labour. Did this influence the British lead in the matter of Abolition of Slavery? Perhaps. Be that as it may, it is interesting to notice the chronological sequence, - slavery abolished in 1833; the system of indentured labour, that has been regularly described as semi-slavery was started in 1834.

The Emigration Act of 1837 permitted emigration to Mauritius, British Guiana, and Australia; later it was extended to Jamaica, Trinidad, Natal and Fiji. The Indentured labour system was looked down upon by the emancipated negro, and always pricked the conscience of the Government of India, as also of the Imperial Government. This is evidenced by the numberless committees appointed to look into the abuses of the system, the various suspensions and resump-tions of the system. A few dates will help to see clearly how the abuses of the system were apparent from the beginning, and how yet the system was allowed to continue, under protests and petitions of the planters. In Mauritius, the system was introduced in 1834, suspended in 1837, resumed in 1842 again suspended in 1844, resumed in 1849, finally abolished in 1911. In British Guiana, the system was introduced in 1837, suspended in 1838, resumed in 1844, suspended in 1848, resumed again in 1858, and finally abolished in 1917. In Natal, it

originated in 1860, suspended in 1869, resumed in 1872, and finally abolished in 1911. The evils resulting from this system of semi-slavery in the form of degraded economic, moral and political condition led to its abolition altogether in 1922. The Emigration Act of 1922 provides for the assisted emigration of the unskilled only on such terms as the Governor-General in Council may specify after they have been approved of by the Indian Legislatures.

Ceylon and Malaya are exempted from the provisions of this act. Deputations from Fiji and British Guiana visited India after the passing of the act and laid schemes for the future settlement of the emigrants in the colonies. The Indian Legislature consequently appointed a Committee to report on the conditions in British Guiana. The Report makes a very sad reading. It is not unanimous. The majority report of the Indians is strongly against the resumption of emigration unless material improvements are made in the conditions of the colony, and unless the colony gave (i) a guarantee of equality in political status, (ii) extension of educational facilities, (iii) a recognition of Hindu and Muslim marriages, (iv) better housing especially for married emigrants, and (v) improvements of the supply and quality of drinking water &c. The English member saw nothing objectionable in the conditions in British Guiana, and thought that emigration affords Indians a good chance to improve their material condition. The Indian Community in the Colony does not favour emigration from India till 1930, as they want time to settle down and raise themselves from the present state of backwardness. They are opposed to a purely 'labour scheme.' Under these circumstances, it is unlikely that emigration to British Guiana will be resumed; but the report brings out the main points about the Indian situation. It may be remarked that the conditions in the other Colonies e.g., Fiji, Jamaica and Trinidad are equally bad.

There are two facts which may be noted in this connection. The first is that the Colonial Government has always showed itself solicitous of the interests of the planters only. The colonies are really commercial concerns. Questioned about the inadequate housing provisions for the married people and the immortality prevalent, one of the sugar magnates of British Guiana said, "Sugar plantations being business

concerns, have to be run on business lines, and that they had to consider proposals involving additional expenditure, recurring or non-recurring, from that point of view etc. The penalties imposed on labourers for trivial offences and the general treatment meted out are deplorable. The state-interference, when and if it comes, is in the interests of the planters. Thus it is that more than 250,000 coloured people, 125,000 of which are Indians, are kept by about 10,000 Europeans in a state slightly better than that of slaves. The favourable scheme put forward in 1920 was repudiated by the Colonial Government in 1922 when the Indian Deputation arrived there,—because the economic boom of 1919 had been superceded by a depression in 1921 and the planters had no need of any emigrants. The flow of Indian labour is thus to be regulated by the need of the European planters, and their conditions of life there are to be judged and decided by them !

The second fact is the great difference between governmental professions and governmental practices. In some cases, Indians suffer from no disabilities on paper, but in actual practice they do not enjoy the privileges they deserve in virtue of citizenship and constitution of the Colony. The Indian is considered to be of an inferior race and is described in the official records as of the 'Coolie race'. It is a matter of satisfaction, that after an injustice done to India for over a century, the system of indentured labour is now abolished.

So far the question of Indian emigration has been dealt with. It rested with the Indian Government, which was responsible for its introduction, and which has now abolished it. The right of entry into other parts is at the disposal of the respective governments, and we shall now see how Indians have fared in that respect.

Except for the few colonies where the European members are still anxious for immigrant labour, the other dominions of the Empire have shut out the Indians. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have been fighting for the policy of white dominions for long and have been fairly successful. The United States of America have after a long time, joined in the racial strife and is determined on shutting out the Asiatics. The reasons for such an attitude are given in different forms by different governments and may be briefly considered here.

• The whole question of immigration came

forward in an urgent form in Australia in 1896. Several of the states had already passed laws restricting the immigration of the Chinese, and in that year agreed to extend these anti-Chinese laws to the other Asiatics as well. Bills for the object were prepared by the states and sent up for the approval of the imperial government. New Zealand and Tasmania, however, exempted Indians from the provisions of the bills. The imperial government reserved the bills and discussed the whole matter at the colonial conference in 1897. Mr. Chamberlain described these bills as unsatisfactory, and approved of only the Natal Bill. While fully sympathising with "their desires to check the influx of these people, whom he described as alien in civilization, alien in customs, alien in religion and alien in traditions, he said that to exclude by reason of their colour only, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects would be an act so offensive to those peoples, that it would be most painful to Her Majestys' government to sanction it." It may be noted that the Imperial Government had no idea of disallowing the bills, and what Mr. Chamberlain cared for was simply the form under which exclusion could be secured. He wanted, in fact, the states to frame bills similar to the Natal Bill.

Now the Natal Bill embodied a test of being able to write in a European language, besides excluding of course paupers, idiots, diseased persons, criminals and prostitutes. According to Mr. Chamberlain's wish several states passed laws on the lines of the Natal Bill, in a couple of years.

On the coming into existence of the Commonwealth a General Immigration Act was passed in 1901 which provided for a language test, and this amended in many particulars in 1910, is still in force. This, however, is rarely applied, for the mere existence of the test keeps out coolies, and further an informal agreement between the Government of India and the commonwealth in 1904 allows free entry to merchants, students and similar people who do not desire to settle down in the country permanently. But, even a domiciled Indian cannot get permission for his wife and children to stay in the country, if they have not legally acquired as residents a domicile in the Commonwealth.

CANADA

In Canada British Columbia is the cause of disturbance of peace. Since 1897

Canada had been trying to restrict immigration of the Japanese and Indians; but could not successfully do it till 1908. The laws previously made were disallowed and declared void by the courts. The Japanese Government agreed (in that year?) to see that not more than 400 Japanese went to Canada every year, the Canadian Government agreeing on its part to allow admission to every Japanese with a passport. The Government of India did not accept any system of restriction. Determined to prevent the entry of Indians Canada framed rules which, in effect though not in form, completely shut out the Indians. The rules require for instance that a would-be immigrant must travel to Canada by a continuous travel from his original place, or purchase a through ticket in advance, must possess 200 dollars in his own name and must not belong to the artisan or skilled or unskilled labour class. Now there is no direct steamship service between India and Canada; and thus no Indian can go and stay there, except for temporary purposes such as study, business and travel.

SOUTH AFRICA

Natal passed the Immigration Act and in 1897, and mention has already been made that it was accepted as a model for similar acts by the Australian States. The Cape Colony followed in 1902, and introduced the dictation test in a European language. In Transvaal Indians were efficiently kept out of the country after the Boar War by the use of wide powers under the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1902. One of the first Acts of the responsible Government of Transvaal was to pass in 1907 an Immigration Act which absolutely excluded the entry of any Indian, not already domiciled there. It also gave the minister-in-charge wide discretionary powers, to remove from the Colony any person, deemed to be dangerous to the peace, order and good government. The imperial government assented to the bill after assurances being given in respect of the entry of visitors of ruling chiefs, distinguished persons, and high officials; and also in respect of legislative restrictions on the use of the discretionary powers by the minister. The Orange Free State excluded Indians freely.

After the Union of South Africa came into existence, the Government of India decided to stop all immigration to S. Africa from July 1911, on the ground that there

was no security that Indians would be allowed to become citizens of the Union, if they so desire, after the expiration of their indentures. On the other hand, the Union Government passed an Immigration Act on the usual lines, with a short language test. Free immigration of the Indians among the different parts of the Union was not allowed. There were no Indians in the Orange Free State, and it was felt to be most undesirable that either there or in the Transvaal State it should be possible for the large population in Natal to penetrate. It was forbidden. To meet some of the grievances put forward by the late Mr. Gokhale an Immigration Regulation Act was passed in 1913. It defined the prohibited persons as "persons or class of persons deemed by the minister, on economic grounds on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular State thereof," or persons who are 'unable by reason of deficient education to read or write any European language to the satisfaction of the Immigration officer.' The same year, the minister of the Interior declared all Asiatics to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union,—and the validity of this declaration was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1923. The act permitted the entry of the wife and children under 16 years of age, of any person who was legally domiciled, including the wife and children of a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union. Now, when the occasion came up for the application of this principle, as in the case of one Kulsan Bibi, the courts declared her to be not eligible for entry into the Union, although she was the wife of a person domiciled therein, and held that no Indian marriage could be deemed monogamous, if by the religious faith of the Indian in question he could have more than one wife without illegality. Feelings of resentment were roused, and this interpretation was described by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as a legal fraud, if there could be any, and he argued that if such a marriage could be polygamous, so could be a Christian marriage, since a Christian may marry another after divorcing his first wife. Mahatma Gandhi restarted his Passive Resistance Movement to get redressed this as well as other grievances. The question was referred to a Commission with which the Passive Resisters non-co-

operated. The Union government accepted the findings of the Commission and passed an act in 1914. The Act provides for the appointment of a priest of any Indian religion as a marriage officer to solemnise marriages, which will be recognized as legal marriages and respected as such. It provides for the registration of the marriages which are *de facto* monogamous. It further authorises the introduction into the Union of the wife and children of any domiciled person, notwithstanding the religious faith of the person allowing him to have several wives, on condition of course, that he is not married to a person in the Union.

The question of the admission of Indians to other parts of the Empire was considered at the Imperial Conference of 1917 and 1918, and the resolution adopted runs as follows :—

1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several Communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any other communities.

2. British citizens domiciled into any British country should be admitted into any other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education ; such a right shall not be extended to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes, or to permanent settlement.

3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children, on condition that not more than one wife and her children be admitted for each such Indian and that each Indian so admitted, shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian.

In virtue of the first part of this resolution the Dominions have adopted various restrictions already mentioned, or better these restrictions are now endorsed by the resolution. New Zealand prohibits entry of any person who has not received in advance, a permit from that Government, and this is refused to persons 'unsuitable' to settle in that dominion. Newfoundland imposes no restrictions, India on her part has assumed power to regulate the admission of immigrants from any other parts of the Empire or foreign countries by means of passports ; and a Reciprocity Bill was passed in

February 1923. Under this Bill the Governor-General in Council is empowered to make rules for securing that persons not being of Indian origin domiciled in any other British possessions, should have no greater rights or privileges as regards entry into and residence in British India than are accorded by law and administration of such possession to persons of Indian domicile. The Bill excludes from its scope persons in service of the Crown.

THE CROWN COLONIES

With regard to Crown Colonies and Protectorates, the Government of India has always maintained the attitude that there is no justification for placing any restrictions on the immigration of British Indians, which are not placed on other British subjects. The Colonial office acts up to this, whenever it is convenient. The question has mainly cropped up in connection with Kenya. The White Paper on Kenya issued in July 1923, while professing that racial discrimination in immigration would not be in accord with the general policy of His Majesty's Government, said that "some further control over immigration in the interests of the Natives of Kenya is required. The primary duty of the Colonial government is the advancement of the African and it is incumbent upon them to protect him from an influx of immigrants from any country that might tend to retard his economic development." Further the White Paper defined undesirable economic competitors as "small traders, subordinate clerks in Government and private employ and mercantile labourers." What a strange coincidence that this definition covered the Indians ! Is the exclusion on racial or economic ground ? We cannot answer the question better than in the words of Prof. Keith. "The restrictions of Indian immigration and the refusal to the resident Indians of the franchise on the same terms as it is accorded to the British settlers is definitely to deny racial equality even within that part of the Empire which is controlled by His Majesty's Government.

... If, as is just, the interests of the African population should be the determining motive in the British Policy, it seems clearly to follow that to British immigration no less than to Indian strict bounds should be set.... That the Indian settler desires to exploit the native race may be admitted, but the same

contention applies equally to the British; all experience notably in South Africa should have established by now that to create a dominant white population is inconsistent with normal Native development."

MANDATED TERRITORIES

The position of Indians with regard to mandated Territories is inconsistent with the position of India as a member of the League of Nations. The former German Colonies of New Guinea, W. Sam and S. W. Africa are now administered by Australia, New Zealand and S. Africa respectively under the League mandates. The League empowers the mandatory nation to administer these areas as integral portions of its territories and under its own laws. Thus, the immigration laws of these dominions are extended to the mandated territories, and Indians are barred from entering them. The position for the Indians is thus worse than what it was before the war. Naturally resentment is felt against this policy of exclusion. Political autonomy and socio-economic ideals made India acquiesce in the exclusion laws of the Dominions; but the promotion of the Native interests in the mandated territories does not appear incompatible with economic equality of all the nationals, of all the members of the League. In any case, the Mandatory power cannot be allowed to be the sole judge of how 'this trust of civilization' is discharged. India herself should be one of the trustees. The question is not of a theoretical importance only. It has a practical significance. These tropical countries which are mandated are well-suited for Indian colonization. They are, besides, sparsely populated, and hence no immigration of Indian labour need really conflict with native inhabitants. But India has protested in vain.

So far admission of Indians to other parts of the British Empire was considered. With regard to foreign countries we shall only consider here the United States. Indians began to emigrate to that country in about 1899 when some

fifteen persons migrated. By 1910, the number increased to 1872. Since then restriction measures were adopted. In 1917, an Immigration Act was passed extending prohibition to native labour of territories within a defined geographical zone which embraces the greater part of Central Asia and the whole of India, excluding China and Japan. Permission is given to students, merchants and travellers.

Now, what are the reasons of the doors being barred and bolted against Indians,—and Asiatic in general? One of the reasons put forward is the fear of the whites being swamped by the coloured. Now, our population does not mainly account for the presence of the Asiatics in other countries; not certainly of Indians in any way. They did not emigrate to settle down. Their religion forbade it. The system of indentured labour has been primarily responsible for the large numbers of Indians elsewhere. It is on account of the Westerner's feverish activity to better his own economic standard that Indians have suffered. As Mr. Andrews puts it, for the last 1000 years the only migration from India of any Indians, has been brought about to supply cheap labour to the British Colonies. "The picture of hungry Indian hordes entering Africa is a pure myth."

The other reason that is generally advanced in favour of the policy of excluding Asiatics is purely economic. It is pleaded that different communities have different standards of living, and different capacities for work. It is feared that the industrial and economic competition by the Asiatics, who are, as a rule, more hard-working and require less for their living, constitute a great danger to the whites. This is the agreement advanced by Canada, U.S.A., S. Africa, Australia &c. Whatever the justice of this contention, as facts stand India has silently acquiesced in it. The Imperial Conference Resolution in 1918 leaves every dominion to leave open or shut and bolt the door of her country against any immigration. And Mr. Shastri could not do better than acquiescing in the White Australia Policy.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE *

(A REVIEW)

By G. TUCCI

of the University of Rome

"This work is the result of a happy combination of proficiency in facts and of familiarity with theory and exhibits a mastery of detail controlled and ordered by the sobriety of true scholarship". In this way such an authority on Indian Vernaculars as Sir George Grierson expresses his opinion on the book of Prof. S. K. Chatterji. After the judgment of such an eminent scholar one should prefer to give up any idea of writing a review of the book. In general the reviewer is not satisfied if he does not find something to criticise, something about which he can make a show of his knowledge and induce in the readers the impression that he is a better authority than the writer of the book to be judged. But I do not belong to this kind of critics: and therefore I am glad to begin these notes on the recent work by Prof. Chatterji with the words of Sir George Grierson, whose judgment I completely share.

The "Origin and Development of Bengali Language" is indeed the accomplishment, the *siddhi* of that *sadhana* of patient and uninterrupted work to which the author has dedicated the best years of his life. But so far as the Bengali language is concerned, he had no *guru* before him. Except the brilliant and forerunner essays by Rabindranath Tagore, neither Indian nor European scholars had yet worked in a serious and scientific way at the solution of the complicated problems of the origin, development and formation of the Bengali language. Either the traditional system of Sanskrit grammarians or some too often fanciful comparisons and theories (as those of Mr. Majumdar) had prevented to build up a real scientific idea about the evolution of Bengali. Yet the way how to work was already shown in connexion with other dialects by some great linguists. The "Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages" by Hoernle, the essay on the Rajasthani by the late lamented Italian scholar Tessitori, the masterly book on the Marathi language by Jules Bloch can all be considered as epoch-making works. Taking his *diksha* about the method of research from these scholars, from Prof. Meillet whose lectures he attended in Paris, and from Sir George Grierson himself whom he met during his stay in England, the author had to do everything anew in the field of Bengali.

Those who have an idea of the history of

Bengal and of Bengali literature can only too well realize how difficult this task would be. First of all, the linguistic documents which can give us an idea of Bengali in the earliest stages of its evolution are very scanty, or preserved in a modernized or Sanskritised form. Secondly, the races that have met each other in that vast country which is now called Bengal have been so many and so various, the languages which have been spoken there are so manifold, and the influences which have worked on Bengali are of so many origins and kinds, that no attempt to trace out the history of the language would have proved successful without a sound knowledge not only of Indo-European linguistics merely, but also of the fundamental dialects and linguistic groups which have developed in or come in contact with the country and possibly may have contributed to some extent to the actual characterisation of Bengali. As the author has studied all the questions directly or indirectly connected with Bengali, the title of the book does not perhaps say completely what it contains; in fact, we can say that it is of a capital importance not only for those who are particularly interested in Bengali only, but also for the scholars who work in the difficult field of Prakrit researches. Having made for several years the Prakrit dialects (or the Middle Indo-Aryan) according the terminology employed by the author, the object of my studies, I was glad to find in the book many an important question regarding the Sauraseni, the Magadhi, the Ardha-Magadhi, the Apabhraṃsa etc. thoroughly discussed with an up-to-date information. In fact, in the *Introduction* which covers 235 pages as well as in the text, the author has not only given a careful synthesis of the results of modern research, on the various topics of Indian Vernaculars in the different periods of their evolution, and in this way traced out a clear idea of the linguistic area and of the various elements which co-operated in the formation of Bengali, but also very often has come into details and brought into discussion new elements and data, in order to elucidate, with a new light, many a difficult or uncertain question.¹ I quote for instance the interpretation that he gives (p. 245 ff.) of the 'Prakṛa Prakāśa' sūtra xi. 5 (*cavargasya spāṣṭatā tathoccaranāḥ*), correcting the views expounded by Grierson and proving that in Maharashtra and in Sauraseni, at least during a stage of their evolution, the intervocalic palatal stops did not have a

* SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI—The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language: Calcutta University Press, 1926: Two Volumes, Foolscap Octavo, Cloth Bound (Vol. I—Introduction and Phonology, pp. i-xci, 1-648; Vol. II—Morphology, Additions and Corrections, and Index of Bengali Words, pp. 649-1179) · Price Rupees Twenty.

¹ For the pronunciation of ancient Bengali many an important hint can be had from a Sanskrit text transliterated into Tibetan which has been published by HACKIN, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*.

dental affricate but rather an elided pronunciation. The examples which he quotes from the Sauraseni of the 'Mr̥chakatika', and to which it would be easy to add some others also, are decisive. As it is known, another question of capital interest is that of the division of the dialects of New Indo-Aryan. The theory of a twofold immigration in India by the Aryan invaders, first postulated by Hoernle, has been later on developed on a linguistic basis by Grierson, who in a fundamental article published in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London' (1920) tried to demonstrate that there are in India an *Outer* and an *Inner* group of languages, the one represented by Lahndi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Bihari, and Pahari, and the other by Western Hindi. This theory of Grierson although based on very many facts, cannot be considered as definitive, inasmuch as there is almost the same amount of linguistic arguments which stand against it. It is a merit of Prof. Chatterji to have collected the largest number of these arguments and to have shown that on many points at least we have to admit a similarity of Bengali with Western Hindi much more than with the western dialects. I myself had serious doubts about this classification by Grierson: all the dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan, although they developed very soon some peculiar characteristics, show yet a general unity which can be explained quite well by the fact that they are the common offshoots of the Vedic language. As pointed out recently also by Meillet, there is no need to suppose in ancient times the existence of another dialect other than that which is represented by the Vedic.

We cannot follow here the author in the thousand pages in which with an up-to-date documentation he studies the various phonetical and morphological aspects of the Bengali language, in their evolution, and in their type. A book on pure linguistics, in which the various laws are to be discussed on the basis of facts as they appear in words and forms, cannot be summarised. Moreover, this would compel us to come into minute details which do not befit a literary journal like the present one. Anyhow I

cannot help pointing out *Appendix B* in which the author studies the Dravidian influences in Bengal. The importance of this subject can be well realized by those who know how modern research emphasises the contribution of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples to Aryan civilisation and language, whose presence is also sufficiently witnessed by toponymy. Many a question of great interest in the history of Indian literature is discussed in the *Introduction*. I must mention, for instance, the conclusions of the author about the fatherland of Vijaya, who, according to some Pali chronicles, went to Ceylon from *Lala-rattha*, his homeland. Against the opinion of many scholars who thought this *Lala* to be *Radha* or West-Bengal, he is quite right in supporting the equation *Lala-Lada*, Skt. *Lata*, the *Larika* of Greek geographers (p. 72), on the basis of some linguistic facts, which are very important in order to prove the relation between Ceylon and Gujarat (Section 8). And I think that we shall have also to accept as sure the date proposed by the author for Gorakshanatha and Kanhu-pada (XIIth century), on the basis not only of the internal evidence but also with the help of the tradition preserved in the 'Jñanesvari' and the date contained in the colophon of a manuscript of the 'Hevraj' arpanjika Yogaratnamala.

To sum up: We can say that the work by Prof. Chatterji is the first scientific contribution of Modern India to linguistic studies. With his book the author has shown the way how to work, to his younger countrymen who are inclined to this kind of research. Linguistics cannot be based on mere *rapprochement* of sounds: but it has to establish rules and laws which must be proved by the linguistic facts themselves. Fanciful hypotheses are no more allowed, but only those the probability of which is the result of a thorough discussion of all the documents available.

Of course, books like this cannot be an easy reading, since science, real science, cannot be always merely amusing.

Navadwip, November 3, 1926.

INTERNATIONAL INJUSTICE TO INDIAN GIRLS

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

Vakil, High Court, Allahabad

IT appears* that in his speech before the League of Nations the Maharaja of Kapurthala took credit on behalf of the Government of India for the recent increase

in the age from sixteen to eighteen years in three sections of the Indian Penal Code, viz., sections 366, 372 and 373 which deal with the inducing to illicit intercourse, selling and buying (for prostitution or any unlawful and immoral purpose) respectively of a minor. Those of us who have followed the history of these amendments know full well how the remarks of the editor of the *Modern Review*

* Vide a note under the caption "Speech of the Maharaja of Kapurthala" published in the *Modern Review* for October, 1926 at page 456 over the initials (R. C.) of the editor of the *Modern Review*.

"that the Government of India put obstacles in the way of these amendments being made quite effective" are fully borne out by the very unhappy attitude which the Government took from the very beginning when the question was first mooted at Paris in 1921 and all through while the amending bills were on the floor of the Indian Legislature. If the Maharajah had been a representative of the Indian Nation and not merely a nominee of the alien government which happens to rule India and had been properly briefed by a minister responsible to the Indian people and not by a bureaucratic executive councillor, he would never have added insult to injury by claiming credit for something which really deserves to be condemned.

It will, perhaps do our soul a little good to recapitulate the history of the amendment as told by the official reports of the Legislative Assembly debates. It would also help us to understand the attitude of the Government as also the seriousness of the injustice to our Indian sisters. It might awaken the interest, which it rightly deserves, amongst our social and political thinkers and also succeed in drawing the attention of some of our new M. L. A.s, who would doubtless introduce an amending bill to remove the gross injustice under which we are suffering and put us on a level with our sisters in all other civilised countries at least as regards the safety of their person is concerned.

The International Convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, which had assembled in 1921 under the auspices of the League of Nations passed the following resolutions on the lines of an earlier convention which had met at Paris in 1910, to discover ways and means for the suppression of the sale of white girls in foreign countries:—

"Whoever in order to gratify the passions of another person has (i) procured, enticed or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age for immoral purposes or (ii) by fraud, or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion procured, enticed or led away a woman or girl over age, shall be punished notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

For the purposes of these resolutions "a woman or girl over age" was defined "as a female over 21 years of age" a female below that age being termed "under age."

Mr. Edwards, a retired police officer, who represented the Government of India at the

convention did not find himself in a position to accept this innocent resolution of an international body. This wise representative of a wise Government rose on his legs in that august body and pointed out that the age in the analogous section (viz. s. 366) of the Indian Penal Code was 16 and therefore contended that India would only subscribe to this resolution if she was allowed to maintain the age of 16 years instead of the proposed 21 years for every other constituent member of the League. He said in substance :—

"As matters stand now a proposal to enhance the limit from 16 to 21 years (a) would in all probability be found to be in advance on the general body of orthodox and conservative Indian opinion (b) would be in conflict with established physical facts, it being well-known that the climate conditions of Indians result in maturity being reached at an earlier age than in Europe and (c) might involve impolitic interference by the state with religious and social customs which are observed and followed by certain tribes, castes and communities in various parts of the Indian Continent."

In all representative gatherings the representatives of different bodies, would gladly make any exception in the way of a further advance or progress not reached by the other countries, but they would never dilate on their weakness and would never think of making a reservation in the direction of backwardness. If they will realise that their country lags behind other countries on any point they would return to their own country with a fixed determination to make up their deficiency. But the representative from India would be nothing if he did not make a display in the International body of India's backwardness and retrogression and show Indians as a mass of orthodox and conservative people following peculiar religious and social customs from which they would not budge an inch.

Early in 1922 Sir William Vincent, the then Home Member, moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly which was ultimately carried in spite of the view of a section of the house that the age should be further raised. It authorised the Indian Government to sign the resolution of the Convention subject to the reservation that India could in its discretion substitute 16 years for 21 years. This resolution committed the Government of India to introduce legislation to give effect to the articles of the Convention. Consequently, the Government introduced a bill to amend section 366 of the Indian Penal Code as it could by a slight change be made to cover the articles passed by

the Convention. The old age of 16 was allowed to remain as it was and no change was made by the Government with respect to it.

The Government view all through was and it was strongly maintained that it will not be proper to raise the age from 16, that the whole penal legislation was based on that principle and for the reason much the same advanced by Mr. Edwards, it consistently maintained that it will not be in the interest of India that the age be raised beyond 16, on the other hand, there was a considerable section of non-official members which pressed that the age should be the same as adopted by the Convention or at least raised to 18 because women in this country are more helpless, more uneducated and need more protection than their sisters elsewhere. Whatever might be the opinion of different people about the marriageable age of their girls, no religion, social custom or orthodox and conservative opinion, worth its name, will ever warrant that a person should approach a woman of any age much less an innocent girl of the age of 16, 18 or 21 with a suggestion that she should sell her body and soul and honour and everything which is at once the dignity and treasure of womanhood. The Hindu and Muslim religions are very vigilant and insistent over the purity and chastity of their women. They will stake everything to guard this priceless treasure of their women and certainly the orthodox and conservative Indian would be the first to punish the man who dare make indecent overtures to any woman.

The second argument that Indian girls attain maturity early is quite irrelevant and does not arise in the discussion of this question because the attainment of maturity (supposing that it arises much earlier in the case of Indian girls) cannot permit the commission of crime. Moreover, what we have to consider is not physical maturity or fitness to lead a married life, but maturity of judgment, discriminating powers of mind and development of character which a sound education alone can bring.

At the age of 16, 18 or 21 a girl's mind is certainly not mature enough to enable her to form an independent judgment, especially in the critical and tempting conditions in which she may find herself when face to face with an unscrupulous person.

As for "the religious and social customs"

mentioned in the third ground probably they exist more in the brains of Mr. Edwards than in actual practice, and even if they exist, is it not the imperative duty of every civilized Government as the *pater patriae* to destroy them root and branch? What is to be the function of a government if it is to be a silent spectator to the commission of immoral acts and the consequent ruin of innocent souls under cover of so-called religious or social customs? It is, therefore, fortunate that the amendment to raise the age to 18 was carried when this change was effected with the force of Indian opinion and in spite of the persistent and insistent opposition of the Government it felt compelled to correspondingly increase the age in sections 372 and 373. But Indian public opinion both orthodox and conservative as also liberal and advanced—must insist that the age should be raised to 21 and thus brought on a par with all other civilised countries. There is yet another very important reason why the age should be raised to 21. The amendments relating to "girls under age" have been incorporated in the Indian Penal Code as sections 366A and 366B. They read thus:—

"366A. Whoever by any means whatsoever induces any minor girl under the age of eighteen years to go from any place or to do any act with intent that such girl may be or knowing that it is likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.

366B. Whoever imports into British India from any country outside India any girl under the age of twenty-one years with intent that she may be, or knowing it to be likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person, and whoever with such intent or knowledge imports into British India from any State in India any such girl who has with like intent or knowledge been imported into India, whether by himself or by another person, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

Thus inducing a girl under 18 to go from any place in India to any other place in or outside India is a penal offence while importing any girl up to the age of 21 is punishable. This difference in the age, when girls are open to be induced to illicit intercourse—if I may use a very unhappy phrase—certainly degrades the Indian sisters and puts them in the wrong before the whole civilized world. It means that the innocence of India might be exploited and exported with impunity between the ages of 18 and

21 while importing such girls would be a grave offence. This is an international insult and injustice to our womanhood which no civilised and responsible Government can witness complacently and, what is worse, be a party to it. The evil consequences of this sordid differentiation would be much more colossal than the injury and insult to our sense of self-respect. The evil disposed persons who carry on this sort of nefarious trade, finding that in all other civilized countries, they cannot carry on their dirty business of inducing girls until they are above 21 years of age (when beyond the disadvantage of age it would be very difficult

because of the maturity of judgment, to induce them to such things) will naturally turn their eyes eagerly towards and concentrate their energies in the fair and rich soil of India where they can quietly and legitimately induce innocent, uneducated and simple girls without any check or hindrance from the State. Hitherto India's children were only exported for labour but now the Indian girls stand the risk of being exported for immoral purposes ! Would our new legislators watch and silently see or would they immediately see to it that the age is raised to twenty one and the danger is thus forthwith removed ?

THE SALZBURG FESTIVAL PLAYS

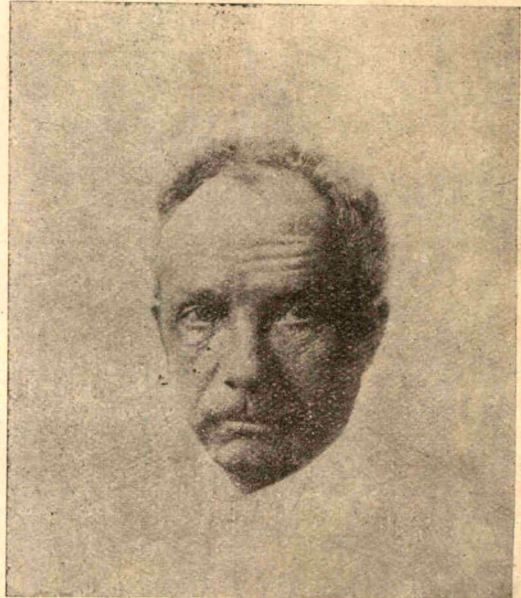
By AGNES SMEDLEY

TO see the Salzburg Festival Plays, or other events of a similar nature in Germany, is not merely to stand in admiration before the genius of the German people and understand the national events by which they keep alive the memory of their great dead and deepen their racial culture; but instead, it is to think of what India might do were it an independent nation, free to release and develop its creative energies in every direction; to revive and cherish, as do the Germans, its great dead; and to overcome the degeneracy of the present and face the possibilities of the future.

There is, for instance, a little north-Austrian town, Salzburg, where a musical and dramatic event of international importance occurs annually. This may seem far removed from India; but it is not, for it is a suggestion of what India might do.

Two developments of outstanding importance centre about this international event in Salzburg. The first is that since the War, throughout the German lands of Austria and Germany, there has been a revival of the people's theatres that, in past ages, were an intimate part of the life of the masses. In East Prussia, in Brandenburg, in the Rheinland, and above all in the Alpen lands of Bavaria and north Austria, this folk theatre

movement has grown with instinctive rapidity. Men and women teachers in towns or villages, for example—give their spare time



Richard Strauss, the noted Austrian composer, conductor of the orchestra in the Vienna State Opera, who came to Salzburg to direct his opera, "Ariadne in Naxos".

to it; there are a few men and women who do nothing else, and in Berlin is the central organization of folk theatres, for manufacturing costumes and properties, and for publishing in cheap editions the historical, religious, ethical, fairy, or other dramas in which the masses are interested. This means that the theatre—in Germany this is a combination of drama, painting, and music—is no longer the monopoly of artists of the city who make it their life's profession; it is becoming an expression of the people, as it once was in Gothic and in Baroque times, from the 12th to the 17th centuries. What this theatrical development means we can but vaguely guess. To India it may mean nothing for in India the theatre is not a place where the best productions of the human mind may be seen or heard; but the theatre is instead outcast, and a thing of shame. In Europe, however, the opposite is true. Everyone who thinks knows that the folk everywhere



Helena Thiming, the actress who played the role of the Chinese princess in the old Chinese fairy-tale, "Turandot".



Alexander Moissi, the eminent Russian actor, in the role of Everyman in the drama "Everyman".

possesses dramatic genius that needs only to be awakened and used, and this is one reason why creators and thinkers of Germany view with deep interest the development of the folk theatre. Not only is it a cultural advancement, but it is of undoubted psychological value that in turn reacts on social and political life. We know that in the soul of every individual, as of the masses, both social and anti-social instincts slumber, and that anti-social instincts denied creative outlet or application, break out in open or subtle anti-social actions,—in cruelty, crime, and even in War. The possible value of the theatre as an institution for using up and sublimating this energy cannot be underestimated it gives the opportunity to act out every kind of emotion, not in an evil, but in an artistic and creative manner. When mankind has the opportunity to live out creatively everything within it, war, with its dramatic appeal and its opportunity for

flawlessness of every kind, will have no hold on the masses.

It is for this reason that every theatrical development, such as the folk theatre movement, culminating in the Salzburg Festival Plays, is of such social importance. In the past Salzburg was one of the centers of the peoples' festival theatres. Their theatres were generally in the open air—in the public gardens of Salzburg, or in the natural rock theatres outside the town.

The second outstanding feature of importance about Salzburg is that it was the birthplace, in 1756, of one of mankind's greatest geniuses—Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the composer, whose music after nearly two centuries of changing social and political conditions, after war upon war, remains as fresh, as young and modern as when he wrote it: a time-test which the works of few creators can endure.

During the War, a number of artists conceived the idea of uniting the historic folk festivals of Salzburg with the name of Mozart, and creating an annual national German festival. They were undoubtedly inspired by the very ancient peasant Passion Play (the drama of the life of Christ) of Oberammargau, and by the annual festivals at Bayreuth and Munich in Germany where the operas of Wagner are produced annually before international audiences. In 1917 a number of artists founded the Salzburg Festival Plays Union, in Vienna; some of their most outstanding names were; Hugo v. Hofmannsthal, the eminent author and dramatist; Max Reinhardt, Germany's most distinguished regisseur and producer; and Richard Strauss, one of the most noted living composers, and conductor of the Vienna State Opera orchestra. As soon as the War ended, the plan matured and despite political and economic defeat and collapse, the world of German and Austrian artists—musicians, actors and actresses, writers, painters—began their work of building a cultural event of international importance. That this event has developed, until today music and drama lovers travel from every country of Europe and America to witness it, is an indication of the sort of thing that causes other nations to hate and fear the German people; for they are a people who build and create even on ruins. Such a people are dangerous, for they cannot be destroyed.

When the Salzburg Festival Plays idea at

first originated, it was intended to make it a Mozart Festival, where Mozart's operas, serenades, symphonies, quartettes, requiems, masses, and other such compositions, would be given. A careful selection was to be made from among the more than six hundred compositions that had poured like a flood of gold from his pen. But the idea of the festival developed in other directions. It reached out and included the works of other great Germans, and then the works of international writers. Mozart's "Magic Flute" and Goethe's "Faust" were placed in the center



Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, (1756-1791), in whose memory the Salzburg Festival Plays have been created. After a century and a half Mozart is a source of inspiration to musicians today, and the Festival Plays are an indication of how the German peoples honour their great dead.

of the program; the Spanish were represented in Calderon, the French in Moliere; Shakespeare in "The Tempest" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; the antique world of Greece was represented, and this year two Italian dramatists, one of them Carlo Gozzi, whose lovely old Chinese fairy-tale "Turandot" was given.

The Festival extends over the last three weeks of August of each year, beginning just as the Wagner Festival in Munich comes to

an end. This year Goethe's "Faust" and Mozart's "The Magic Flute" were not given because the special Festival Play House that has been built was not complete enough to give them. The special stage that is essential for such a great production as "Faust" will not be complete for a number of months yet. Instead of these, Hofmannsthal's "Everyman" and Gozzi's "Turandot" were placed in the centre of the program.

The Salzburg Festival Plays as they have developed are not folk festivals as in the



Luis Rainer, the actor who played the role of Death in the drama. "Everyman"

past; they have instead, called into their service the greatest artists of the German and Austrian stages. Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt are the directing forces. This year the following took part in the program: the entire Vienna State Opera; the Ballet of forty classical dancers from the Vienna State Opera; the Vienna Philharmonic Society; the Rose

Quartette; the Vienna Men's Chorus; and among the distinguished individuals: Richard Strauss; Bruno Walter, Germany's foremost conductor, of international renown; Alexander Moissi, the eminent Russian actor; Max Pallenberg, the German; and a long list of German and Austrian actors and actresses, with a Hungarian name or two appearing among them.

The program was a brilliant one that drew an international audience. The audience however, was, as perhaps most theatrical audiences are, a mixture of everything. There were Germans and Austrians who love music and who had come at a sacrifice, and who were only able to purchase standing room or the cheapest back seats. There were artists of all kind, some of them wealthy, who had come to rest and study and gather new ideas for their own work. Then there was an overwhelming majority of rich Americans, with their automobiles, servants, and elegant clothing who were determined to be "cultured or bust"; there were but few Englishmen—perhaps because, as George Bernard Shaw has recently written, England is a land that regards art as immorality, to be enjoyed if at all in shameful secret; also perhaps because the English already know everything and no other people can teach them *anything*. There were a number of interesting French people to whom art is more than political prejudice and who regard Salzburg as a very excellent artistic achievement. There were a few Italians, a number of Hungarians (including the Prime Minister and his family); and Russians and Scandinavians of interest. The press called it an elegant international audience of the intellectual elite, but that statement may be seriously questioned in so far as a part of it was concerned, for many present had come to gather material for light tea-table chatter at home.

The Festival opened with a morning's concert of historical music in the Salzburg Cathedral. Apart from the great organ, there was an orchestra, a four-part chorus of a hundred voices from the Mozarteum,—the Mozart Conservatorium of Music—and two very fine soloists from the Vienna State Opera, one man and one woman.

On the second day "Everyman" began. This is a very old religious drama of Gothic origin (about the 12th century, I believe), rewritten by Hofmannsthal. On rainy evenings it was given in the Festival Play House, a

very large and interesting structure, with a stage extending down to and in the midst of the audience---an arrangement so beloved of Reinhardt whose mass dramas are made to appear a part of the audience and of life, instead of just dramas on a stage. The theatre is a very long, broad oblong, with two balconies in the back. The old theatres of the middle ages have been copied, for there is not one gaudy or elaborate effect in the building. Plain rough beams, dyed a dark brown, form the walls and ceiling. The entrance corridors have wall paintings of folk themes done by well-known artists, and inside the theatres painted banners, such as existed in the middle ages, hang here and there from the first balcony. The entire impression created is one of fundamental, natural values---a very healthy reaction against the elaborate, gilded artificial theatres of today with a box stage in front.

On pleasant evenings "Everyman" was given, not in the Festival Play House, but in the open air, as are folk festivals; in the Cathedral Square, surrounded on three sides by the walls of the old Court and the old Catholic University, and on the other by the beautiful 16th century Baroque Cathedral. The seats for the audience were of plain, unvarnished boards, arranged facing the Cathedral facade, which furnished the background for the low stage erected before it. Beyond reared the heights of Hohensalzburg---the old castle-fort on the hill where once the warrior---archbishop-princes lived, ruled, with an iron hand, crushing the movement of freedom among the citizens and peasants on the one hand, and on the other, supporting the theatre, musicians, and building the historic monuments of old Baroque architecture which characterize Salzburg to this day.

"Everyman" is the story of a rich man whose life is one of luxury, selfishness, cruelty and thoughtlessness. A man who like many a man today, builds pleasure gardens for himself, his friends and women, while the masses starve. Therefore, although of Gothic origin, the play is ever new. It shows man, however rich and powerful, finally standing alone, face to face with death, deserted of friends and relatives and beloveds, stripped of wealth, power, prestige, with nothing but his life's work as support and comfort when he passes into annihilation. The drama ends in a spectacular Catholic pageant of angels with wings and haloes and so on, and of the rich man,---known as Everyman---accepting the

Christian faith and the church. Everyman tries every means of escape from death, but in the end enters the Cathedral in the back, then returns prepared to meet his fate, and calmly descends into the grave, followed by the white-robed figure of the woman representing his life's work---and both followed by the dark-draped form of death.



Mrs. Hedwig Bleibtreu, the noted actress from the Vienna State Opera, who played the role of Belief, in "Everyman"

The costumes of the drama, the manners, the gestures, and the dancing, were careful studies taken from old Gothic wood-cuts, and an attempt, not entirely successful, was made to give the entire drama a wood-cut effect. A low undertone of sacred music accompanied the speaking and acting throughout. Alexander Moissi, the Russian actor, played the leading role of Everyman.

On following evenings there were repeated concerts by the Rose Quartette, a string quartette that has gained renown for its rendering of the quartette masterpieces

of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert and other masters.

The Philharmonic Society from Vienna gave four concerts, directed by Bruno Walter from Berlin, and by Clemens Kraus and Franz Schalk of Vienna. (Clemens Kraus is a young man in his early thirties who has already won for himself a place of importance in the musical world.) The Vienna Men's Chorus gave a number of concerts, as did individual artists of international repute.



Bruno Walter, the noted German conductor of international renown, who came to Salzburg to conduct some of the orchestras for the Mozart operas, as well as the Philharmonic Society concerts.

Mozart's operas "The Abduction from the Seraglio" (known better as *Il Seraglio*), and "Don Juan" were presented in the Salzburg Opera a number of times by the Vienna State Opera. "Don Juan" was especially magnificent, Richard Tauber, the young Austrian tenor, and Marie Nemeth, the Hungarian dramatic soprano, bringing the audience to

trained opera goes to its feet with deafening applause.

The Ballet of the Vienna State Opera gave six performances of the most exquisite, graceful nature imaginable. The first part of their program was the story of Don Juan in rhythm, with music by Gluck, the second part a lovely little drama with music by Mozart. With the exception of the Russian ballet, one can seldom see any classical dancing of this sort. Two or three of the young women dancers, and two of the men, were excellent.

The opera "The Bat", by Johann Strauss, was repeated a number of times with unparalleled success. This was chiefly due to the conducting of Bruno Walter who seemed to be the living embodiment of the music and who dominated and inspired not only his orchestra, but all the singers. Richard Strauss' opera "Ariadne in Naxos" was also given with great success, Richard Strauss himself coming from Vienna to conduct it. Carlo Goldini's comedy, "The servant of two master's" was presented a number of times in the Festival Play house, and the old Chinese tragi-comedy "Turandot" was given twice a week, alternating with "Everyman". "Turandot" was shown as a spectacular pageant. Over the play with its thread of adventure and romance, hung the spirit of delicate humour. Special music, a blending of old Chinese melodies with Mozartian motives, had been especially composed by Bernhard Paumgarten. This music was undoubtedly the best part of the entire drama.

Of all the actors in "Turandot", Pallenberg the German actor, was the best. His intimate heart-to-heart conversations with the audience on the virtues of the play, on love, adventure, the princely life, and similar themes made him the high-light in the production.

The Salzburg Festival Plays are a very real and beautiful tribute to the memory and genius of Mozart, whose influence dominates the little town of Salzburg after the elapse of nearly two centuries. Throughout the Festival one's mind is centered upon him and his sad, short life. There are the three little rooms on the top floor of an ordinary house where he was born—rooms now converted into a Mozart Museum; there is the Cathedral where he was organist; there is also the Mozarteum, the Conservatory of Music,—in fact a University of Music in

whose lovely halls many of the Mozart concerts were held throughout the month. Then there is also Mozart Square with his statue in the centre, and on Capuccian Hill stands the one-room hut in which he composed "The Magic Flute". His memory is as young and fresh today as is his deathless music with its sublime undertone of pain.

The Salzburg Festival Plays are an international event of importance in the musical and theatrical world. There one can hear the best music and see the greatest artists. Yet with all its virtues; and its suggestion to the artists of India, it has a number of disadvantages: on the whole, only people with a certain amount of money can afford to attend it; the intelligentsia in Central Europe to whom music, the drama, and art, is the bread of life, do not have the money to attend it. Nor do the masses. Instead, rich people filled the theatres and streamed through the poor little rooms in which Mozart was born. One thought of the child Mozart who, from the age of six, had been made a living sacrifice before the rich and noble classes of his time—all for their idle pleasure, and all for money and fame of his father. At the age of eight years he began to compose his first little compositions. Childhood was denied him that he might please others; from the age of three he knew nothing but ceaseless practice on the piano and the violin. At the age of nineteen he was a famous man, at twenty-five he had composed some of his greatest masterpieces. He was famous—and poor; for spiritual geniuses have always been exhibited before the aristocracy and the wealthy as are animals in the zoological gardens, but their genius is not considered as of much value as things to be worn and eaten. In Mozart's time, as today in every land, we human beings are so materialistic, so unspiritual, that we value and will pay heavily for pieces of cloth and expensive food and physical comfort; but things of the spirit which we cannot see and touch and taste are considered of less value. India is by no means superior to Europe in this respect—in many respects it is less spiritual. And so it was that Mozart, a genius such as mankind seldom produces, died at the early age of thirty-five an undeveloped, worn out man, so poor that he was buried in a mass grave with many unknown poor in Vienna. No one knows where his used-up body really lies, but a great monument has been erected over the mass

grave where he was supposed to have been buried.

One listens to his music today—that strange music for ever young. It is difficult to live or feel the same after hearing and understanding Mozart for he was the very embodiment of music. There is something in it by which we know that Mozart had passed beyond expressing pain in tears or in speech—he expressed in music a spiritual hunger that lies at the heart of creation—man standing before eternal values of this existence and speaking in a language of which Mozart was master. It is said that he was a joyous man and that his music laughs; that it is a tumbling golden water-fall of sound, I also listened



The old historic town of Salzburg in north Austria. This is a town settled in pre-Christian times by the Celts. Later, in the 3rd and 4th Centuries A. D. It was one of the northern outposts of Imperial Rome. It contains old catacombs of early Christians, and some of the best architecture of the Baroque period—16th and 17th Centuries.

for the laughing—but instead I heard pain; whether in his last great requiem, finished on his death-bed, whether in his exquisite arias, or whether in the seductive strains of Don Juan the conqueror of women, there was a pain that tugged forever at the heart. Don Juan may have had the thousand conquests attributed to him, but the Don Juan of Mozart is a man searching for something and never finding it, a man whose songs of wild defiance or of gentle caresses carry with them a longing and a pain deeper than words.

Mozart was a poor man, as many men are poor today. The wealthy few from the four corners of the western world stream through the little rooms where he first drew breath—the wealthy few who always honour the poor after they are dead. Today their

money, the system they support, kills many an undeveloped Mozart, many a genius who cannot live because a few must eat luxuriously and dress extravagantly. So it is that one cannot be deeply impressed by such people who travel first class in luxury trains of Europe and go to Salzburg to get an appetizer or a new emotional thrill from the music of a man who was so poor that he could not pay for a piece of earth six feet by three as his last resting place.

Then where was "Everyman" which apart from its historic and dramatic value, one cannot but criticize. Everyman was a rich man who lived his wild life, but embraced Christianity a few minutes before he died; then the angels came and took him home! It must be said that such a philosophy is not only Christian, but it is Islam also, and it is Hindu. The ruling idea in that philosophy guides all religions and all nations today: it is that a man may do what he will on this earth: crush and destroy his fellowman: reduce him to the position of a servant, a serf, or slave; ruin him, rob him, murder him; leave this earth a heritage of poverty and misery. But—in the end, turn cowardly pious, accept some one or another faith, and save his own miserable, individual soul.

It is a fine, soft philosophy we human

beings have manufactured for ourselves. The drama of "Everyman" is a symbol of it. Such a philosophy prevents us from wiping out the injustices and evils and poverty that burden the masses of every land.

The spectacle after the production of "Everyman", as after the operas written with the heart blood of Mozart, was but a confirmation of this philosophy—one by no means confined to the Christian world. After the elegant international audience had witnessed the soul of man facing death in stark loneliness and horror, it left the theatre in highpowered automobiles and drove to expensive hotels. Poor people, unable to buy even standing room, lined the streets to watch them fly past. Once inside the hotels, the dining saloons were opened to them, and there their banquets were spread as had been the banquet before Everyman. One of those dinners cost as much as a working man uses for a week or a month for himself and family. There was silver and crystal, champagne, and the most delicious of food. After the dinner the elegantly clad couples drifted into the adjoining ball room where the jazz orchestra thumped wildly and the couples swang their legs in the abandon of the Charleston. "Everyman" had been only a pleasant evening's entertainment!

INDIA AND CHINA

By DR. PROBODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M. A., D. LITT. (Paris.)

THE BEGINNING OF HISTORICAL RELATION

THE history of India is inseparable from the history of the whole of Asia. From the most ancient times, the migration of races or the cultural movement of one country has affected the other. India has never been an exception to it and her apparently insurmountable natural barriers have never succeeded in shutting her up from the rest of Asia. The problem of India therefore is an Asiatic one and she has got to look up to her neighbours with greater interest than ever. China with her vast population of 438 millions, with the great resources at her command and with the

increasing promises she is making everyday draws our attention more than any other country.

It is not a mere accident that China is still known to the outside world by a name which India gave her for the first time (*China* skt. *Cina*) and the Chinese nobility by a name derived from Sanskrit (*Mandarin-Mantrin*). Though these two great countries of Asia have lost since last few hundred years, all consciousness of their former relations, the archives of the historian still cherish the reminiscences of a glorious past; still in the solitary corners of the far eastern countries

the monasteries zealously guard the sacred memories of India. Still the pious monks bow towards the Western land of *T'ien ch'ou* (India), the land of Sakyamuni, the paradise of Fa-hien and Hiuan-tsang.

But the science, of late, has come to the help of a rising national consciousness and the patient labour of scholars is being utilised to lay the foundation of international amity. It is high time for us, the Indians, not to remain contented with our lot but to try to understand what our forefathers achieved towards the diffusion of Indian culture abroad. That profitable study will no doubt contribute a good deal to the establishment of a better mutual understanding between ourselves and our neighbours, the Chinese. We will therefore try to trace the history of this ancient cultural movement in its briefest outline.

In the middle of the 3rd century before Christ China was still divided amongst nine feudal chiefs. A Central Government, that of the Chesu existed but it was more or less ephemeral. Chong siang, the chief of the principality of Ts'in, destroyed successively a number of other feudal states and grew up sufficiently powerful to attack and defeat the central authority. During three years of his reign he constantly fought against the princes which disputed his supreme authority. This fight was successfully continued by his son Cheng, a man of uncontested genius. He pursued energetically the destruction of the feudalism and became the true founder of the Chinese empire and its national unity. He assumed the title of She Houangti i. e. the first sovereign emperor. But the work of unification and organisation which he had commenced was not completed during his life-time. It was continued by the Han dynasty which succeeded the Ts'in. They founded the Chinese nation on a definite basis by giving to the intelligentsia the "*droit de cite*" in the government. "She Houang-ti demolished the feudal citadels and suppressed the nobility, but the Hans founded on the devastated soil a new civilisation where the power did not belong to the noblest but to the wisest."

Of the Han dynasty, the epoch of the Emperor Wu (140-80 B. C.) was the most remarkable on account of its external policy which opened up routes to the foreign countries and laid the foundation of international relation. And it was in this period that China came into touch

with India. In the year 138 B. C., in order to fortify better his position against the *Hiong-nous* (the Huns), the hereditary enemies of China, Han Wu ti entrusted a certain Chang Kien with a mission to search for an ally amongst the Great Yue che (Ta Yue che) people, who occupied at that time the north-western valley of the Oxus. Chang Kien returned to China in 126 B. C. after an absence of 12 years. Although his mission was not successful, his expedition had a considerable effect in opening up to China an entire new world. The report which he submitted to Han Wu ti contained precise information about different occidental states. *Ta yuan* (Ferganah), *Ngan-si* (Parthia), *Ta-hia* (Bactria) etc. He made another important remark, while he was in the country of *Ta hia* (Bactria), he found to his great surprise; the bamboos, and cotton stuff of the southern provinces of China, Yun-nan and Sse-chuan. He came to know from the natives of the country that there was a rich and powerful kingdom called *Shen-ou* (India) and the caravans which brought the product of south China passed across that country up to Afganistan (*Kao-fu*).

Henceforth Han Wu ti turned his attention into two directions. He wanted on one hand to take away from the *Hiong-nous*, the small states which they occupied to the west of the province of Kan-su and in the eastern part of Turkestan and on the other hand, to open in the south the route of India. In 115 B. C. Han Wu ti succeeded in annexing the Western territories now known as Leang cheou, Kan cheou, Su cheou and Touen hoang, and driving the Hans towards the north.

Henceforth embassies were frequently sent by the Chinese Court to the foreign countries. Intimate relation was established with the country of *Ta Yuan* (Ferganah), which possessed the most beautiful horses. Friendly relation continued till 102 B. C. when a rapture took place and a Chinese army was sent to besiege the capital (*Oura-tape*) of Ferganah which was soon reduced. The people of Ferganah submitted and promised to send tribute to the Chinese Court.

In order to command well the routes of Eastern Turkestan, which had established commerce with the West, the Chinese resolved to annex the Western territory to China, in the first century A. D. In 73 A. D. the general Pan chao was entrusted with this mission; after 16 years of continual war, he succeeded in submitting most of the

states of the Tarim region, either by diplomacy or by force. He fixed the seat of his administration, at Kucha in 91 A. D. Military posts were founded along the great routes and henceforth safe and regular communication with the Western countries was established.

But even before the beginning of this official communication we have historical data to prove that unofficial relation existed between India and China. We will leave aside the pious legends about the arrival of 18 Indian missionaries of Asoka to the Chinese capital in 217 B. C.—a legend certainly forged at a later date. We will leave aside also the much disputed question of Indian influence on the philosophy of Lao tseu, the founder of Taoism.

It is at present an established fact that the name China (Cina) given to the country has been current amongst foreigners through its Indian form. The form *Sinæ* (*Thinaë*) which Ptolemy mentions is no doubt based on the Sanskrit form *Cina*, which was derived from the name of the Ts'in dynasty which rose to prominence under the Houang-ti. From the middle of the XVIIIth century the Father Martini proposed to derive the name of *China* from the name of the Ts'in dynasty (249—207 B. C.) The opinion was accepted for a long time till Von Richtofen and Terrien de Lacowperic started new theories based on imperfect knowledge of Chinese philology. All these theories were at last definitely discussed by Professor Paul Pelliot who established that the explanation of Father Martini satisfies all exigencies of philology. The report of Chang Kien proves without doubt that commercial relation was already existing between India and China in 2nd century before Christ by some land route which connected South-Western China and India. So there is nothing impossible if a century earlier the name of the conquering dynasty of Ts'in had penetrated the South-Western provinces of China (Szechuan, and Yun-nan) and reached the ears of the Indians through these countries. It was certainly at this time that the name *Cina* appeared in India. During the advance of the Indo-Scyths towards Bactria in the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. The Indians heard about the Chinese from the north-west. Later on in the first century A. D. when regular commercial relation had been established between India on one side and Indo-China and Insulindia on the other, Indian sailors

followed the coast line and reached Tonkin where they met the Chinese. Already used to call the Chinese *Cina*, the Indian navigators continued to call them by the same name. The Chinese however had no difficulty to recognise themselves under that historical name.

The Roman orient was called Ta Ts'in on account of the fact that men of those countries were similar to the people of China. In the Chinese version of Lalitavistara prepared during the latter Han period (25—220 A. D.) The language of China is translated, as the language of Ts'in. Even in later translations of Buddhist texts, China is mentioned as the land of the *Ts'in*, the character is the same in the name of the Ts'in dynasty.

It will be therefore idle to dispute all these evidences and try to take back the name *Cina* to an earlier date than the 3rd century B. C. For us it is sufficient to point out that the mention of *Cina* in Indian literature already presupposes an intercourse between India and China long before the introduction of Buddhism.

Besides, it has been now shown that Indian stories migrated to China at an early date—we find traces of them in the writings of some Chinese authors of the second century B. C. The prince Licou ngah, otherwise known as Houai nan tseu (died in 122 B. C.) is an well known author of the 2nd cen. B. C. His writing contains reminiscences of an Indian story. Houai nan tseu speaks of the great Yu who "while going to the country of the naked people left his clothes before entering and put them on when coming out, thus showing that wisdom can adapt itself to circumstances." The story is the reminiscence of the *avadana* of a Budhisattva who did the same thing when he went to the country of the naked people for doing commerce. "From these indications" concludes Professor Chavannes, it can be ascertained that long before the introduction of Buddhism in China the Indian stories must have penetrated the country and the far East. It is still to be known however, if these stories really came from India or were derived from some common source.

The introduction of Buddhism in China took place before the beginning of the Christian era. There is however a class of traditions which would have us believe that the missionaries of Asoka, went to China in 217 B. C. to preach Buddhism. They were

imprisoned at the order of the Emperor, but were soon released when they produced some miracle. In the end of the second century B. C. (121 B. C.), the Chinese general Ho Kiu ping, after his war with the Huns, returned to the capital with a golden man. This was, the tradition says, an image of Buddha. There is, however, another set of traditions which would place the first arrival of Buddhism in the year 68 A. D. When Ming ti of the Han dynasty, dreamt of a golden man, and came to know from his courtiers that it was Buddha. He sent two ambassadors in search of the followers of Buddha. The two ambassadors, says the tradition, soon returned to the capital with two Indian Monks, Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna, who translated the first Buddhist texts into Chinese.

None of these traditions, however, is trustworthy. The political condition of Central Asia in the time of Ts'in She Houan-gti, when the 18 missionaries are supposed to have come to the Chinese Court,

do not permit us to dream of any relation of China with the west. The dream of Ming ti is also false. It was towards the close of the 1st century B.C. (2 B.C.) that the first Buddhist text was brought by a Chinese ambassador (Tsiang King) from the Indo-Scythian court. Besides in the middle of the first century B.C. we hear of the existence of monks and laymen in the court of a prince of the imperial family, ruling in the valley of Yoang tse kiang. The story of the dream of Ming ti, also shows that the courtiers of Ming-ti were already familiar with Buddhism. But there is no reason of disbelieving the arrival of the two monks Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna, as some of their translations, are still preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka and bears a very ancient stamp. The first Buddhist monastery which was built for them in the capital of China (Ho-nan [fu], viz, Po-ma-sse, "the white horse monastery" played a great role for long centuries in the history of the Buddhist church in China.

THE COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY OF INDIAN LABOUR

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IT has been repeatedly said that one of the causes of India's industrial backwardness is the inefficiency of Indian labour, and it is generally assumed that this inefficiency is due to racial and other irremovable causes. It is therefore necessary to inquire whether, the environment and other conditions being the same with other labourers, Indian labourers are really as inefficient as they are thought to be.

Such an inquiry was held a few years ago, under the auspices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States (Government) Department of Labor, by Rajani Kanta Das, M. Sc., Ph. D., former lecturer in economics, New York University. The result of his inquiry is embodied in his book on "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast." * It is

divided into eleven chapters, dealing with Immigration, Geographical Distribution, Occupational Classification, Employment and Unionism, Conditions of Work, Industrial Efficiency, Wages and Income, Standard of Living, Social Life, Traits and Achievements, and Principal Problems. We shall here deal briefly with the subject of the industrial efficiency of our countrymen in America, and the allied topics of their morals and cleanliness, as these have a bearing on their efficiency.

As in America the word Indian is used to denote the aboriginal inhabitants of that continent, Dr. Das uses the word Hindustani to mean a native of India.

In America our laborers are for the most part without the advantages of home life and the influence of social opinion. Moreover, most of them go there without any knowledge of the language of the country. In spite of

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these disadvantages, as we shall see, they are generally as efficient as, and sometimes more efficient than, men of other races.

Dr. Das's book is as free from patriotic bias as is generally to be expected. He writes in the true scientific spirit, scrupulously mentioning everything which goes against his countrymen. Yet the final verdict is not unfavorable to them. It is not possible in a brief article to reproduce or summarise all the evidence and conclusions contained in his work; for that the book itself should be read. We will present to the reader only a few of them.

Dealing with the question of the aptitude and adaptability of Hindustani workers the author says that they become quickly familiar with the process of cultivating land with modern machinery. "The work in saw-mills was also a new venture to them, but here also they adapted themselves very rapidly and have become expert in many of the operations in a short time."

As regards regularity of attendance, Dr. Das records:—

"The Hindustani workers stand very high in the estimation of their employers on this score. Not only are they punctual but always steady in their attendance. Whenever they accept a job, they stick to it until it is finished."

In application and endurance, "the Hindustanis stand very high." Employers and superintendents speak of them in these respects as either "good," "excellent," "steady," "reliable," or "industrious." They also enjoy a high reputation for speed and dexterity.

"In the different industrial activities in which most of the Hindustanis are at present engaged on the Pacific Coast, they are regarded as very skilful and ingenious."

Dr. Das quotes evidence to prove his conclusions.

As regards the comparative efficiency of the Indian workers on the Pacific Coast, the author observes:—

"In the present study, a special attempt was made to ascertain the efficiency of the Hindustanis as compared with that of the other nationalities. Some of the results were verified by a large number of persons of different occupations, such as employers, superintendents, foremen and landowners. With the exception of one or two unfavorable criticisms, the people generally spoke very highly of the efficiency of the Hindustanis."

The unfavorable criticisms are quoted below:—

"Their industrial efficiency I have found is not to be compared with that of the Americans,"

writes Mr. H. L. Miller, a former manager of the State Employment office at Chico, California.

Says Mr. W. F. Toomey, fruit grower of Fresno, California: "Japanese and Hindus are about equal; Americans, regular ranchers, better than either Japs or Hindus; average man from city not as good as either the Hindus or the Japanese; Mexicans and (American-) Indians slower than above-mentioned, and not as industrious as any of the above races."

The favorable opinions are far more numerous. We quote a few below.

"Comparing them (the Hindustanis) to other nationalities as to their efficiency, I can say that they are as good as or better in some cases than the Japanese workers, and far above the Mexican and Chinese workers. The Chinese are a slow class of workers and the Mexicans have to be watched all the time," is the statement of Mr. John A. Greene, manager of the Public Employment Bureau of the State of California, at Stockton, California.

"I consider them very efficient", writes Mr. Kelt Gould of Clovis, California, "really the best workers we have among the people other than Americans."

Mr. Carson C. Cook of the Rindge Land and Navigation Company at Stockton, California, found the Hindustani farm worker "as capable as the average farmer of any race."

"My opinion is," remarks H. B. Graeser, Holtville, Cal., "that the Hindu ranks well in intelligence with the American laborer and I have met a number who will rank much higher."

The author sums up thus:—

"In spite of the difference of opinion as to the exact degree of efficiency, we might say in conclusion, that compared with other races and nationalities such as the Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Americans and Canadians, the efficiency of the majority of the Hindustanis is of a very high order in the different fields in which they are engaged."

As regards cleanliness, Dr. Das points out that "one of the essential qualities of Hindustani life is personal cleanliness", and in proof mentions the habits of daily bathing, daily cleaning the teeth, always washing the hands after returning from the toilet, always having the linens and underwear clean, etc. One of the reasons why in spite of these facts, the Hindustani worker is often considered uncleanly is thus stated by the author:—

"It must be pointed out that the Hindustani does not dress himself with special reference to society. He may have taken his daily bath, washed his hair, brushed his teeth and donned clean underwear, yet he fails utterly to appreciate the idea that he must adjust his dress according to the social etiquette. His shirt, though freshly washed, is frequently unironed; his suit, though clean, is often unpressed; his shoes, though costly, are unpolished; and these peculiarities make the Hindustani look untidy."

Dr. Das quotes from "India's appeal to Canada" the following testimony of Dr. S. H. Lawson, M. D. :—

"There is one phase of the Hindu question concerning which the majority of the public seem to hold most erroneous opinions. I refer to his personal habits regarding cleanliness, use of alcoholic liquors, etc. As ship surgeon on the C. P. R. Steamer *Monteagle* and later the *Tartar* at the time of the greatest influx of Hindus, the majority of those people passed under my close observation. It was my duty to make a thorough physical examination of each immigrant at Hong-Kong, and although at first I was strongly prejudiced against them, I lost this prejudice after thousands of them had passed through my hands and I had compared them with the white steerage passengers I had seen on the Atlantic. I refer in particular to the Sikhs and I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that they were one hundred percent cleaner in their habits and freer from disease than the European steerage passengers I had come in contact with. The Sikhs impressed me as a clean, manly, honest race. My more recent impressions as surgeon in mining camps among thousands of white men, where immorality is rife, has increased my respect for the Sikhs."

A special attempt was made, says the author, to ascertain the amount of vice

and crime among the Hindustanis on the Pacific Coast. One of the points of investigation was the prevalence of venereal diseases. The evidence quoted shows that these were not commoner among them than among other races. Dr. Engel, Calixico, found that these diseases among them were less than among others." "From the standpoint of health and morals", observed Dr. Corry, "I think they compare favorably with any other class of citizens."

The evidence quoted also shows that in criminality the record of the Hindu is not worse, but rather better, than that of other races in America.

The author also quotes evidence to show that in integrity and the spirit of self-respect the Indian labourers in America stand high.

Dr. Das's book ought to be translated into the chief Indian vernaculars—particularly Hindi.

He has rendered a national service which, we hope, will be duly recognised and appreciated.

OSKAR VON MILLER, GERMAN ELECTRICAL ENGINEER VISITING INDIA

PROF. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Editor, Journal of the Indian National Chamber of Commerce has received a communication from Excellenz Geheimer Baurat Dr. Oskar Von Miller to the effect that under the auspices of the Norddeutscher Lloyd, a German Shipping Company, he has been visiting Singapore, Java, Bali and the other islands of the group. Dr. Von Miller is electrical engineer and founder director of the *Deutsches Museum* (German Museum of Natural Science and Technology) at Munich in Bavaria.

The object of his travels is to study the collections in the field of the natural sciences, the historical monuments as well as the sources of water-power. He is expected to

be in Calcutta by the last week of January and is likely to spend a month or so visiting Benares, Delhi, Jaipur, Bombay, Madras and Colombo.

As some of our engineers and industrialists as well as persons interested in economic development, science and technology may like to make the personal acquaintance of the distinguished traveler, a few items of his professional and scientific career are being enumerated below :

1881. Visits the Electro-technical Exhibition at Paris as the "government commissioner" of Bavaria.

1882. Organizes the International Electrical Exhibition at Munich, the first of its kind in Germany.

1882. A Private society sends him to the United States *Via* England to study the electrical works.

1883. Invited by the Austrian Government to help the commission preparing the legal regulations relating to the industrial use of electricity.

1884. Leaves government service on the invitation of Emil Rathenau, the industrialist, to be associated with him in his newly founded "German Edison Co" (which afterwards has grown into the world-famous *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-gesellschaft*, General Electric works, for the manufacture of electrical machineries.

Almost at the same time the *Berliner Elektrizitäts-werke* is established by Rethenau and Von Miller with the object of furnishing Berlin with electric light.

1890. Returns to Munich and begins his independent practice.

1891. Invited to Frankfurt to organize the International Electrical Exhibition. Water-power is used and electricity is carried to a distance of 180 kilometres (roughly about 113 miles). He "compels the distant cascades of the Neckar," as sings a poet, "to function on the banks of the main." A wonder of that epoch of electrical industry and science. Germany wins world-recognition as an electrical power.

1891-1900. Undertakes the establishment of electrical works of all sorts for (i) Munich the *Isar-Werke* to operate the industrial section of the city, (ii) Hermannstadt in Roumania (utilizing the water-power of the Carpathian Mountains), (iii) Meran and Bozen in Southern Tyrol, Austria, now in Italy, (utilizing the water-power of the Etsch River) (iv) Tettngang in Wuerttemberg (electrical

railway), (v) Strassburg in Alsace (now in France), (vi) Wiesbaden, (vii) Riga in Russia (now in Lettland), (viii) Ludwigshafen, and other cities of Central and Eastern Europe.

1896-1903. Publication of *Die Versorgung der Staedte mit Elektrizitaet* (Supplying the Cities with Electricity), a comprehensive book in two volumes on electrical science and industry. The utilization of water-power has attracted the author's greatest attention.

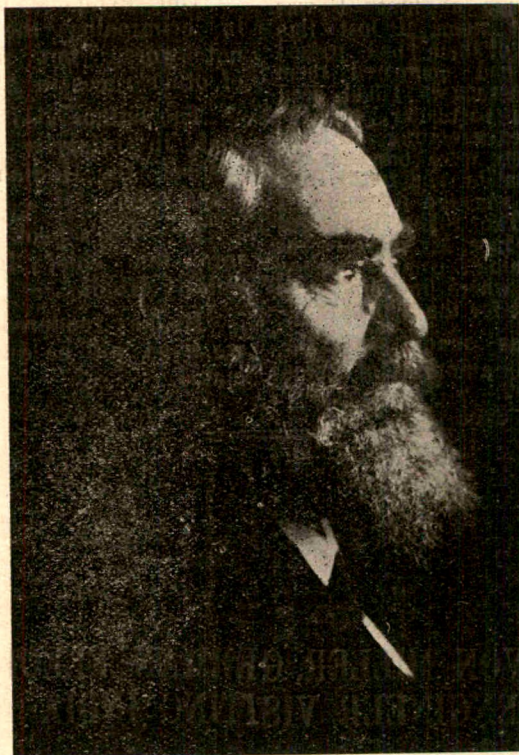
1902. At the "Congress of German scientific investigators and medical men" which sits at Karlsbad V. Miller formulates his precise plan in regard to the electrification of Germany, and specially of Bavaria (which is poor in coal).

1911. Submits to the Bavarian government the plan for the unification and centralization of all electrical public works on the right side of the Rhine.

1914-21. The *Bayern-werke* project developed and work commenced. The industries and railways of the whole of Bavaria to be operated from one main centre fed by water-power.

In addition to the professional engineering activities by which V. Miller has been able to contribute some of the most

imposing industrial installations to Germany and render economic services to the German people his career is noteworthy for the establishment of the *Deutsches Museum* at Munich which is one of the most remarkable institutions of the world. The plan was broached in 1903 before the Congress of German Engineers which held its annual session that year at Munich. The co-operation of the geologist Zittel, the physicist Roentgen the engineers Siemens, Zeppelin and others was secured. The Kingdom of Bavaria as well as the German Empire came to the help.



Dr. Oskar Vm Miller
Electrical Engineer and Founder of the
Deutsches Museum.

In 1906 the foundation-stone was laid for the new building on the Isar-Island. A part of it was ready by 1916. But the whole including the library has been formally declared open in 1924.

The psychological origins of the *Deutsches Museum* may be briefly described. In 1878 Oskar Von Miller visited the South Kensington Museum in London as a young engineer. And in 1881 as government commissioner he had the occasion to attend the International Electrical Exhibition at Paris. There he visited the *Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers*, it occurred to him that in entire Germany there was no institution corresponding to the British or the French museum of technology. The German institutions of the 80's were merely school-boy collections so to say, adapted to the requirements of students and professors. An elaborate Museum for the whole people was yet to be built.

There is another aspect of the question to

which V. Miller directed his attention. He noticed that the technical museums of London and Paris were great indeed in the collections. But neither in the one nor in the other was it possible to study the scientific discoveries and technical inventions in their historical development. The formative, experimental stages in the growth of the great discoveries and inventions of the latter half of the nineteenth century had been neglected as much at Paris as at London.

The *Deutsches Museum* is in dimensions the greatest of the technical museums existing in the world to-day. And from the standpoint of exhibiting the mutual influences of natural science and technology the Bavarian institution is perhaps unique of its kind.

Dr. Von Miller is 71 years old and is one of the most highly respected of men in Germany.

GAUHATI—THE TEMPLE TOWN OF ASSAM*

THE 41st Session of the Indian National Congress will have been held at Gauhati (Assam), under the presidency of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar ex-advocate General of Madras, before the publication of the present issue of the *Modern Review*. This is the first session of the Indian National Congress held in Assam.

Assam is fairly rich in natural resources and her natural grandeur is magnificent. With the lofty mountains standing along the north, with vast plains bounded by high ranges such as Bhutan, Khasia-Jaintia, Naga and the Garo hills and with the mighty river Brahmaputra majestically flowing through her heart, Assam may stand comparison with the most beautiful country in the world. The total area of the province is 77,000 sq. miles.

Assam is sacred with a thousand memories of India's past glories, memories of culture movement, of heroic deeds and in Assam from a long time past progressive Hindu religion has been a living force. It was

in Assam that Princess Joymoti practised passive resistance and cheerfully bore the tortures of death while firmly refusing to disclose the name of her beloved and brave husband who was wanted by the king.

Gauhati (Gua-hathi—High land covered with areca-nut trees) is situated on the left bank of the river Brahmaputra. The town is located in the district of Kamrupa. The origin of the name Kamrupa is mythologically explained as follows:

When Sati died of vexation at the discourtesy shown to her husband Siva by her father Daksha, Siva overcome by grief, wandered about the world carrying her dead body on his head. In order to put a stop to his penance, Vishnu followed him and lopped away the body piecemeal with his discus. It fell to earth in fifty-one different pieces, and wherever each piece fell, the ground was held to be sacred. Her organs of generation fell on Kamgiri i.e., Nilachal Hill near Gauhati and the place was thenceforth held sacred to Kamakhya. As Siva still continued to do penance, the other gods became afraid that he would thereby acquire universal power, and accordingly despatched Kamdeb, the Indian cupid, to make him fall in love again, and thereby break his penance. He succeeded in his mission, but so enraged was Siva at the result, that he burnt him to ashes by a fiery glance from the eye in the centre of his

* Based on Gait's History of Assam, Assam District Gazetteer, and Hatibarua's Congress Guide.

forehead. Kamdeb eventually recovered his original form and the country where this took place became known as Kamrupa. (Gait: A History of Assam p. 11).

Narak-Asur, according to legends is said to have erected the temple of Kamakshya in the heroic period of the Mahabharata. He made Pragjyotishpur (Modern Gauhati) his capital and fortified it. There is still a hill in the vicinity of Gauhati which is called the hill of Narak-Asur. Narak's son Bhagadatta fought for the Kauravas in the great battle of Kurukshetra. It was in this holy land of Kamrup that ancient sages like Basistha, Sankaracharya, Kasyapa and others found suitable places for their *Tapasya*. For many centuries the history of the district is involved in great obscurity. Some historians assert that the line of Narak was displaced by a Bodo chief who ruled at Gauhati. It appears that in the 11th century A. D., Kamrupa was included in the territories of the Pala Kings, who were powerful and civilised monarchs. They were lords of Pragjyotishpur (Modern Gauhati). The huge tanks in the neighbourhood of Gauhati and the bricks and mortar found in

every direction beneath the soil show that it must have been a place of great importance.



Basistha-Ashram, Gauhati



Palace of the Ahom King in ruins.

To the south there are remains of ramparts (one made by Arjun, the Buragohain in 1667 A. D.) nearly four miles distant from the river's bank and it is obvious that such an extended line of fortifications could only have been held by a large army. The contrast between the glories of old Gauhati and the dead level of mediocrity which is the distinguishing feature of the district at the present day is very marked. * In the 16th century the Koch Kings came into possession of the district. The power of this dynasty, however, rapidly declined and in the 17th century the district was the scene of continual conflicts between the Muhammadans and the Ahoms. Within a short space of 50 years Gauhati was taken and re-taken no less than 8 times by rival aspirants and these raids brought great misery and hardship upon the inhabitants. Towards the end of the 17th century Kamrupa was definitely incorporated in the kingdom of the Ahom Kings. 38 Kings of the dynasty ruled the country after which the King of Burma began to exert his influence in the administration of the country. British help was unavoidably asked for. An expedition under Col. Richardson was dispatched to drive out the Burmese from Assam. The Burmese suffered a defeat and according to the terms of the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, although the Burmese quitted the territory, the destiny of the Assamese was virtually transferred to the hands of the British-Indian Government. And in 1926, just a century later, Assam has invited the Indian National Congress to shape and guide the future destiny of the Indians by the Indians themselves!

* Assam Dt. Gazetteer,

Gauhati is a port of call for the river steamers, and an excellent metalled road runs from Gauhati Ghat to Shillong, the head quarters of Assam. The town is growing steadily and the population in 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1921 was 11,492; 11,695; 8,283; 11,661, 16,000 respectively. During the Ahom rule this town became the residence of the Viceroy for Lower Assam. The Ahom Viceroy used to be the ruler of the extensive district and was in charge of the relations between Assam and Bengal. At that time Gauhati was garrisoned by some five or six hundred men.

From the European point of view the city has not been very attractive. Buchanan Hamilton in his *Memoirs of Assam* (1809) describes the city as a "very poor place".



Kamakhya Temple on the Nilachal Hill—Gauhati

The bracing climate of Shillong was perhaps more attractive to the European officials who did all they could to effect the transfer of the seat of Government from Gauhati to Shillong. The District Gazetteer states:

For many years after our (British) occupation Gauhati remained the headquarters of the province but it enjoyed a very evil reputation for unhealthiness. Col. Hopkinson, the Commissioner in 1866 brought a powerful indictment against the district when advocating the transfer of his headquarters to Shillong.....The European population of the place must have been very small but death was only too busy in their ranks."

Their agitation however was successful and even to this day, when Assam has got

the status of a province, Shillong is the capital of Assam.

In spite of the denunciation by Europeans the situation of the town is extremely picturesque. To the south Gauhati is surrounded by a semi-circle of thickly wooded hillocks, while in front the mighty river Brahmaputra rolls on. 'In the centre of the river lies a rocky island, the further bank is fringed with graceful palms, and the view is again shut in by ranges of low hills. Considerable improvements in drainage and water supply have been effected and the town is now very healthy.

The most noteworthy event in the recent history of Gauhati was the great earthquake of 1897 which devastated the whole town.

Gauhati is the chief town and administrative headquarters of the district and principal centre of trade in Lower Assam. Tea is a flourishing industry in the district. There are good educational facilities in the town. The Cotton college, named after Sir Henry Cotton formerly Chief Commissioner of Assam, is now affiliated to the Calcutta University up to M. A. standard. Besides there is a Law College (Earle Law College) and a large number of H. E. Schools.

Recently a museum under the appellation of *Kamrupa Anusandhan Samity* have been established at Gauhati. It will surely bring to light all the past glories of Assam that are now consigned to oblivion.

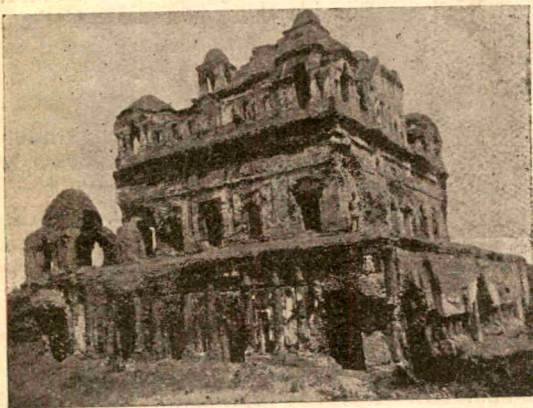
Gauhati has aptly been called the temple-town of Assam. About two miles to the west of Modern Gauhati on the summit of the Nilachal Hill lies the *Kamakhya* temple—a place of pilgrimage visited by the Hindus from every part of India.

"Kamakhya should be visited by every lover of the picturesque. A paved causeway, which tradition says was constructed by Narak-Asur thousands of years ago, stretches from the Trunk Road to the spur on which the temple stands. The path is steep, and the rocks had been worn to a slippery smoothness by the feet of generations of pilgrims. The sides of the hill are rocky, in places even precipitous, but, wherever they can find a foot-hold, the giants of the forest have driven their roots into the earth, and huge peepul and rubber trees cast their shadows over the path. At either end it passes through an archway of fine masonry and

here and there the rocks along the side have been hewn into the semblance of gods. From the summit of the hill there is a magnificent view over the surrounding country. Its feet are washed by the mighty Brahmaputra, whose channel, at this point is shut in by rocks on either hand. To the south there are the tumbled masses of the Khasia Hills, rising out of the alluvium as cliffs rise out of the sea, the flat and fertile valleys, with which they are intersected, forming a striking contrast to their precipitous and jungle-covered sides. On the north are fields of golden rice and yellow mustard, groves of palms and feathery bamboos, surrounded and enclosed by rocky hills, while far away in the distance are the blue ranges of Bhutan and the snowy peaks beyond."

Another place of pilgrimage situated in the vicinity of Gauhati is the *Umananda* island—the place which was the delight of Uma. Siva Sinha built a temple at this place in 1720 A. D., and dedicated it to Siva and Parvati.

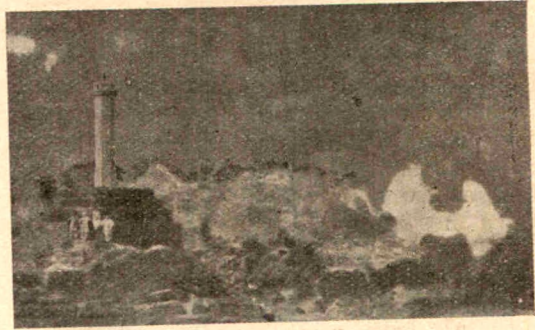
Near the *Umananda*, there is another small hillock called *Urbasi* and on the north bank of the river stands on a rocky promontory the temple of *Aswaklanta*. The story goes that Srikrishna halted here with Rukmini and the holes now visible in the rocks have been made by his horse's hoofs. Near about lies the temple of *Ugratara* and *Chatrakar*. The most interesting temple near Gauhati is



Urbasi rock in the middle of the river Brahmaputra with the signal pillar, Gauhati.

Navagraha (nine planets). It stands on the summit of a low hill on the east of the town and the roof of the dome has completely disappeared. Looking down from above on to the floor of this open cockpit are seen the altars of the sun, moon and other seven 'planets'. The *Vasistha-Asram* lies nine miles south of Gauhati amongst the most romantic and picturesque surroundings. The temple was erected in 1751 A. D., by Rajah Rajeswar Singha in honour of the sage Vasistha,

who is said to have spent some time in the locality. *Rudreswar* is another temple near



Umananda Island, Gauhati

Gauhati erected by Siva Singh in memory of his father, the hero Rudra Singha who died in 1714. At Hajo, near Gauhati, stands the celebrated temple containing the image of Nrisingh Avatar of Vishnu, and Buddhists too consider this as a place of pilgrimage. The place is also regarded as the holy Poa Mecca of the Muhammadans.

To the north bank of the Brahmaputra, just opposite to Gauhati lies the battle-field of Saraighat. Here the army of Aurangzeb under the command of Raja Ram Sing had to suffer an ignominious defeat at the hands of Lachit Bar Phukan in 1668. The historical association of Saraighat is revered by every Assamese.

The Congress town is located at Pandu, about four miles off modern Gauhati, where the Pandavas are said to have halted for some time during their exile. The temple of Shiva, known as *Pandunath*, was said to have been founded by the Pandavas.

The Congress Town itself is divided into two parts—the Congress grounds proper and the Leaders' Camp. The Leaders' Camp is built on the railway land on the Brahmaputra towards the west of the Pandu Railway Station, and is about half a mile off from the Congress grounds proper.

The Congress grounds proper are at the foot of the Kamakhya hill, and the Pandu Feeder Road passes through a portion of it encircling the other portion. The entire Congress Town comprises an area of about 105 acres of land. The pavilion is located in the centre of the grounds having the delegates' camp on the north-west, and the family cottages on the south-west and facing the exhibition grounds. The romantic spot on the bank of the Brahmaputra, where the special cottage with the president's camp is situated, has been named Chittaranjanpur. The main gate of the Congress pavilion has been named Swaraj gate. The western gate of the pavilion has been named Gandhi gate, while Ansari gate is the name given to the southern gate."* P. C. S.

*Congress Guide.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

SCENES FROM INDIAN LIFE : By Sarda Charan Ukil. R. Chatterjee, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Rs. 2, Postage extra.

This is a beautiful album of twenty-five drawings by Saradacharan Ukil, finely printed on art paper. There are besides a charming drawing on the cover and a photographic portrait of the artist. There are brief descriptions of the pictures. A foreward by Dr. James H. Cousins enhances the value of the album. Dr. Cousins says:

"Mr. Ukil's drawings are not sketches in the 'rough' sense. They are finished works in their own class. They throb with a common melodic fervour. Yet each gives in its own way the artist's emotional and intellectual response to the touches of the multifarious life of his country."

He concludes :—

"This book will bring an exquisite pleasure to every lover of art and will do much to reveal true India to India herself as well as to other peoples."

X

DEBITS AND CREDITS:—By Rudyard Kipling. Macmillan Dominions Edition

This new and interesting volume contains some hitherto unpublished poems, nearly all being inspired by the war, and a similar set of short stories,—some of them of war and the post-armistice period.

Of the poems, one "Vineyard", beginning with the already famous lines, "At the eleventh hour he came", though written with dignified restraint, has certainly not been soothing to American pride: it has already evoked considerable criticism there, and at least one striking parody has already been published in retort.

Mr. Kipling's stories are always welcome, specially, as of late, we have received so little from his pen. All the stories, however, of this series, have not attained the usual high watermark of Kipling's genius. Some of them are quite ordinary and provide dull reading: but there are others which sparkle with the usual brilliance of this popular author. "On the gate" "The Janeites", "The bull that thought" are very readable and interesting stories.

P. DAS.

THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION OF SRI CHAITANYA : By Sri Narendra Nath Chatterjee B. A., Madhur Gauranga Bhaban, Panikhati, 24 Parganas, Bengal, 1926, price six annas,

This little pamphlet of 32 pages consists of two essays, on *World Peace* and on *Modern Vaishnavism, the Religion of Sri Chaitanya*. The author is a devout follower of the Gaudiya or Bengal school of Vaisnavism and Reproposes the religion of Sri Chaitanya as the solution of the evils of the age. The discourse between Sri Chaitanya and Raja Ramananda as narrated in that great book of Bengal Vaishnavism, which is indeed one of the greatest works of Indian religion and philosophy the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraja is taken as the basis of the author's arguments, and he emphasises on the idea that all other religious experiences are but stages or stepping stones to the highest form of experience, which is that of ecstatic love for God as the lover of the soul the *madhura rasa* of the Vaisnavas. It is a slight little work, and although neither inspired nor deep or erudite, the author's conviction and his earnest desire to draw all to the beauty of the ideal of Sri Chaitanya have all our sympathy.

HANDBOOK TO MATHERAN : By Vishnu Bhikaji Dabake, Head master, Municipal School, Matheran : 1924 pp. 120, with map & illustrations, price Re. 1-8.

This is a guide to the hill-station of Matheran, near Bombay, giving detailed information in all matters connected with the place. The writer is a Resident of the town, and is in love with this beautiful spot on the Ghats, and what is more, knows all that a resident who is acting as a guide to newcomers should know about it. His book thus being written with both knowledge and sympathy is sure to be helpful to the sojourner or visitor to Matheran.

S. K. C.

HISTORY OF INDIAN TARIFFS : By N. J. Shah, B. A. Ph. D. (Econ.) Lond. Publishers—Thacker & Co. Bombay & London. Price Rs. 7-8

This book is an attempt to provide a non-partisan history of the development of tariff policy in India. At a time when inter-imperial economic and tariff problems are drawing so much of attention, the work is very opportune.

The subject has been studied by periods classified according to the problems which dominated them. The first chapter deals with the native customs system, especially under the Moghuls. Customs at the ports did not then exceed 5 p. c. advalorem, but the trade of India was obstructed by an elaborate system of inland transit duties. The second chapter deals with the period from 1765 to 1833, and describes the

British attempts at fiscal reconstruction on provincial basis. During the period from 1833 and 1875, dealt with in the third chapter, many of the most pressing reforms on lines of Free trade policy had been introduced in the customs system of India. In chapter IV. Dr. Shah examines thoroughly all the tendencies that led to the tariff policy in India during the first half of the 19th century, and exposes how the subordination of India to British interests was always the chief characteristic of the tariff policy framed for India. In the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters which cover the period between 1857 and 1896, we notice how, with the main object of encouraging the interests of British trade and industries, the principles of Free trade were practised with vengeance in India, irrespective of all financial and industrial needs of the country, often against the strong and continuous protests of the Govt. of India and always against a unanimous public opinion. The eighth chapter has been devoted to tariff changes between 1896 and 1922. Generally speaking the old policy of free trade was continued till 1914, except at times when strong foreign competition endangered British or Imperial interests. From 1914 the financial stress of the war caused large increases in the low pre-war tariff of India, and consequently Imperial Preference became a subject of serious discussion. The Indian movements for a protective tariff and Fiscal autonomy also gradually developed after the war till the Indian Fiscal Commission recommended in 1922 protection with discrimination.

The Book thus affords an excellent compendium of facts relating to the tariff history of India and dispassionately delineates the issues with a language at once forceful and convincing.

N. S.

EARLY EUROPEAN BANKING IN INDIA, WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON PRESENT CONDITION: By H. Sinha, certified Associate of the *Institute of Bankers, London*. Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, 1927. Price Sh. 12-6 net.

This book is a distinct contribution to the economic History of Modern India. Many of us have studied deep and well the political history of this period in the hope of mastering the details of the evolution of our serfdom; but few have really understood how important it is, for the realisation of this ideal, to hunt up the forgotten chapters of the history of Britain's economic conquest of India. One Plassey did not achieve this. It was slow and tedious work but it paid the British much more than they got by painting the map of India red.

Mr. Sinha has shown himself to be a hard worker. Not only that, he has proved himself to be methodical and as possessing a clear idea of what he is aiming at. Early European Banking in India—and Mr. Sinha has gone systematically over the records of the Imperial Bank of India, the Bengal Government Record Office, the Imperial Record Office, the library of the Institute of Bankers London, the India Office etc. The result has been that his book contains information which no other book contains and gives us definite answers where we had to be satisfied before with only vague conjectures.

Who knew that India had a joint stock Bank more

General Bank of India established in 1786 was a limited liability bank with a hundred shareholders (not more than 400 quarter shareholders) of which some were privileged "as original subscribers." Art. 8 of the Articles of the Bank said, "The subscribers shall be liable to no risk or claim beyond the amount of their subscription."

Mr. Sinha gives some good specimens of the instruments of banking of those days, both European and indigenous, and these form one of the most interesting features of the book. The reader is struck everywhere in the book by one outstanding aspect of early European Banking in India. It is the constant effort made by those bankers to adapt themselves to local conditions and the readiness with which they went in for even daring experiments. In the conclusion of his book Mr. Sinha states a reason for the success of European Banking in India. When these Bankers came to India, the indigenous banking was in an advanced state of development and one wonders how the Europeans could establish themselves in India. Mr. Sinha says, "The reason is that they supplied a want and made important contributions to banking in India". He also says "In tracing the history of early European banks, many questions naturally arise in the mind of the economic enquirer. The first is why did not the indigenous banks adapt themselves to the new conditions. Why was it necessary to establish European banks with state aid? We have seen that the indigenous bankers were willing to accept Bengal Bank Post Bills in preference to their time honoured *hundis*. Their failure to adjust themselves to the new circumstances must therefore be ascribed not to their narrowness or conservatism but to the circumstances of the time" What were these circumstances? We are told, "during the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the East India Co., was in power without responsibility, most of the foreign trade passed out of the hands of the people. The inland trade was also monopolised by the servants of the Co. for a considerable time. As a result of this indigenous bankers naturally lost their old pre-eminence." So the main and real reason was here rather than in the excellence of European Banking.

The book is well-printed and got-up.

A. C.

ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL:—By J. C. Sinha, Reader and Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University. Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd., St. Martin Street, London, 1927. Price Sh. 12-6 net.

Prof. J. C. Sinha is an economist of ability. His book on the early history of Anglo-Bengali economic relations, therefore will be welcomed by every student of Indian economics. British politics was preceded by British economics in India and the economics can be related to the politics as cause and effect. Britain did not conquer India by the sword. The conquest was achieved on the other hand by economic means. For this reason, the study of economic history has a special significance—a fundamental political one—for us. Prof. J. C. Sinha has given us a level headed account of the rise of British economic power in Bengal. His treatment of the subject is scientific and based on facts and figures, not sentiment. His conclusions differ in some cases from accepted ideas but he gives arguments everywhere

to support his own views. For example, he thinks that the estimate of Digby of the drain of wealth from Bengal after Plassey to be exaggerated. Instead of it being 500/1,000 million pounds Prof. Sinha thinks the drain amounted to about £40 millions. (then) or, considering the present fall in the purchasing power of the Rupee, £200 millions (now). He, nevertheless, considers this drain to have been extremely injurious to the economic life of Bengal. The increased exports from Bengal representing part of the drain, were of little good to Bengali industry on account of their oppressive and exploitative nature. Prof. Sinha gives a long and detailed account of the abuses prevalent during this period.

The East India Co. and their hirelings were out to make money and some of their deeds show to what depths they descended for the sake of lucre. When they were virtual rulers of Bengal, in 1770 a famine of terrible intensity broke out in that province. Selling of children, eating leaves, grass and even dead bodies were of common occurrence during the famine. The East India Co.'s Government practically did not move a muscle to save the people who were dying like fleas. In one case a grant of five rupees a day was made for a province containing 400,000 people!

There are many other items of information in the book which deserve reproduction but space does not permit fulfilment of our desire to do so. We congratulate Prof. Sinha on the excellent quality of his treatise and hope he will write often and more.

A. C.

THE NEW SPIRIT. By Havelock Ellis; Fourth Edition with a new preface; Constable and Company Ltd. 250 Pp. 6 s. net. 1926.

This book was written in 1890 by Mr. Havelock Ellis who was then quite young. The author now brings out the book exactly as it was written. He has his reasons for doing this. He thinks that the ideas given in the book were much in advance of the times and what was then considered to be outrageous and "ultra" will now be taken as quite sober views. The book consists of five critical essays on Diderot, Heine, Whitman, Ibsen and Tolstoi with an introduction and a conclusion. The essays are not merely literary criticisms; the author has tried to infuse in them his own ideas about the tendencies of the age. Hence the name 'New Spirit'. The author writes in the preface, "One might best indicate the nature of that spirit, I thought by carefully selecting certain significant personalities and studying them in the light of one's own personal temperament." The book is a personal document put into an impersonal shape. The way in which Mr. Ellis discusses about the social, moral religious and intellectual revolutions then going on through the writings of the authors selected is quite unique. He has played with a dangerous weapon and has come out successful only because he is dexterous. The book will be of real interest to students of modern literary movements.

SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET: Edited with introduction, notes and illustrations by Amarnath Jha, M.A. Allahabad, The Indian Press Limited, 1926.

This is a beautifully got-up annotated edition

of the famous tragedy. Will be very helpful to University students.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONARY: By Upendra Nath Banerjee. Published by K. L. Chakravarty 46-1 Durga Charan Mitter St., Calcutta. Pp. 174 Price Re. 1-8. 1925.

The author of this interesting book was a labelled anarchist and was tried and deported as such during the Swadeshi movement. He narrates a pathetic story of a futile endeavour in his humorous clear-out style. The original memoirs were written in Bengali.

GLIMPSES OF VILLAGE LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA: By Hon'ble Thakur Rajendra Singh, M.L.C. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 3. 1926.

This volume is the collection of several well-written essays on Indian village life. The author has given the pictures of familiar things and scenes in a pleasant form. The book is written from the standpoint of agriculture and will at least give some idea to the reader of what the Indian village life is like. The book is well got-up but the price seems to be too high.

CHARACTER BUILDERS: By Kharshedji Cawasji Desai Navasari. 1925. Pp. 602. Price not given.

Mr. Desai has really done a great service to his country by the publication of this very useful book.—The sayings of the great, the lofty ideas of master minds of ancient and modern times are highly valuable for moral and religious upliftment of the younger generation. The utility of the book has been enhanced by refixing the life-sketches of the authors to their sayings. The get-up is excellent.

THE CENTURY OF LIFE: By Aurobindo Ghose. The Shama'a Publishing House, Madras. Pp. 133; Price 1-14.

The *Niti Shataka* of the famous poet Bhartrihari has been freely rendered in to English verse by S. Ghose. The renderings were made more than 20 years ago. Every piece is like a gem clear and sparkling—the translations are really good. We give below one or two 'Sloka's'—

- (1) It is not armlets that adorn a man
Nor necklaces all crammed with moonbright pearls,
Nor baths, nor ointments, nor arranged curls
This art of excellent speech that only can
Adorn him; jewels perish, garlands fade;
This only abides and glitters undelayed.
- (2) Like shadows of the afternoon and moon
Friendship in good men is and in the base;
All vast the lewd man's in its first embrace,
But lessens and wears away; the others, born
A dwarfish thing, grows giantlike apace.

Considering the bulk and matter the price of the book is high.

LITTLE MRS. MANINGTON. By Cecil Roberts, Hodder and Stoughton 7s. 6d.

This is an addition to the list of Holiday Fiction given in the last month's Reviews. It will provide a good four hour's reading and will repay purchase.

SELECTIONS FROM DIFFERENT POETS: By Ram Gopal. Bangalore Press, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 2 (paper cover).

The selection consists of some pieces of Bhartrihari Santi-Sataka rendered into English; some poems of Robert Burns and several pieces from other poets. In selecting the compiler has considered only those pieces which begin or end with a moral to make the book useful to young students.

S. K. D.

BENGALI

SAN YAT SEN O BARTTAMAN CHIN, (SUN YAT-SEN AND MODERN CHINA): Jyotish Kumar Gangopadhyay. To be had of Messrs. Chakravartty, Chatterji & Co. Ltd., 15 College Square, Calcutta, Bengali Year 1333, pp. 148: Price Re. 1-4as.

This is a well-written book on the life of the great leader of South China and his achievement, as well as on the present-day situation in China, and we have read it with pleasure. One of the strongest and most powerful revolutions is taking place before our eyes, fraught with such momentous consequences to humanity. We of India should take some interest in the recent history and current affairs of our great neighbour, as there is a great deal for us to learn from the march of events which have transformed China during the last fifteen years—transformed her not only politically, but also socially and intellectually. The publication of a book like this, which is nothing if not opportune, shows that such an interest is not absent in our country. The writer is young student who has studied modern Chinese history and the Chinese question closely and with discrimination, his source of information naturally enough being books and journals in English and he has done a real service to Bengali readers by giving them an eminently readable *resume* of the national movement in China as embodied in the life of Sun Yat-sen. He is dispassionate, though sympathetic, and he has an eye for the essentials of the story; and he has been quite successful in this his first literary venture.

A book like this will make excellent reading for grown-up school boys and junior college students and advanced college students also will read it with profit. There is a brief preliminary survey of early Chinese history, and culture, followed by the biography of Sun Yat-sen, his career, his struggles and sufferings and the fight against the Manchus, the founding of the republic, and then the story of internal disorders and foreign intrigue. There are chapters on Sun's personality, and on the old and modern educational systems in China, on the strident political movement and on the present political situation in China, including the question of the Bolshevik influence in the country.

It is a good book, and only in one point, we wish the author were a little more careful, and that is the transliteration of the Chinese names. The author should have read up something on the pronunciation of Chinese as written in Roman characters, and guided his Bengali transcriptions accordingly, which, as they stand in his book, as Bengali approximations of English mispronuncia-

tions of Chinese names, look very jarring, and very 'unscientific' also. To enable readers to identify the names in the English newspapers, English forms of these might have been given to advantage. This however is a small matter, and does not materially affect the book, for which we wish a wide popularity.

S. K. C.

HINDI

VICHITRA JIVANA: By Pundit Kaicharan Sarma. Published by the Prem-pustakalaya, Fultti bagan, Agra, Pp. 202.

The book under notice is the result of anti-Muhammedan propaganda by the Arya-Samajists, and professes to show into the mysteries in connection with the life and doctrine of the Islamic prophet. Many original texts are freely quoted but we fear they are construed to serve the purpose of the author. We are of opinion that there is no gain in this sort of villification. We trust learned Muhummadans should meet the arguments of the author who bases them on the very Islamic documents of old.

MANOVIJNANA: By Chandramauli Sukul, M.A., L. T. The Ganga Pustakalaya Office, Lucknow, pp. 134.

A popular treatise on psychology. The appendix gives English equivalents of the technical terms used in the book.

BHARATIYA ITIHAS KA BHOUGOLIK ADHARA: By Prof. Jaychandra Vidyalkar. Published by the Hindi Bhawan, Lahore. Pp. 104.

Pandit Vidyalkar has touched upon a very interesting subject. His considerations on the geographical and orographical peculiarities of India shed new light on Indian history and civilization. How the strategic points determined the military enterprises in this land is most ably dealt with.

AKRITI-NIDANA: By Pundit Janardan Bhatta, M. A., Published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. XXII 104 with 56 plates.

This book is the Hindi translation of the English version of Louis Kunhe's German work on treatment of the physiognomical defect of the human body. This most important and interesting subject is popularly treated, and the plates elucidate the contents.

BHASHA BHUSHAN: Edited Brajaratna Das. Published by the Pathak & Sons, Raja Darwaja, Benares pp. XIX+67+XIV.

This old work on rhetoric by Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur who lived at time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib is well edited with notes and glossary by Mr. Brajaratna Das, the Secretary to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares. An old portrait of the Maharaja is also given.

MADHURA-MILAN: By Pundit Jagannathprosad Chaturvedi. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhawan, 181 Harrison Road, Calcutta, Pp. 68.

Plain social drama.

• BHARATIA ARTHA SASTRA, Part 1 : By *Bhagawan das Kela*. The Ganga Pustakalaya Office, Lucknow. Pp. 228. 1925.

A popular treatise on political economy of India. The chapter on domestic economy is specially interesting.

RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

• PRAKRIT VYAKARAN.—By *Pandit Bechar das Jirai Doshi*. Published by the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1925, 353 : Price Rs. 4.

Under the auspices of the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir is doing good work in the domain of Indology, and a number of useful books popularising the study of Pali and Prakrit through the Gujarati language have been brought out. The present work forms a very good grammar of Prakrit, perhaps the best of its kind in an Indian language, and students of Prakrit outside Gujarat should also be able to use this book to advantage, as the Prakrit is given in Devanagari character and the Gujarati rules which are also printed in Devanagari are easy to follow, at least for speakers of the Aryan languages. The author treats of the four dialects of Prakrit—Maharashtri, which with him as with orthodox Jain scholars generally, is Prakrit proper; and Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisachi and Apabhramsa. He takes Hemachandra as his model. There is an introduction of some 49 pages, the greater part of which is taken up in discussing the nature and name of the language of the Jaina canonical texts—the so-called *Ardhamagadhi* dialect. The author thinks that this speech is not the true *Ardhamagadhi*,—it does not agree with the typical Magadhi speech as described by the grammarians and as found used in the earlier dramatists to except in one point—the use of *-e* for the nominative singular of *-a*-nouns; medieval Jaina authors called it simply *Prakrit*, or sometimes *Arsha-prakrit*, and implied tacitly its close agreement with Prakrit proper, or Maharashtra; and Hemachandra did not treat this so-called *Ardha-magadhi* separately in his grammar, but he included under the other Prakrits, specially Maharashtra, thereby also implying its being a form of the last, and not a separate dialect. He quotes with approval the statement of an old writer Kramadisvara that *Ardhamagadhi* is a mixed dialect partly 'Prakrit' (i.e. Maharashtra) and partly Magadhi—a statement which is also accepted by Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri whose view Mr. Doshi cites. The author is orthodox or unscientific in his outlook, and his uncritical acceptance of the opinions of the Prakrit Grammarians goes hand in hand with a failure to appreciate the proper line of development of the middle or Prakrit stage of the aryan speech, as well as the question of dialectal differentiation in Prakrit. The fact that a number of different local dialects occur in the Asokan inscriptions, and that the Asokan graphic system employed a single consonant for a doubled one (e.g. writing *apa* but reading *appa* skt. *alpa*), are not realised by him. The only valuable thing in the introduction is the quotation (with a Gujarati translation) of an interesting

passage from a M. S. of the 'Prakrita Kuvalayamala' of Daksinyasihna Suri which mentions the characteristics of the peoples of different tracts of India, like Golla (Ganda), Madhyadesa, Magadha, Gurjara, Malava etc., and gives a typical expression from their dialects.

The introduction apart, the book is a valuable compilation, and is fairly exhaustive for a book intended for beginners. Copious examples have been given, even if they are a little uncritically disposed, especially under phonology. Declensional and conjugational forms have been given in full, and frequently Pali forms are quoted in the footnotes to explain the Prakrit. This was a happy idea. Some attention has been paid to the formative affixes, a side often neglected in Prakrit grammars. Finally a *Dhatupatha* of Prakrit roots on the authority of Hemachandra has been given, the Prakrit roots *tadbhava*, *desi* or *tatsama*, being given as equivalents in sense of Sanskrit roots. On the whole the book will serve its purpose very well viz., to act as a handbook of Prakrit grammar for students, and we wish it a wide circulation.

S. K. C.

• SANKSHIPT MAHABHARAT : By *Ratipatiram Udyamram Pandya, B. A.* Printed at the Surya-prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Golden lettered. Cloth Cover, with Coloured Pictures. Pp. 344. Price Rs 4. 8. (1925).

LAGHU MAHABHARAT : By the same Author also printed at Ahmedabad, Cloth covered. Pp. 158. Price Re 0-12-0. (1926).

There are two translations of this well-known epic of India in Gujarati, but those who did not care to go through those elaborate works were in want of a connected historical narrative, shorn of the passages, intended more for advice than narration, and this want has very well been supplied by Mr. Pandya, who has written out the whole story from the Sanskrit original in a simple but dignified style, adapted to the incidents described. The book is appreciated uniformly by those who read it, and that is no small recompense to the writer. The first book is in comparison with the second and smaller one, a sort of edition *de luxe* and the publisher has done well in entrusting the abbreviation to the same writer, as he being full of the subject, was the most proper person to render it into still simpler language for school children for whom it is intended. It contains many aids in the shape of explanations for students, and altogether we think it is bound to prove useful to them.

• JAIN GUJARAR POETS, PART I. : By *Mohanlal Dalchand Desai, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court*. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 320-656. Price Rs. 5. 0. 0. (1926).

This is a treasure house of old poems written by Jain poets in Gujarati between the XIIIth and XVII centuries of the Vikrama Era. The collection is the 'result' of Mr. Desai's persistence and assiduity as he has left hardly a single Jain Bhandar unexplored, wherever and whenever he could help it. His opinion is that prior to the XIIIth century, the literature of Gujarat was written in *Apabramsha* (very old Gujarati) and hence

he has taken that century as the starting point for his collection. A preface of staggering volume consisting of 320 pages, containing a *short* history of old Gujarati forms an important part of this book. If the author calls this a *short* history we wonder what the 'size' of his preface would have been, had it been a full one. He passes in rapid review the different stages of the development of the language from Sanskrit to Prakrit, thence to Shaurseni and Paishachi, Apabramsha, old Gujarati to its present State. He asserts the principle that the prior or older forms of the language were not dying or becoming dead, but that they were developing and presenting an altered exterior. The preface is replete with quotations, from very old writers in support of the facts stated by the writer who is at pains to show that so far as the language or vehicle for expression was concerned there was no difference or distinction between the writings of Jain and non-Jain (Brahmin) writers in those far off days, just as there is none now. We congratulate Mr. Desai in his *magnum opus*. and await the second part with great interest.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

SRI VASURAYA CHATUPRABHANDHANM: *By Vaddath Subbaraya Kavi-Rajahmundry, Saraswati Press. 1925, Price Rs. 1-8-0, Pp. 304.*

This is a collection of the poetical writings of the author extending over nearly half a century. Though there is no single central theme running throughout the book the poems are grouped under four headings—the first part is a collection of poems on stray topics, the poems on the description of natural scenery which form the IInd part are really of great value. The third part consists of some brilliant translations of Sanskrit pieces. The fourth part is purely autobiographical and is written in chaste and elegant style. The poems (from page 281 to 287) are written in Sringara rasam and on every captivating and would not fail to interest the reader.

This reminds us of the Bhimini-Vilasam written by Vaganatha Kavi. It need not be stated that the author has done a signal service to the cause of the Telugu language by republishing his writings in a compact form.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

MARATHI

RAJNITISHASTRA: PARICHAYA OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS: *By Prof. S. D. Javdekar of the Tilak Maha Vidyalyaya, Poona. Published by himself, Page, 500. Price Rs. 5.*

Marathi literature is growing at a rapid pace, but the percentage of books on serious subjects of practical importance is so small that we

welcome the appearance of this book with special pleasure. Politics in our country was at one time confined more or less only to English-knowing people, but that time is now long past. No man did more to familiarise the people of Maharashtra with politics in their own tongue than the late Lokmanya Tilak, and as a result the circle of persons who take a keen interest in the political affairs of their own country is growing daily wider. It is, therefore, appropriate that the authorship of such an important and much-needed Marathi book should fall on one, who is a professor in the Tilak Maha Vidyalyaya of Poona. The Book is divided into three parts—historical, descriptive, and theoretical. The first part explains the necessity and origin of the institution called state and traces its evolution, right up to the present stage of its development; the second part broadly reviews the existing forms of government in the different parts of the world, such as England, America, France, Germany, Japan, Canada, South Africa and India; while the third part gives an able exposition of the necessity of government, its present and potential sphere of operation, the defects of the present form of Government in India, and the directions in which their removal could be sought. The purpose of the book is modest and that is to present to the new student a broad view of general principles of politics in the setting of its historical development. The author disclaims any attempt at originality or new discovery, but in spite of this disclaimer he has certainly achieved a measure of originality, if originality is not confined solely to any thing new that one may have to say. The originality of this book consists in the arrangement of the subjects treated. The method of their presentation and the manner of exposition, evince a high degree of skill on the part of the author, who has spared no pains to make the book as intelligible as possible. The author has constantly to refer to the older systems of Indian polity and to the evolution of British polity; but all such references are marked by an effortless dispassionateness or freedom from bias either way. The book is remarkably free from the imposing but confounding use of technical words or phrases which is generally the besetting weakness of new authors and the dread of the lay or uninitiated reader—such as a student desiring to learn the elements of politics must be. The book contains quite a wealth of quotations and references, which is calculated to serve the double purpose of furnishing a guide to further reading adding the weight of authority to the conclusions reached or to the reasoning adopted in the treatment of the subjects dealt with. The book is a model of how books for beginners should be written and is such as could be recommended not only to college students, but also to writers and speakers to whom a knowledge of the elements of politics is an indispensable mental equipment.

V. G. APTE.

GLEANINGS

The British Strike

We give below several conflicting opinions regarding the recent British Strikes---

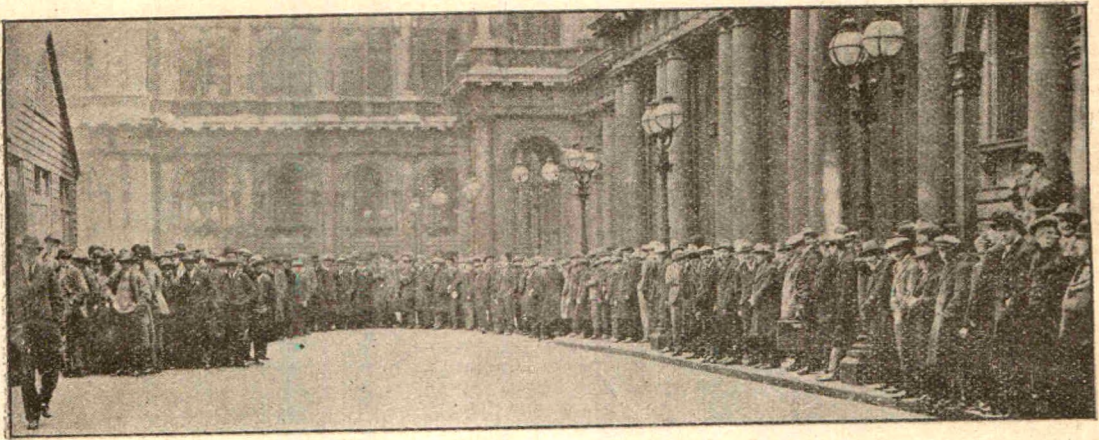
Mr. Colvin the chief Editorial writer of the *London Morning Post* wrote,

"The 'unconditional surrender' of the workers was the knowledge that the broad masses of the workers, to use a Communist phrase, could not much longer be prevented from returning to work and also that on all important food questions the strike had signally failed.

Now, to cite the labor view, as revealed by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe—

"Never has there been in this or any other country such a wonderful demonstration of solidarity of organized workers as shown in the general strike, which has achieved its object today.

"The strike has very greatly strengthened the forces of labor. Nobody imagined that the workers would stand together so firmly. For eight days they have kept their arms folded with a quiet dignity and tranquil assurances of the justice of their cause.



They Broke the strike. Citizens in London Enlisting for service in Essential Industries



Motor Transport was a Tremendous Factor in stopping the British Strike
How non-striking Londoners went to work when buses, trams and tubes were idle

"Happily the general council is composed of people endowed with a full sense of their responsibilities. They were resolved not to allow the strike to last a single moment after it had fulfilled its design.

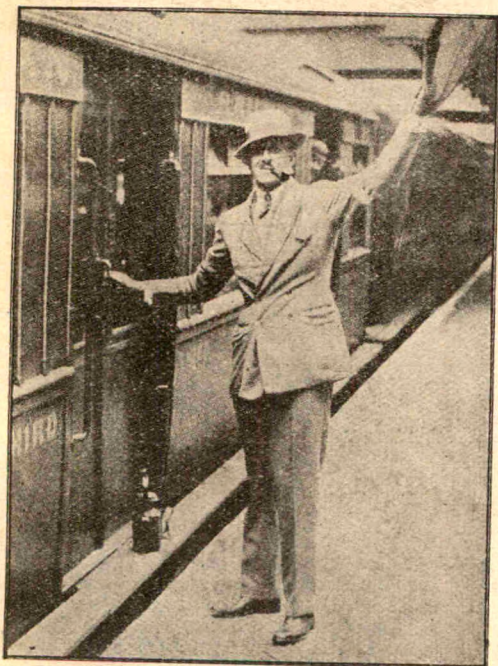
"The great value of this dramatic termination from the workers' view-point, in addition to securing a square deal for the miners, is that peace has come while they were still solid. This is an immense advantage and all strikers will resume their jobs feeling that their self-sacrifice and splendid display of comradeship has been fully rewarded."

A distinguished English liberal editor, A. G. Gardiner, writes in a copyrighted cablegram to the New York *Herald Tribune* that honors in the first place belong to the public, and he adds that no praise can be too high for the bearing of the people in circumstances of unparalleled strain and distress and incalculable menace. It was this steadiness that broke the sharp tactics and made ultimate victory assured. Also, Mr. Gardiner avers, the Government behaved with conspicuous wisdom, was firm but unprovocative, and altho a force had been mobilized for emergencies, it was kept studiously in the background. We read then:

"For this restraint, thanks are due to the moderating influence of Mr. Baldwin, who kept the spirit of sweet reasonableness in command and his wild men under check and control. I think history will be searched in vain for a parallel to this vast social convulsion taking place without the firing of a gun or, as far as I know, the loss of a



London strikers chasing a strike-breaker



An Amateur Engineer
Captain Moor, the first locomotive volunteer, who drove a train from Harrow to London during the strike.

single life by deliberate violence directed against life.

"In the spirit of this great achievement all have a share—the Government, who set the tone for the people, who kept their heads and their temper; the police, who were magnificent, and the strikers, who, however misguided, kept generally with amazing sobriety within the limits of the law and of decency.

"I come to another cause of the failure. It was within the strike movement itself. That movement was not popular. Whatever political motives may have been in the minds of a certain section of the leaders they had no place in the minds of the mass of the men. They came out unwillingly in loyalty to their unions, but generally were profoundly disturbed about the wisdom of this unprecedented attack on the public.

"As the strike advanced and they saw its consequences to themselves and others not the rich only, but still more, the poor, who were workers like themselves, this concern deepened. It was not a clean fight against some monster of capitalism after all.

"It was a fight against all sorts of helpless people they had been unanimous against.

"They saw businesses which gave them good wages and against which they had no grievance being paralyzed and destroyed by themselves for a cause which was remote and which they only half understood. These things ate at the heart of the movement and doomed it the moment the knock-out blow had failed."

Two other factors must be mentioned in



"Business as usual" during the strike
The bicycle as well as the motor was busy as a bee
The Bank of England shows in the background

the solution of the strike, according to Mr. Gardiner, who points them out as follows:

"Motor transport played a tremendous part in the result. I doubt whether any one's position could have survived such a shock in the days before gasoline had made every man an engine-driver and every road a railway. And the influence of wireless has been immense. It has kept the whole nation in touch with events and has been an astonishing medium for organizing opinion and directing public activity into the most effective channels.

"What after? The danger is that the reaction will be extreme and that violence will answer violence. Some measures to make the recurrence of such an outrage on the community impossible are necessary."

—*The Literary Digest*

The Discovery of Atmospheric Electricity

"He has torn lightning from the skies and sceptres from the hands of kings." This painting by Charles E. Mills represents Benjamin Franklin conducting his famous kite experiment. It portrays



From a Thistle Print, Detroit Publishing Co.

him as the genius and discoverer who helped pave the way for the modern wonders of electricity, and as the man who endeared himself to the world for his homely wisdom and democracy.

—*Popular Science*

Japanese Print Lost in the Earthquake

We reproduce here a print by Utamaro one of the most famous of the popular artists of the last



A print by Utamaro

century in Japan. The great earthquake of 1923 destroyed thousands of such prints.

The Colossal Laughing Buddha

The Fukien Scientific Expedition of the China Society of Science and Arts returned to Shanghai on June 24th, 1926 almost exactly six months after sailing from this port. During that time work was carried on both in the south-eastern section of the province, made famous as



The Colossal Laughing Buddha

the hunting grounds of Mr. Harry Coldwell, and the home of the blue tiger, and also in the mountainous regions near the Kingsi border on the upper reaches of the Min River, in the famous Zoological type locality of Kuatun.

This colossal laughing Buddha was discovered near the sea in the Futsing district by the Expedition. It is also said to date from the T'ang Dynasty.

—*China Journal of Arts and Sciences*

Ancient Chinese Sculpture

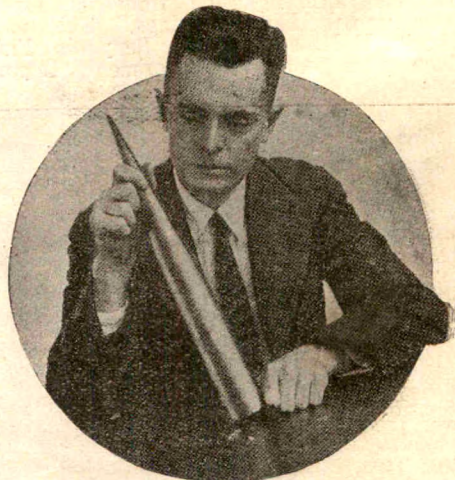
A head carved in Black Stone, showing Graeco-Buddhist influence, has been recently discovered in a Chinese Temple. It is at present in the Peter J. Bahr collection. It is supposed to be a relic of the T'ang Dynasty.

—*China Journal of Arts and Sciences*



Ancient Chinese Sculpture

An Amazing Piece of Copper



Largest copper crystal, weighing twelve pounds.
It has revealed strange properties

The illustration is of the largest single copper crystal in the world. From an ordinary piece of copper it was reduced to its present form by terrific heat, which rearranged the chaotic atoms in orderly form. The experiment was one of several made in the laboratories of the General Electric Company to discover the latent properties of single-crystal metals.

In its new form, the copper was found to conduct electricity thirteen per cent. more efficiently than before. Also, it bends easily, but only once. Bending scatters the atoms again.

—*Popular Science*

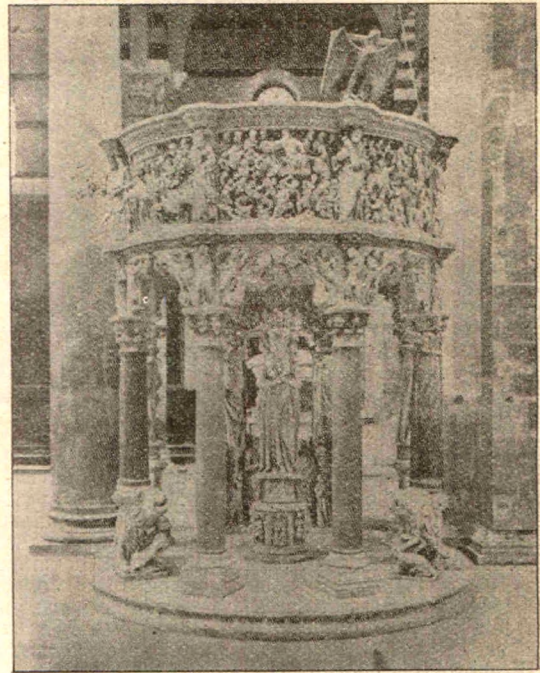
Out of the Shadows of Centuries

Signore Mussolini's volcanic energy is occasionally turned in the direction of esthetics. On May 25 he unveiled the great pulpit of Giovanni Pisano, in the Cathedral of Pisa, and brought to light again a supreme work of art that has lain dismembered and practically forgotten for centuries. He is said to have gasped with admiration when the pulpit was unveiled. This work, says a correspondent of *The London Times*, "might well claim that it had been more consistently undervalued than any other great monument in existence; and this is strange, because its parent and neighbor, the smaller pulpit made by Nicola Pisano in 1260 for the adjoining Baptistry, has received a continuous tribute of admiration, in spite of successive modifications of the laws of taste." Father and son now stand in rivalry in their respective works, the one in the Duomo, the other in the Baptistry. And a new joy is added to the traveller who visits Pisa. The story of the long obscuration of this work and its recent recovery is given by *The Times*:

"For some 250 years the pulpit, as Giovanni made and left it, had no existence even in the minds of men until, about the middle of last century, Professor Fontana, after a careful study of the scattered fragments, constructed a small wooden model of the whole which is still to be seen in the civic museum of Pisa. His work came at an inopportune moment: the union of Italy had degraded Pisa, once the capital of an invincible Republic, from being the second city of Tuscany to one of seventy or more provincial capitals each with similar claims and interests of its own. A disastrous flood, leading to the construction of the present spacious Lung'arni, absorbed the revenues of the city for a generation to come; but it is pleasant to record that certain English artists, seeing and appreciating Fontana's work, took casts of the principal fragments, which were shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and are now to be found at South Kensington.

"Finally, after the late war, the reconstruction of the pulpit was definitely taken in hand, under the direction of Prof. Peleo Bacci, then Superintendent of Fine Arts at Pisa, which he has since left to fill the corresponding office at Siena. A full-sized model was constructed and placed successively in various parts of the Cathedral until a suitable position was found. A long spell of controversy followed, owing to the meagerness of the descriptions handed down from the period before the fire of 1595. This fire which melted the leaden roof of the Cathedral, furnished an opportunity for a rearrangement of its interior, and the pulpit, which

had escaped unharmed, was removed piecemeal, its panels stuck up on the walls as casual decorations, its corbels planed into rectilinear shape to support the steps leading to the meager little box that replaced it still resting on its two lion-borne columns, and the rest carried out as lumber, scattered, sold, destroyed. In the long controversy it was maintained by some that the pulpit had been supported by nine columns, and that the caryatid figures traditionally associated with it must therefore have come from another monument, presumably the tomb of Henry VII. But Professor Bacci has triumphantly proved his conclusions, and the unity of the whole, as reconstructed under his guidance, is self-evident."

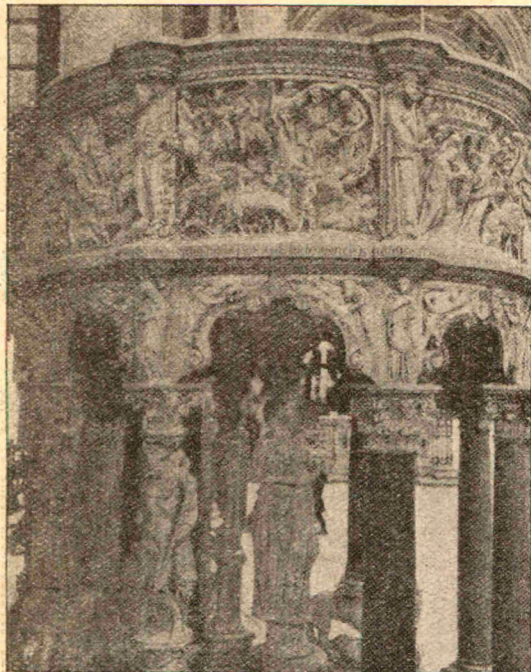


Pulpit in Pisa Cathedral
The reconstructed work of Giovanni Pisano that has long been dismembered

The panels in the wall of the landing depict scenes in the life of Christ, and the central column, seen in the picture, breaks into three life-sized figures of Faith, Hope and Charity, and behind the heads of the virtues the column rises to end in an elaborate capital of foliage. "In the expense of much learning, enterprise, and patience, the great work of reconstruction is at last complete."

The description of the pulpit takes the point of view of a visitor standing with his back to the northern wall of the church.

"The nearest columns, to his left and right (beyond the plain pillars which support the open landing), consist of figures of Christ on the one side and a female variously interpreted as the earth, Pisa, and the Church on the other. The figure of Christ, slightly below life-size, is supported upon a block flanked by the figures of the



The Adoration of the Magi.

Is the subject of the intricate sculpture in the central panel of the pulpit wall. This view shows one of the highly ornate pillars

four Evangelists. On the right hand of each Evangelist is his symbol: beneath St. Matthew's angel crouches the Operaio at whose order the pulpit was built, his face raised in supplication to the Saint. On the other side, beneath the eagle Giovanni himself kneels to receive the blessing of St. John, Christ has His right hand raised in blessing; in His left is a scroll inscribed: *Veritas de terra orta est et justitia de celo prosperavit*. On either side of His head is a cherub with outstretched wings. These cherubs have been lost and are now replaced in plaster "The corresponding figure on the right is that of a crowned woman, formerly interpreted as Pisa (and as such copied by Francavilla in his

statue of Ferdinand I. de Medici by the Royal Place): at either breast she suckles a man-child (the citizen and the countryman), and there are seven knots in the cord of her girdle, representing her dominion over the Seven Islands. (Alternatively, the woman is the Church, her babes and Old and New Testaments, the knots in her girdle the seven virtues.) Behind her head are a pair of eagles (these also replaced in plaster), and beneath her feet are the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Strength, and Justice, the front and back of the pedestal being screened by eagles.

"The column to the right of this is composed of the nude figure of Hercules, on an ornate pedestal. This figure is traditionally a relic of antiquity, said to have been taken from the house of Hannibal at Carthage, but an examination of it shows unmistakable traces of Giovanni's handiwork notably the sharply pointed knees and the treatment of the hair and beard. It is in striking contrast to Nicola's youthful and almost flamboyant Hercules in the Baptistery: a wizened, mournful figure, it symbolizes the failure of pagan strength when in conflict with the Christian strength represented by the corresponding figure of St. Michael.

"The third and sixth columns, of broccatello and porphyry, rest upon crouching lions (the one feature common to all these pulpits) each of which holds the body of a horse in his paws. The fourth and fifth columns are plain. The seventh, corresponding to the Hercules, bears a winged Michael armed and cloaked, a drawn sword in his hand—a shapely and triumphant figure. This again is in marked contrast to Nicola's Michael in the Baptistery, who wears deacon's vestments and sits with a book in his left hand, on the cover of which is carved the crucified Christ between two soldiers with sponge and spear: but the figure corresponds exactly to the winged and armed Michael in the panel, immediately above of the Judgment of the Blessed. Above the capital of each of the columns stands a sibyl, the triangular corbel on either side of her being filled with the leaning figure of a scroll-bearing prophet. Above these again are the nine panels, which, with the figures that separate them, are about one meter in height."

—Literary Digest

DIVINITY

By E. E. SPEIGHT

Thou art sent unto this earth
To be a god in human guise,
To call new beauty into birth
By the deep wonder in thine eyes.

There is none above thee, none,
Save thou shroud thyself in shame

For some evil thou hast done
To the glory of thy name.

Thou art God and thou art man,
None can set thy selves apart;
Ever since the world began
Heaven hath gathered round thy heart.

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

IV

AFTER staying at Paris for a few days, I left for London by a morning train, which was rather crowded. My seat had been reserved before. So there was no difficulty about sitting accommodation. In my compartment there were an American gentleman, his wife and their two little sons. That they were Americans I learnt after the train had started. The gentleman himself began the conversation, asking me whether I was a Hindu. On my answering in the affirmative, he asked what Mahatma Gandhi was now doing and many other questions about him. I have noticed in my travels that no Englishman ever spoke to me first without introduction. One American, two American ladies, an Australian, a Japanese, (mistaking me for the poet Tagore), a German lady (mistaking me for Tagore), a Frenchman, a Chinese, a French colonial man, etc., first started the conversation with me. By pointing out this difference I do not mean to suggest that Englishmen are not polite and sociable. About that I shall write later on.

I forgot to mention in the proper place that when at Paris I was waiting at the hotel to which I was first taken, I found an old Australian gentleman also waiting there. He asked me to sit in a chair near him and told me that he also was a stranger there like me. I learnt from him that he was an Australian minister of religion. Going to America after the death of his wife, he became the minister of a church there; and now he was going to England to meet his children, who were all grown up and settled in that country. He spoke to me about the message of Tagore, and said that the Hindus were concerned more with the deeper things of life, whereas the people of the West were more concerned with what might be of some practical advantage. He agreed with me in thinking that the gulf between East and West was not unbridgable, and that the difference between orientals and occidentals was not basic; in fundamentals they agreed.

Alighting from the train at Calais, we

hurried to the ferry steamer in which we were to cross the English channel. Both before and afterwards in my travels I found how convenient it was to have even the porters literate. They tell you their numbers; and by that you can easily find out your baggage in the customs office as well as in ferry steamers and railway compartments. You give them the slips showing the number of your seat or your sleeping berth, and they take you there and place your baggage there.

I had been told before that though I had no sea-sickness even on the Indian Ocean, I should most probably have some trouble when crossing the English channel. That was likely enough; for were not the *English* people, though few in number in India, more terrible than the *Indian* people in India who were much more numerous? So it would not be surprising if the *English Channel* were more troublesome than the *Indian Ocean*. But in reality I found crossing the channel a rather tame affair. That was also the case when I returned from England to France. On both occasions, I found some ladies affected. Perhaps there was nothing the matter with them, but their imagination was more active than their sense of the actual.

After I had been about an hour on the steamer, I could see indistinctly the chalk cliffs of Dover. They became more and more distinct as we approached the shore. At length we landed. As usual we had to pass through the customs office.

The railway journey from Dover to London took us across a small part of England and gave me my first idea of what the country was like. The Bengali poet D. L. Roy has said, "বিলাত দেশটা মাটির," "Bilat desh-ta matir"; that is to say, the British soil, like the soil of other countries, is earthy. What he meant to convey thereby is obvious. Englishmen are prosperous and powerful, and are intellectually advanced. They are prosperous, not because the soil of England is composed of gold and other precious metals which can be had for the digging, but for other reasons. They are

powerful and intellectually advanced, not because of the chemical composition of the soil being appreciably or entirely different from that of the rest of the world, but for other reasons. The lesson which the poet wished to impress upon the minds of his countrymen is that they also can be prosperous, powerful and intellectually advanced if they will only try and take the proper steps, there being nothing in the soil of their country which can present any insurmountable difficulty.

While crossing portions of Italy, Switzerland and France, I had seen green grass growing on the soil, the trees having green leaves and bearing flowers of many colours, and the rivers and lakes full of water like the water in our rivers and lakes; —there were no golden grass, or golden leaves or flowers, or molten gold or silver for water. When I tasted the water, I found it was like our water, not elixir vitae. The chemical composition of the different kinds of European food was the same as that of the same kinds of food in India. Wonderful to relate, in England also I found corroborations of these impressions! Yet, alas! Europeans and Englishmen are Europeans and Englishmen, and we are we! But to resume my story.

The first thing that struck me in my journey from Dover to London was the undulating character of the land. This feature also struck me when afterwards I went from London to Cambridge, to Oxford and to Great Missenden (a village in Buckinghamshire where at the time of my visit Sir J. C. Bose was residing). This undulating character of the soil added to the beauty of the natural scenery. The fact that England is a great manufacturing country leads many Indians to expect to see land lying uncultivated or otherwise neglected there. But I found the fact to be quite different. There are of course extensive commons in England. There are also parks and gardens. But I did not find any considerable area entirely neglected. The land was either cultivated or utilised in some other way, as I had previously found to be the case in France. The few thatched houses I saw (perhaps they belonged to farms) reminded me of similar houses in Bengal and gave me some pleasure.

It was nearly evening when I reached Victoria Station and got down from the train there. As I was told the customs inspection would take some time, I drove to the place where I was to stay. A young

friend of mine, who had been kind to me during the voyage and the transcontinental journey from Venice to Paris, kindly undertook to bring my baggage from the customs office after inspection. He took my keys from me. I am afraid he had a little trouble, not because there were any dutiable articles in my luggage, but because of the too inquisitive dutifulness of the customs officials in my case.

Rice and vegetable curry of a palatable sort I had on board the steamer *Pilsna* on several days, but my first dal (a kind of soup of split pulse) and bhat (rice) since leaving India I had the very first evening in London in the Y. M. C. A. hostel in Gower Street, formerly situated at the Shakespeare Hut. The founders and managers of this institution are to be praised for providing Indian food for so many Indian students and other Indians who choose to take their meals there; as many Indians, at least for some time after their arrival in London, do not relish European dishes cooked in the European way. Of course, European dishes are also supplied to those who want them, including beef, bacon, etc., cooked in European style. As a vegetarian I appreciated the restaurant of the institution very much. I was glad to find, as I had expected, that no wines, spirits or liquors are served there. But at the risk of being considered puritanic I must say that I noticed with pain the very large percentage of smokers among the Indian students. As far as I remember, even those Bengali students who are smokers did not smoke in my presence. But other Indian students who were smokers had "the courage of their convictions"! Perhaps it was because they did not know that I was a fellow-countryman of theirs. Or, it may be, they had outgrown the Indian (or Hindu?) convention that young men should not smoke in the presence of their elders. I do not blame them. For I know there are British professors in British universities who almost insist on their students smoking in their presence when they themselves smoke. They consider smoking perfectly harmless, physically, morally and intellectually. I think otherwise, and prefer the Indian etiquette. Here I may mention incidentally that wherever I travelled in Europe in railway trains I found compartments separately provided for smokers. This arrangement should be introduced in India.

In London, I had good rice, dal, vegetable curry, etc., at an Indian restaurant also, kept by an Indian who calls himself Virooswamy.

He supplies meat dishes also. His restaurant is largely patronised by Anglo-Indians (old style) and other Britishers. One Mr. Rajani Kanta Majumdar of Chittagong owns three hotels in London, and I heard from an acquaintance of his at Geneva that he had recently purchased a fourth one in the same city. He does not make a speciality of supplying Indian dishes. I was told in London that there was a restaurant there named 'Abdulla Restaurant'; but we could not find it out. Probably it does not exist any longer. I am told it was kept by a non-Muhammadan, the name Abdulla being given to attract meat-eating customers. I believe a few well-managed Indian restaurants would pay in London.

The Y. M. C. A. hostel in Gower Street, and the one at 21 Cromwell Road, managed by the education department, are the two places in London where Indian students largely congregate. The company of fellow-countrymen in a foreign country is undoubtedly a great comfort. The means of recreation and culture provided by these hostels are also much to be commended. But in so far as Indian student centres indirectly, though not intentionally, serve to keep our students from seeking the company of and mixing with British students of good character and other desirable non-Indians, they present a problem whose existence the authorities of both the centres do not ignore. They have been trying in their own way to solve it. I know there is much undesirable company in England. It is better for our youth not to have such company. But I am not sure that these hostels succeed in keeping their boarders and other students away from such company. I was in fact told that some of them frequent dancing saloons of a questionable character; but I can not vouch for the truth of this allegation.

I must also mention here that one Indian student—I will not mention either his name or that of his native town in Upper India—asked me questions on political and communal topics in an inquisitorial way which I did not like. He in fact cross-examined me like a witness in the witness box, leading me to imagine that he might have another occupation in addition to that of a student.

In India I had heard much about the gloominess of London, its fog, etc. But luckily for me during the ten days that I was there I had fine weather;—it rained or rather drizzled only on the last day of my

stay there. I have, therefore, been able to carry away a good impression of London. This favourable impression is also due to the fact that I had no time to visit the congested districts and slums. What I saw I shall incidentally indicate in my next letter.

I have some observations to make on European or Occidental dress, both male and female, which may be made as well in this letter as in any future one. I have passed through parts of Italy, Switzerland, France, England, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, and I have seen in Europe men and women who are natives of Russia, Holland, Norway and America. I have found all the men dressed practically alike and the women also dressed practically alike. This sameness, monotony or uniformity cannot be appreciated from the artistic point of view. The artist would perhaps desire more variety.

But this uniformity has its value. In India by merely looking at the dress of large masses of men and women, one can tell to what part of the country they belong. This difference in dress produces a feeling of not being quite akin or related in any way; at least it stands in the way of the growth of complete solidarity of feeling. In the West, nation sometimes fights against nation, no doubt; but so far as non-occidentals are concerned, they feel that they are one, and the non-occidentals are different from them. The growth of this feeling is helped by the uniformity of costume. Dress is one cause of Western solidarity in relation to the rest of the world.

Western male dress is not artistic, nor is it as simple as it may be without sacrificing decency in the least. It does not, however, stand in the way of activity in the way that the dress of the well-dressed Bengali gentleman, for instance, though more graceful and artistic, does.

If the modern dress of the Western man is inartistic, the modern dress of the Western woman is, in the vast majority of cases positively ugly. I beg pardon for this unchivalrous remark. But I make it because I have respect for Western women for many reasons and wish that they were more decently and beautifully dressed. In some cases fashion seemed to have gone to such extremes that the Pope felt obliged to ban some kinds of women's costumes among Roman Catholics. I do not in the least mean to suggest that

because Western women dress in the way they do, they are mostly immodest. My opinion is quite the opposite. I am not a thought-reader, but it was obvious to me that in the West women generally can not be accused of immodesty; as even young waitresses and chamber maids in the hotels and restaurants and other young women of the same rank in society, appeared to me from their faces and demeanour to be generally innocent and pure. No; the reason why almost all women in the West follow the prevailing fashion in dress is because of the rule of use and wont and the tyranny of fashion. I have heard many men and women in the West declare the Indian saree very beautiful, much more graceful than any garment worn by Western women. But though in India some European women may occasionally wear the saree, not one of them will dare appear in public in a saree in their own country. That is one of the reasons why it may be said with truth that, though politically Europeans are free, in some social matters they are in greater bondage than orientals.

The modern dress of European women has been defended on grounds of utility. It has been said that it conduces to greater bodily activity and freer movement. But, I hope, it will be conceded that in the West as in the East, men are not less active and useful and not less free in their movements than the women; they are in fact more so than the women. Now, if Western men can be so active and free in their movements, in spite of their bodies being completely covered from neck to foot, it is not clear why Western women should require to keep parts of their bodies bare or half-bare and should require also to suggest nudity by using skin-coloured or flesh-coloured stockings, in order that they may be active, useful, and free in their movements.

Bobbed or shingled hair is another thing which I did not like. I admit some women look graceful in such hair, or rather in spite of it. But for the most part, bobbed hair gives them a mannish appearance. To my oriental eyes, hair kept long appears more beautiful and womanly. That may be due to my conservatism. It may be urged that bobbed hair has one advantage over long hair—it dries more quickly after wetting than long hair and is therefore healthier. There is something in this. But as, speaking generally, Indian women, who bathe daily, wear their hair

long, and Western women, who do not bathe so frequently, have bobbed hair, this argument may be pushed too far. Women in Germany do not bathe less frequently than women in France, for example. But proportionally in Germany more women wear their hair long than in France. It should also be said that bobbed hair requires less time to clean and dress than long hair. But Western women spend so much time over their toilet that a few minutes more or less do not much matter.

While on this topic, I may present the reader with the following item of news which I cut out from the continental edition of the *Daily Mail* of September, 6, 1926, when I was in Geneva:—

"BOBBED HAIR TRAGEDY"

FATHER'S SUICIDE WHEN GIRLS CUT TRESSES

Charles Serlandie (50), living at 100, Avenue du President Wilson, Saint-Denis, near Paris, was recently told by his daughters that they intended to cut their hair short.

He threatened to kill himself if they carried out their intention, and yesterday, on learning that they had cut their hair, he shot himself through the heart with a revolver. He had been an invalid for some years."

In Europe, and perhaps in America, too, women have taken to aping men. That is perhaps a reason why so large a proportion of Western women smoke. It does not certainly promote their health. Neither does it add to their charms. In a Geneva hotel in the dining saloon I often saw a young woman who looked more like a professional (male) cricketer or an athlete than a member of the fair sex. Her hair was not bobbed like that of women, but cropped close to the skin on the back of the head like that of men. Her looks and the expression of her eyes were hard and masculine. I found a young woman of the same masculine sort in the French steamer *Amazone*, in which I came back to India, with only this difference that the expression of her face and eyes was mild. In a Geneva restaurant I saw a girl whom I at first mistook for a boy, because only her face and head from the neck and throat upwards were visible to me. And the way she held her cigarette between her teeth, while she was washing her hands, was quite funnily boylike!

That women should be very healthy and physically strong is much to be desired. But it should be always remembered that a woman who is a counterfeit man is neither man nor woman, just as a man who is a counterfeit woman is neither woman nor man.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Mr. Sleem an Indian

Three correspondents have pointed out that I was wrong in speaking of Mr. Sleem as an Englishman in the November number, p. 480. He is in fact an Indian (Panjabi) Mussalman barrister-at-law and a distinguished tennis-player. I make this correction with pleasure and withdraw the remark I was led to make because of my mistake. I had not had the pleasure of Mr. Sleem's acquaintance at Geneva and never met him there. The spelling of his name misled me, as it is usually spelt Selim or Salim. I remember how Mr. Syud Hossain, editor of the *New Orient* of America, strongly criticised in that review the European practice of spelling the Riff leader's name "Abd-el-Krim" instead of "Abdul Karim". I did not then know that an Indian gentleman spells his name in a similar way. I do not, of course, question anybody's right to spell his own name in the way he likes;—I am only explaining how my mistake arose.

R. C.

Date of the Death of DEVA RAYA II

In the December number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Sri Kanta Sastry says that the death of Deva Raya II occurred on Tuesday, the 10th of May 1446 and not on Tuesday, the 24th of May, as was pointed out by Dr. Kiel Horn. If May 10th was a Tuesday, then 24th May also should be a Tuesday and not Wednesday. If the latter, it ought to be the 25th. Solar Vaisakh month began at 17 hours 45

minutes on Monday and so the first date was a Tuesday, when Suklasaptami ended at 14 hours 50 minutes and star Pushya lasted till 50 minutes after sunrise and Aslesha was the reigning star on that day. No doubt Krishna-chaturdasi ended at about 22 hours on the 25th and Kritika was the reigning star of the day, which ended at about 14 hours. On Tuesday the 24th Krishna-trayodasi lasted till 22 hours 20 minutes. Valakasha paksha atare in the Epigraph does not allow us to hold it as Sukla paksha or Bright half. It has to be pointed that the Epigraph as printed is not intelligible, as it is not written with the usual symbols. Mr. Sastry might have given the necessary reference for tracing out the original easily.

Generally it is the custom to note the Nakshatra in the Epigraphs of the later kings. Here the Nakshatra could not easily be found. As the year of the death of the king has been located it would be easy to fix the date also correctly, if we had the Nakshatra and tithi, though the week day is incorrect. From the Epigraph noted in the Review I read as follows:—

Kshayahroye Kuratsare deviyayukta Vaisakhake Mahitanoya varake yukta valaksha pakshetare Pratojanidhi Debrat pralayomapahanta samo chaturdasa-dine katham pitrupati dhivoryagatiti

It is better that Mr. Srikantha Sastry looks over the date again on the light of the above suggestion.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

A LETTER OF LEO TOLSTOY

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

[I wrote to Tolstoy, for the first time, about the Pentecost (May) of 1887. At that time I have been founding my creed ("Credo Quia Verum") on the direct sensation of the Divine Existence: "I feel therefore I exist." And I could not understand the proscription of Art by the author of "What to Do?"

I do not find anything but a few fragments of my original letter:

"Sir,

I would not have dared to write to you if I

had not to express to you my passionate admiration. It seems that I know you too well through your works, to address to you a few compliments which would appear almost impertinent on the part of a boy like me. I am tormented by the idea of Death which I find haunting almost every page of your novels and above all in your *Königliche*. I am convinced that ordinary life is not the real life. The reality of life is in the renunciation of the egoistic conception of the living creatures, and in our close union with

the Supreme Life—the Universal being—we should try immediately to get fused into that Life. That is your thought I believe. My thoughts also follow the same line.....I understand that to realise that renunciation of selfish personality, we must avoid all barren sentimentality and work for the benefit of all. And you say sir, that benefit to others, practical charity, and bodily work alone can tear ourselves away from the baneful consciousness of our limited ego, can give us the *ataraxy* or quietude of thought, the peaceful sleep of the heart, the only blessing.....It is this oblivion of ones self, sir that I am seeking, that I desire with all my heart, and I believe that I shall attain it. But why do you insist that it can come only through *manual* labour? I ask you this question which engages my heart most strongly: Why do you condemn Art? Would you not use it rather as the most perfect instrument for the realisation of renunciation? I read your new work, "What to do". The problem of Art is assigned there in quite the last place. You say that you condemn Art without giving all the reasons for your proscription. Excuse me if I cannot wait any longer and permit me to ask you your reasons. I believe to have understood that you condemn Art because you detect there in the selfish desire of subtle enjoyments which make our selfishness more coarse by the hyper-excitability of our senses. I know that alas for the most of the so-called artists, Art is nothing but an aristocratic sensualism.

But is not Art something else, something more? Another thing which means *everything* to a small number of artists? To them it is only Art which means the oblivion of the selfish individuality, the absorption into the Divine Unity, the creative Ecstasy. In that state what can Death do to us? Death is dead. Sovereign Art has killed Death.....

Am I wrong? Do tell me Sir, if I am mistaken. I am in love with Art because it shatters my miserable Ego and unifies me with the Eternal Life.....Do you not believe that Art has a great role to play, above all amongst old races of men who are dying through the excesses of their civilisation?..

Please reply to me Sir! Tell me in all sincerity, if labour without thought which you extol, would really satisfy you. Would you never feel the regrets due to the sacrifice of Thought and to the disowning of Art; and moreover, if it is possible to reject Thought and Art by the simple fact of our wishing like that?.....

I am in need of advice. I find near about me not a single guide or moral preceptor. In France in Europe I find only indifferent or sceptical people or the dilettantes.....

Romain Rolland.]

[Reply of Leo Tolstoy]

4 October, 1887

To Mon. Romain Rolland.

Dear Brother!

I received your first letter. It touched me deeply in my heart. I read it with tears in eyes. I had the intention of replying to it, but I could not make time: and over

and above the difficulty that I feel in writing in French, I must write lengthily in reply to your questions which are largely based on a misunderstanding.

The questions raised by you are: Why does manual labour impose itself on us as one of the essential conditions of our true happiness? Must we voluntarily cut ourselves away from all intellectual activities of science and art, which seem to be incompatible with manual labour?

To these questions I have replied, so far as I could, in the book entitled: "What to do?" which I hear has been translated into French. I have never presented manual labour as a principle, but only as the application of the most simple and natural moral law which is the very first to appear before all sincere people.

Manual labour, in our depraved society—the society of the so-called civilised people—imposes itself on us uniquely by reason of the fact that the principal defect of the Society was and is down to this day; that we have freed ourselves from manual labour and are profiting by the labour of the poor classes; they are ignorant, unfortunate, veritable slaves like the slaves of the old world and we do nothing for them in comparison with what they do for us.

The very first proof of the sincerity of the people of this society professing the principles of Christianity, philosophical humanitarianism, is to try to come as much as possible out of this contradiction.

To succeed in this, we have the simplest and the readiest method of manual labour which starts with the act of taking care of oneself. I would never believe in the sincerity of Christian convictions, philosophical humanitarianism, of a person who allows his own chamber-pot to be cleaned by a servant.

The shortest and simplest moral formula is to take the service of others as little as possible, and to serve others as much as possible, to demand the best and to give the utmost possible in our relations with others.

This formula, which gives a rational meaning to our existence and the happiness which results from the same, removes all the difficulties at one stroke no less than the difficulty appearing before you: that relation to the role of intellectual activity—to Science and Art.

Following the above principle, I admit that I am never satisfied and happy until I have the firm conviction that while acting



RADHA IN EXPECTATION OF SRIKRISHNA

By Courtesy of the Artist Sreemati Sukumari Devi, Santiniketan

I am making myself useful to others. The contentment of those for whom I act, is an extra, a surplus of happiness on which I do not count and which cannot influence the choice of my actions. My firm conviction, that what I do is neither useless nor evil but is something for the good of others, is therefore the principal condition of my happiness.

And it is this, which urges involuntarily a sincere and ethical man to prefer manual work to scientific and artistic works. The book that I write needs the work of the printers; the symphony that I compose needs the work of musicians; the experiments that I make needs the work of those who manufacture the instruments of laboratories, the picture that I paint needs the work of those who make the colours and canvas. All these works may be useful to men, but may also be completely useless and even injurious as it often happens in many cases. Thus while I work at things whose utility is highly debatable and to produce which I must moreover make others work, I have before and around me, endless things to do, of which one and all, are undoubtedly useful to others, and to produce which I need not make a single person work: a burden to carry for one who is fatigued a field to cultivate for a peasant proprietor who is ill, a wound to dress—millions of things like these which surround us, which requires nobody's help, which produce immediate contentment in those for whose welfare you have performed the act: planting a tree, tending a calf, cleansing a well and such works are, beyond doubt, useful to others and which cannot but be preferred by a sincere man to doubtful occupations which in our world, are preached as the highest and the noblest vocation of man.

The vocation of a prophet is high and noble. But we know what sort of people are the priests who believe themselves to be prophets only because it is to their advantage and that they have the chance of passing for prophets.

A prophet is not the person who receives the education of a prophet but who has the intimate conviction that he is a prophet, that he must be so and that he cannot but be so. This conviction is rare and cannot be realised except by the sacrifices which one makes for his vocation.

It is the same for true science as well as for real art. Lulli with all his risks and

perils, left his profession as a cook and took to violin; by the sacrifices that he made he justified his title to the musical vocation. But our ordinary student of a conservatoire, one whose sole duty is to study the things that are taught, is not in the state of giving proof of his vocational zeal, he simply profits by the position which seems to him nice and advantageous.

Manual work is a duty as well as a blessing for all; the intellectual activity is something exceptional which becomes a duty and a blessing only to those persons who have that vocation. That vocation cannot be tested and known except by sacrifice which the scholar and the artist make of their repose and their prosperity in order to pursue their vocation. A person, who continues to fulfil his duty of sustaining life by the works of his hands, and yet devotes the hours of his repose and of sleep to thinking and creating in the sphere of intellect, has given proof of his vocation. But one who frees himself from the moral obligations of each individual and under the pretext of his taste for science and art, takes to a life of a parasite, would produce nothing but false science and false art.

True science and true art are the products of sacrifice and not of certain material advantages.

But what happens then to science and art? How many times have I listened to this question made by people who have neither any pre-occupation for nor any clear idea whatever of science and art! One would be inclined to believe that those people have nothing so near to their heart as the well-being of humanity which, according to their belief, could not have evolved except by the development of those things which they call Science and Art.

But how is it that we find people so stupid as to contest the utility of science and art, as well as people still more comic who believe it to be their duty to defend them? There are manual labourers, agricultural labourers. No one bothers about contesting their utility and never would a labourer take it into his head to prove the utility of his work. He simply produces; his production is necessary and is good for others. We profit by it and never doubt its utility, still less, attempt to prove the same.

The workers in the realm of art and science also are in the same condition. But how is it that we see people straining all

their powers to prove the utility of Science and Art ?

The reason is that real labourers in the field of science and of art do not arrogate to themselves any special rights, they give the products of their work which are useful and they do not feel the need for any special right and to prove their rights. But the great majority of those who call themselves scholars and artists, know quite well, that what they produce are not-worth the things they consume in society, and probably because of that, they take so much pains, like the priests of all ages, to prove, that their activity is indispensable for the well-being of Humanity.

Real science and real art always existed and will exist always like the other modes of human activity and it is impossible and useless either to prove or to disprove them.

That science and art play a false role in our society is the result of the fact that the so-called civilised people, headed by the scholars and artists form a caste of their own, privileged like the priests. This caste has all the defects of other castes, lowering and degrading the very principles under which they organise themselves. Thus we get in the place of true religion a false one, in the place of true science a false one, and the same thing we find in Art. It has the fault of weighing heavily on the masses and even more, of depriving them of that very thing which one pretends to propagate among them. This consoling contradiction between the principles professed and their practice is the greatest weakness of the case.

Excepting those who maintain the inept principle of science for science's and art for art's sake, the champions of civilisation are obliged to affirm that science and art are great assets for Humanity. In what sense are they assets? What are the signs by which we can distinguish the good from the evil? These are questions which the champions of science and art do not care to reply to. They even pretend to say that the definition of the good and the beautiful is impossible to make; generally speaking they cannot be defined.

But those who speak like that do not speak the truth. In all ages, Humanity has done nothing in course of its progress but to define what is Beauty and what is Goodness. But that definition does not suit the champions of culture, for it unmasks the futility, if not the injuriousness of opposing

to Goodness and Beauty, what they call their Science and Art. The Good and the Beautiful have been defined through centuries. The Brahman and the Buddhist sages, the Chinese, the Hebrew and the Egyptian sages; the Greek Stoics and the Christian Bible all have defined them in the most precise way.

All that tend to unify mankind belong to the Good and the Beautiful. All that tend to disunite are Evil and Ugly.

The whole mankind knows this formula. It is inscribed in our heart.

That which unites people is good and beautiful for Humanity. Well, if the champions of Science and of Art have the good of humanity as their object, they should not ignore it; and if they do not ignore it they should cultivate only those arts and sciences which lead to the fulfilment of that object. Then there should not be the judicial science, the military science, the science of political economy and of finance, which have no other object but to secure the prosperity of certain nations at the expense of others. If human welfare had been the ultimate criterion of science and of art, then never would those positive sciences which are completely futile from the point of view of human welfare, have acquired the importance that they have now; so, the products of our arts, which are good more or less to provide excitement to the old rakes, or relaxation to the comfortable idlers, would never have gained so much popularity.

Human wisdom does not consist solely of the mere knowledge of things. For the things that one may know are infinite and to know the largest amount of things is not wisdom. It consists in knowing the hierarchy of things which it is good to know, and in learning to arrange one's knowings according to their importance.

Now of all the sciences which man can and should know, the principal is the science of living in such a way as to do the least harm and the utmost good; and of all the arts that of knowing to avoid evil and to produce good, even in the smallest of our efforts. But we find that amongst all the arts and the sciences which pretend to serve Humanity, this very first in science and in art, according to importance, not only do not exist but are excluded from the lists.

What we call science and art, in our society, is nothing but a stupendous humbug, a huge superstition into which we fall

ordinarily, as soon as we get out of the old superstition of the church. To see clearly the route which we should follow, we must begin at the very beginning, removing the eye-preserver which is comfortable no doubt but which obstructs the vision. The temptation is great. We live, either by labour or by some intellectual application; we raise ourselves gradually in the social scale, and we find ourselves amongst the privileged, the priests of civilisation, the *cultured* as the Germans say. And to doubt the principles which had given us that position of advantage requires, as it does in case of a Brahmin or a Catholic priest, much sincerity and great love of truth and goodness. But for a serious man like you, Mon. Rolland, who questions Life, there is no other choice. In order to see clearly we must free our mind from the superstitions in which we are steeped, however profitable they might be. That is the condition *sine qua non*. It is useless to discuss with a man who holds blindly to a fixed creed even on a single question.

If the field of reasoning is not completely free. There may be fine discussions, fine argumentations, and yet we may not move toward Truth even one step. The fixed point would arrest all the reasonings and falsify them. There are creeds of religion and creeds of our civilisation; both are quite analogous. A Catholic would say "I may reason, but not beyond that what my scripture and our tradition teach me; they contain the whole and immutable Truth." A devotee of Civilisation would say: "My reasoning stops before the data of civilisation: Science and Art. Our Science is the totality of true human knowledge. If science does not possess as yet the whole verity, she will do it in future. Our art with its classical traditions is the only true art." The Catholics say: "Outside man there exists only one thing complete in itself, as the Germans say, it is the *Church*." The man of the world says: "Outside man the only thing that exists is *Civilisation*."

It is easy for us to see the faults of reasoning in religious superstitions, because we do not any longer share them. But a believing monk, or even a Catholic is fully convinced that there can be only one religion or truth, professed by him! And it even seems to him that the verity of his religion proves itself by reasoning. It is the same case with us, believers in *Civilisation*. We are fully convinced that there exists only one true civilisation—our own!

And it is almost impossible to see the illogicality of all our reasonings which do nothing but to prove that of all the ages and of all the peoples, there is only our age and a few millions of creatures inhabiting the peninsula which is called Europe, that finds itself in possession of the only true civilisation composed of true sciences and real arts.

For knowing the truth of life which is so simple, it is not absolutely necessary to have something positive: a profound knowledge, a philosophy—it is necessary only to have the negative virtue: of *not having Superstition*. One must place oneself in the state of a child or of Descartes saying: I know nothing, I believe nothing, and I do not wish anything but the knowledge of the truth of life which I am compelled to live.

And the reply given is complete for centuries, and it is simple and clear.

My personal interest prompts that I must have all wealth and good fortune for my own self. The reason speaks that all creatures, all beings desire the same thing. So all the souls that are like me in search of their individual happiness, would crush me, that is clear. I cannot possess singly the happiness that I desire. But the searching after happiness is Life. Not to be able to possess happiness, not even to attempt for it is not to live.

The reasoning says that in the order of the world where all creatures desire only their own good, myself, a being desiring the same thing, cannot have it, therefore I cannot live. But inspite of this clear argumentation we continue to live and to seek for happiness! We say: I would never have good fortune and be happy except in the case in which all other beings would love me more than they love themselves. That is something impossible. But inspite of that we all live together: and all our activity, our searching of fortune, of glory, of power, are nothing but attempts to make ourselves loved by others more than they love themselves. Fortune, glory, power give me but the appearances of that state of things, and we are almost happy, and we almost forget for the moment that they are but appearances and not the reality. All beings love themselves more than they do love us and happiness is impossible. There are people—and their number increases from day to day—who cannot solve this difficulty, and burn their head while saying that life is nothing but a mockery.

And yet, the solution of the problem is

more than simple and offers itself spontaneously to us. I can never be happy except under a condition of the world wherein *all beings would love the others more than they love themselves*. If this thing is realised then the entire universe would be happy.

I am a human being and Reason gives me the law of happiness for all beings. I must then follow the law of my reason—that *I love others more than I love my own self*.

Let but man follow this line of reasoning and Life would appear before him in quite a different aspect as it had never done before. The creatures destroy one another no doubt but they also love one another and practice mutual aid. Life is not sustained by destruction but by the Reciprocity of love amongst living beings and this is translated within my heart into Love. So far as I could survey the march of the world, I see that the progress of Humanity is due to this principle of Reciprocity. Our History is nothing but the progressive clearing up of the conception and application of this unique principle of the *Solidarity of all beings*. This reasoning is corroborated by the experience of History as well as by personal realisation. But beyond reasoning

man finds the most convincing proof of the truth of that reasoning in his intimate feelings of the heart. The greatest happiness that man, knows the largest freedom, the utmost joy, is in Abnegation and in Love. Reason discovers for man the only way to happiness, and the feelings also push him to that conclusion.

If the ideas that I strive to communicate to you, appear not so clear, please do not judge them too severely. I hope that you will read them someday in a way more clear and definite. I only wished to give you an idea of my way of seeing things.

LEO TOLSTOY

[Translated by Kalidas Nag from the original French]

N. B. I had the rare privilege of poring over this noble letter of the Russian Sage the very first day that I saw Mon. Romain Rolland in Paris. He has cherished this epistle as one of the most precious things in his life and he made touching references to this Great Soul straining every nerve to make his idea of Love clear to this unknown French youth who grew up to repay this debt by consecrating a profound and artistic study to Leo Tolstoy. I shall publish Mon. Rolland's note on this letter in a subsequent issue of this Review.

K. N.

IN DIAN PERIODICALS

The Duty of the Indian Youth

T. L. Vaswani writes in *The Scholar*:

The future is with the Nation's youth. Many young men and women are dreaming to-day the Dream of Freedom. But they are not yet organised into a Great body. Youth movements have, in other countries, done great things. Much has been done by Young Italy. Ireland owes much to young men. There is a "Youth Movement" in Germany. It has two wings. The one is the "Workers' Youth" representing young people of the Industrial Class. The second consists of young men and women drawn not from the workshop but from the Universities and High Schools. The Workers' Youth believe in social reform and international peace. The young people of the Universities and High Schools believe in return-to-nature.

An Order of Young India is needed to check the process of disintegration in our life. Cohesive forces have weakened; those of disintegration are spreading. India is not acting as one will. And until she develops a will to act as a national personality, she may not hope to achieve anything.

India is not acting as one will, mainly because she is not thinking as one mind. Unity—not the fleeting unity of feeling but a truly fruitful unity—must grow out of knowledge. Indians—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jains—must know India, her genius, her culture, her ideals. There can be no true unity which is not a unity with our ancestors, our race-consciousness through the centuries. All attempts at unity which ignore or trample upon our race-memory and the ancient Ideals of the India that was truly great, are, I humbly submit, foredoomed to failure.

Therefore, I plead for a new renaissance of Indian Culture. Not many are aware of how much students in China are doing for national movement in their country. "The most popular cry", writes an English critic "among the students of China is 'China for the Chinese'". The Youth of China are aflame with passionate patriotism and are demanding that China shall no longer be a pawn in the game of the nations. And this patriotism of the students in China is deepened by a new knowledge of their ancient history and ancient ideas. The same English critic observes—

"These young students are learning more of their own history, of their ancient and wonderful civilisation. They know that China had a highly developed and civilised life when Europe and America were peopled with painted savages. This knowledge of their ancient greatness is increasing their national pride, and deepening their conviction that China has also a great future to look forward to."

In India so many even of the educated know so little of the genius and ideals of India. Much of the current education is, I am afraid, educated ignorance. I have heard not a few of the Indian graduates argue that India never showed any political genius. India at best, says our young educated graduate, produced religion, and religion, he observes with a benignant smile, is superstition. Yet if he will but care to study the ancient history of India he will know that far back in the dawn of history, in the far-off Vedic age, India had developed a theory of constitutional monarchy and a democratic constitution. The Vedic King was not a despot, nor a benevolent autocrat; he was elected; he had a Council guided by the wisdom of the Rishis, and the State was practically shaped by Samitis or Popular Assemblies. In post-Vedic times we read of the establishment of *ganas* or republics in India.

The more we know India, the more may we understand her genius and the value of her great ideals for the modern age.

Fruit Growing for India

Looking at the largest industries in India one fairly gasps to see how primitively things are carried on here. This backwardness is mainly due to lack of education and cheap capital. The following account of the Fruit Growing industry, which appeared in the *Indian Scientific Agriculturist* tells the same tale.

Fruit culture in India inspite of the fact that it has been carried on for centuries is still primitive and largely empirical. Western countries like Great Britain and the United States of America have demonstrated to the world the possibilities of the Fruit Industry. The reason for the backwardness of India is not far to seek. The scientific development which has influenced the progress of horticulture in other countries has had but little effect on India. The Indian fruit-grower is still carrying on in his avocation as his forefathers did. His ignorance of the scientific methods of horticulture, coupled with his aversion to embrace new methods, is a serious impediment in the way of progress. He largely plants seedlings instead of budded or grafted plant as he does not know how to propagate them. The Art of budding and grafting he has never cared to learn and those who know it try to make too much out of it. He plants his trees too closely together where they struggle for light; irrigates his orchard too wastefully and gives but little cultivation. Hence the orchards become infested with weeds, insects and fungoid pests. He does not know how to combat

these diseases and ascribes his misfortune to his fate. Practically he gives no pruning, does not thin his fruit, the result is that sometimes the trees bear abundant crops and at others none at all. His methods of picking, grading and packing are crude, and marketing still more so, resulting in great waste. As regards preservation of fruit, he has hardly heard of it. The net result of all this is that fruit industry is undeveloped and domestic supply entirely inadequate to meet the requirements of the people, which have been met by large imports from abroad.

In the year 1922-23 the imports amounted to Rs. 18,357,258 whereas the exports to Rs. 632,260 only. These figures speak for themselves and show more convincingly than words what a vast field there is for the Fruit Industry in India, not only to supply the home markets but also to produce a surplus for export.

Will the unemployed youths with university training pay some attention to this field? It has money in it as well as the pleasure of achievement.

The Arya Samaj in Bengal

Kali Nath Rai writes in the *Vedic Magazine* on the causes which have kept the Arya Samaj out of success in Bengal. He says:

The Arya Samaj has not made much of a headway in Bengal for much the same reason for which the Brahmo Samaj had its birth in Bengal. Bengal is a firm believer in evolution, and she does not believe in 'Back to the Vedas,' perhaps back to anything. Bengal is essentially rationalistic and does not believe in the infallibility of any book or any human being that has ever walked the earth. To her the reason of the individual, is the ultimate authority in all matters. She is also very largely cosmopolitan and believes far more in proving the affinity of her own faith to other faiths than in proving that it alone is right. Lastly, inspite of her intellectuality she has a partiality for the emotional side of religion, a side in which she finds the Arya Samaj deficient according to her ideas. Nothing so absurd is meant as that this generalisation is true in the same sense or to the same extent of all her people. But no acute observer can deny that it sums up the prevailing spiritual tendencies of her educated youth, and the educated youth in every province and every country are fairly representative of the people as a whole. No one who knows the Arya Samaj, its strength as well as its weakness, will need to be told that it cannot possibly appeal as a religion to a people with these prevailing tendencies.

The Bus Menace

Calcutta is faced by a new danger in the shape of reckless Bus driver whose pranks on the road have made walking or driving

along Calcutta Streets extremely risky. Major G. G. Walsh, writing in the *Indian and Eastern Motors* on this, says:

To anyone who uses his eyes the present situation must be a matter for grave concern. Certainly, as far as Calcutta is concerned, motor omnibuses are an innovation, but that cannot be held as an excuse for not taking the matter in hand and preventing drivers from running riot. The situation must be faced squarely, and lessons learnt by other towns must be applied to Calcutta. London, in which motor vehicles of all sorts have been plying for many years past can surely by now be taken as a model on which to base a code of laws applicable to Calcutta.

"Prevention is better than cure," and "A stitch in time saves nine," are proverbs which have been dinned into our ears from time immemorial, yet in the present all the axioms on which we are supposed to have based our code of living are forgotten. We must bear in mind that motor omnibuses have come to stay and the more their utility is appreciated the more will they spread. Unless urgent steps are taken to control the comparative few which are now plying for hire, it will be a problem exceedingly difficult of solution when the numbers are augmented.

At almost any hour of the day on those thoroughfares along which plying for hire is permitted motor omnibuses will be seen cheek by jowl with every other form of vehicle, but the drivers of them appear to be oblivious to their existence. At least, that is the impression which is left in the mind of the onlooker, who is generally credited with seeing most of the game. With little or no warning they will stop at any point at which a passenger may wish to descend, nearly always in the middle of the road and very often in the act of overtaking another bus or car. It is a veritable nightmare to anyone who has used the London General Omnibus Company's services to see the total disregard by the Calcutta bus driver of all laws written and unwritten.

These remarks are more directly aimed at the drivers of individually owned buses and not at the drivers of the two larger Transport companies, although they too have a very great deal to learn. There are four glaring faults which should receive the attention of the powers that be. They are:—

- (1) Stopping in the middle of the road to discharge or load passengers.
- (2) Racing, resulting in double banking.
- (3) Overtaking on a corner.
- (4) Dirty interiors.

Surely legislation can deal with these faults. More serious problems have been solved in India, but there seems to be an air of apathy where buses are concerned.

Mr F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, the Labour M. P.

The following account of the life and career of Mr. Pethick-Lawrence M. P., who is now on a visit in India is compiled from a longer account in the *Hindusthan Review*.

Frederic William Pethick-Lawrence who with

his wife is now on a visit to India is best known for his vigorous advocacy of Woman Suffrage, and for active association with Labour and internationalism.

Born in December, 1871, he went to Eton in 1885 and in January, 1891 became Captain of the Oppidans. From there he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became "Fourth Wrangler" in 1894. He also obtained a first class in Natural Science in 1895 and was awarded the second "Smith's Prize" for Mathematics in 1896 and the Adam Smith prize for an essay on "Local Variations in Wages" in 1897. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also President of the Cambridge Union Debating Society in 1896, and played billiards for the University in the match against Oxford.

After leaving Cambridge, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence made a tour of the world. He visited India twenty-seven years ago and proceeded to Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and the United States.

Having been called to the Bar in 1899, he sometimes sat as "Poor Man's Lawyer" to give legal advice to all who applied for it.

In 1900 he was appointed as Dunkin Professor at Manchester College, Oxford and lectured there during the year on social questions.

Meanwhile he had been elected as the Unionist candidate for North Lambeth, but after a full study of the South African problem and a visit to that country, he found himself in opposition to the views of the Unionists Party and retired from the candidature. He became associated with Miss Emily Hobhouse in exposing the scandals of the concentration camps for women and children in South Africa and served as Honorary Secretary of the South African Women's and Children's Distress Fund.

In 1901 Mr. Pethick-Lawrence obtained a controlling interest in the London Evening Paper, the *Echo*, and a little later became the editor himself. When the new Labour Party was formed he threw in his lot with it and gave to it the support of the *Echo* alone among London daily journals. When the paper was wound up in 1905, he paid the creditors himself and gave to the staff out of his own pocket two or three months' salary in view of the abrupt termination of their agreements.

From 1905 to 1907 he was the editor of "The Labour Record and Review." At the 1906 election he had one or two offers of safe Liberal seats but refused to consider them on the ground of his adherence to the Labour Party. About this time he became a member of the I. L. P.

Meanwhile, in 1901 he had married Emmeline Pethick, the president of the Esperance Working Girls' Club which is well known for its production of the Old English songs and Morris Dances.

When the new movement among women found an expression in 1906 Mr. and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence identified themselves with the militant party. Among many activities in connection with the W. S. P. U. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence organised the monster Demonstration in Hyde Park in 1908 and founded and edited the paper "Votes for Women." He also wrote the book "Women's Fight for the Vote." In 1912 he was prosecuted for conspiracy in connection with one of the militant demonstrations. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" adding a rider referring to the "purity of motive" of the defendant. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and ordered to pay the cost

of the prosecution. He was transferred to the first division in prison after an international petition. He adopted the hunger in sympathy with other suffrage prisoners who were not given first division treatment. He was forcibly fed for six days and released. On his continued refusal to pay the Government cost of the prosecution his house was sold up and he was made bankrupt, his bankruptcy being subsequently annulled. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence disagreed with the subsequent change of policy of the W. S. P. U. to more violent methods and together with his wife severed his connection with Mrs. Pankhurst continuing to edit the paper "Votes for Women" and to take part in the Women Suffrage Movement until the outbreak of the great war.

Since then Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has devoted himself to the Labour Movement and to International questions.

In 1918 he wrote a book advising a levy on Capital as a means of getting rid of the war debt. His policy was subsequently adopted by the Labour Party at the general election and is on their programme to-day.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has written books on "Local Variation in Wages", "Women's Fight for the Vote", "A Levy on Capital", "Why Prices Rise and Fall", "Unemployment", "The National Debt", and many pamphlets on social, economic, international and women's questions. He is well-known as a lecturer of the Independent Labour Party and other bodies all over the country. He is the member of the Royal Statistical Society, and of the Royal Aero Club and 1917 Club. He has made a special study of the currency question and was the principle opponent of the time and method of reintroduction of gold standard in England in 1924. During his stay in India he makes a study of the main facts of the currency proceedings.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence is a keen Lawn tennis player and billiards player and has won many prizes in Lawn tennis tournaments.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has many friends in India both among his own countrymen and among Indians.

Asura Expansion in India

Dr. A. Banerjee Shastri M. A., Ph.D. (Oxon.) concludes his brilliant paper on the above in the current number of the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. As against the puerile attempt of the purists to prove Indian Civilisation wholly Aryan Dr. Shastri affirms,

The Asuras were the elders of the Suras. They were the masters of the sea. The ocean had yielded them her riches and made them masters of the three-worlds, i.e., universal sovereigns. The Nagas were the standard-bearers of Asura supremacy in India. Then came the Aryans posterior in time. Began the Arya (Deva)-Asura war. Imperial power was the stake. It lasted for 32,000 years. The earth was "converted to an ocean of blood. The ocean-got prosperity of the Asuras was systematically forced. Its chief guardian, the Asura Naga began to vomit poison and showed

his prowess that fairly threatened to submerge the Aryans. But in the long run the Aryans succeeded. "From across the sea" had come the victorious Asura. After defeat they retraced their steps and plunged into the sea of salt waters". Those that remained "entered the bowels of the earth" and disappeared as a separate entity, being completely assimilated in the now firmly established Arya-Asura-Dasa body politic of India. But the Asura strain never died and led them on to fresh pastures and new by sea in India to the south and across the eastern seas beyond, as champions of the neo-Aryan Indian outlook now become theirs as well.

The non-Aryan colour of the Vedic Kings and Risis is due to many of those kings and seers having been originally Asuras. After the Arya-Asura amalgamation the neo-Aryan pantheon contained many non-Aryan entities and affinities. The success of the process can be judged by Agastya, Vasistha, Visvaimaitra, etc. being regarded as descended from the same father, viz. Mittra-Varuna, priest of the same King Sudas. Even the different gods Varuna of the Asuras, Indra of the Trisu-Bharata Aryas become each other's gods and then one god. The same synthesis has, in mediaeval days, succeeded in turning sectarian deities into all-India *avatars*—"incarnation". (i) This unification of India was achieved, not in the North-West and the Punjab, but in the Mid-Himalayan Madhyadesa. The neo-Aryan was born after the old-Arya-Asura conflict was over. Naturally Kuruksetra becomes and has ever remained the *Dharmaksetra* of this neo-Aryanism. The Epics and the Puranas glorify this reconstructed and re-read-Arya outlook of the Pauravas, Aiksakas and Magadhas. The Mahabharata Anukramanika and the Churning of the Ocean usher in this synthetic Aryanism and the new India as historical and accomplished facts. Any discussion about the intrusive or extrusive character of Aryan culture in Mesopotamia must start with an adequate appreciation of the contribution made to it by the sea-born and sea-bred Asura, who reached India and the Indus mouth "from beyond the sea" (the Arabian Sea) and whose footfalls once resounded on the banks of many a river in the Indus valley and the Gangetic plains and some of whom retreated from whence they had come "across the sea of salt water. The rest carried their common heritage of an Arya-Asura mission to the Deccan, to Ceylon and across the Pacific.

Indian Architecture

The same Journal contains a posthumous paper of Mr. Monmohan Gangooly, author of "Orissa and Her Remains," in course of which the architect archaeologist makes certain important suggestions which may appear quite heretical but which the author maintains on a thorough analysis of the motifs of architecture and principles of construction in India and Europe. He says,

The development of temple architecture is a matter of speculation and diverse theories are advanced to trace the origin and growth of temple

construction. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into the constructional details of temples. I shall only content myself with stating how it came into existence. We find references of temples in the Mahabharata, Puranas, and also in Kautilya who gives the exact position of temples in a fortified city. Now, considering that in the age in which Kautilya flourished, Buddhist architecture had not attained much importance as evident from an absence of remains, and as the Buddhist empire supplanted the Brahminical one, or in other words as the latter grew out of the former it is expected that there must have been some type extant before Kautilya, from which the temple could have evolved. It is for us to determine what this could possibly be. We find at Bharhut representations of chambers or halls divided by pillars into nave and aisles similar to the basilicas. These representations are found here, not as indication of the first beginning of this type of buildings, but in an advanced stage of evolution and convention. I should also request you to bear in mind that even at this time basilicas with semi-vaulted aisles were unknown in any other part of the civilised world. This structural type with the rotunda in the centre and two side-aisles roofed by semi-vaults was older than its counterpart found in Europe. The earliest building in Europe bearing some resemblance to it is the Pantheon in Rome erected in the second century A. D. under the orders of the Emperor Hadrian. If a section be drawn through the two semi-circular recesses or exedrae, or even the rectangular ones of the Phantheons, it cannot but strike a casual observer that the two types are cousins, germains, and who can say that India did not furnish the architectural ideal, at least a portion thereof, for the erection of the noblest of the Roman monuments of art.

History of the Daily Mail

Mr. Imtiaz Mohamad Khan, M. A. (London) writes on the above in the *Indian Review*. We quote from his article below. Says Mr. Mohamad:

None can imagine that a dark and dingy by-lane of Fleet Street contains the World's quickest Printing Press which produces the most widely read and circulated newspaper of the world. Even when you are standing almost at the door of the building you don't feel that just under your feet a Machine is producing a twelve page newspaper at the rate of 1500 copies per minute.

To-day the DAILY MAIL is decidedly the world's most popular daily journal and beats every European or American rival.

Now who was the man who started this "Wonder of Modern Journalism?" In the history of the Press the name of Alfred Harmsworth, better known as Lord Northcliffe will always stand conspicuously. He was the man who almost doubled the importance of the press and made it a power in the country. It was he who by lowering the cost of production made the newspaper study almost the habit of his countrymen. He began life as a news-boy and started his first paper ANSWERS in 1888 with his brother Cecil. In 1894 he purchased the EVENING NEWS and by

his superior organisation made it a paying concern. But it was in 1896 that he started the famous DAILY MAIL. Northcliffe's shrewd study of an average reader's taste was the chief factor in making it popular so soon, after its birth. The other factor in its success was its low price—you could buy a ten or twelve page paper neatly printed at the ridiculous price of half-a-penny only. Though the price is doubled now, yet as compared with the TIMES or other famous dailies, it is still the cheapest thing of its kind on the market.

Like all other London presses, THE DAILY MAIL Press too is situated in the City Quarters, bounded on one side by the Thames embankments and on the other by the famous Fleet Street. When you enter the lane in the evening, say at ten o'clock, when London is either asleep or revelling in Theatres or dance-halls, the first thing you meet is a number of cheap restaurants which specially cater for the night workers of the Press. As you move further you come across motor-vans being loaded with mail bags and ready to start for the Railway Stations from where the newspaper specials start before or after mid-night. The copy which comes out of the printing machine at half-past ten at night in London is delivered at your door in Inverness (extreme north of Scotland) at six o'clock in the morning.

On the upper floors of the building are the Editorial Offices and composers' rooms where 47 composing and casting machines are constantly at work. The staff consists of 1200 hands and their wages range from two to forty pounds per week.

The length of the machine which prints, folds, wraps and stamps at the same time is about fifteen yards and there are about twenty such machines constantly working. The paper is composed and is ready for printing at about ten in the evening. But before the hour of eleven strikes, the DAILY MAIL is ready for distribution among its subscribers. The country edition is dispatched from London before midnight while the London Edition is ready for market at three o'clock in the morning.

In every twenty-four hours four or five editions come out for distribution in London and then there are two continental editions, one in Paris and the other in Munich (Germany). But the most novel edition is the one issued on big Atlantic liners sailing between England and the United States.

Its net daily sale in the British Isles, excluding London is about three quarters of a million while its circulation in London and abroad is about a million and a quarter, the total sale thus amounting to about two million copies.

Like all other newspapers, the DAILY MAIL too depends to a great extent on its income from advertisements. If you want the full front page to advertise your wares you have to pay about £1700 for a single insertion and even then you have to wait for some time before you can reserve it. Their daily income from advertisements is about seven thousand pounds.

Pressing Problems

Sister Subbalakshmi Ammal, B. A., says in *Stri-Dharma*

Physical development, sex hygiene, avoidance of early marriage and the need for training in

mothercraft are pressing problems for consideration, and I hope we shall learn much about these in the course of our work here to-day. I would like to say a word specially about early marriage, which is the greatest hindrance to the educational and, therefore, cultural advancement of our Hindu race. At an age when young boys and girls should be going to school and allow both their minds and bodies to be growing, at an age when they should not be hampered with cares and worries which spoil their health, mental as well as physical, at an age when their minds should be young, pure, unsullied by worldly desires, the poor young boys and girls are married, forced to enter the mysteries of married-life and made to face all the problems, troubles, worries and cares of a family. Imagine a young girl of 13 being a mother with a young baby, kept awake at nights to look after the child, and in many homes doing all the domestic work as well. How can we expect such a girl to live a long and healthy life, and how can we expect a child born to another child of 13 to grow up into a healthy boy or girl? Again, imagine a boy of 15 years being a father chained down to a family, unable to guide either his mother or his young, delicate wife, having, at the same time, to study all his school lessons and satisfy his teachers! By the time he completes his course and is in a position to earn his living he has a big family depending on him.

is the same as theirs. The progress of your country or its decline in the concern of you all. You are a subject people and you have duties to perform by the Government under which you are living in peace. You have therefore to live in unity and with tolerance, with all of them and show them the respect that Quran has enjoined upon you. You must sail clear of the dangerous rocks of communal prejudice and not allow yourself to be contaminated by that poisonous atmosphere. Your education demands and your religion orders that you must live in peace and amity and carry aloft the standard of a united nation in your country. It should be your never ceasing effort to bring about harmony and concord where friction and disruption exists."

Cultural Unity of Asia

Dr. Kalidas Nag Hony. Secretary, Greater India Society, writes in the *Forward Congress* and Winter Number

Thanks to the text-books and the programme of studies inspired by our English school-masters, we in India have managed to forget that as Indians we are inevitably Asiatic. But Asia is generally depicted in such lurid colours by her foreign exploiters that many of us still consider the Asiatic context of our national history as a "Geographical Fatality" and try to out-grow as quickly as possible the "Oriental mentality."

Yet to do the barest justice to Asia, we have got to admit that she is the stage on which some of the momentous dramas of human progress have been represented. Leaving aside the "tableaux vivantes" of the dawn of civilisation in course of the collaboration of the Aegio-Egyptian and the Chaldeo-Assyrian peoples in remote antiquity, the emergence of great personalities with their prophetic messages in the historic period redounds no doubt, to the credit of Asia. Zoroaster the first reformer of Iran, Mahavir the champion of "Ahimsa" against the barbarous human instinct of cruelty, Buddha, the high priest of "maitri" universal fellowship, Lao-tze the protagonist of spiritual non-interference and Confucius the promulgator of ethical perfection—are pioneers in the history of human progress. Culture of Asia was the by-product of their spiritual missions. Age after age, the declaration of a new faith has led to the development of new civilisations; literature and philosophy, ritual and art, institutions and inventions have followed in the wake of each spiritual awakening.

The Late Swami Vedananda

The *Vedanta-Kesari* says:

It is with deep sorrow that we record the passing away of Swami Vedananda, the head of the Ramakrishna Mission Sevashram at Brindaban. For about a year past, he had several attacks of serious fever and pneumonia. An attack of diphtheria, however, was the immediate cause of his passing away. The Swami was an ardent patriot who joined the Ramakrishna Order about fifteen years ago and was the brother of S. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the famous Bengali novelist. May his soul rest in peace!

The Begum of Bhopal's Advice to Moslems

In the Course of her Convocation Address at Aligarh the Begum of Bhopal gave some valuable advice to the Moslem students which we reproduce from the *Feudatory of Zemindari India* below.

Addressing the Moslem students in particular Her Highness asked them to remember that they were the sons of Islam which had brought the message of peace for the world. Islam taught them toleration for non-Muslims with everybody in God's vast world. Her Highness went on to say "you are living in a country inhabited by different creeds. Your objects and outlook in life

PAN-ASIATIC HUMANISM

Iran, India and China were the three big radiating centres of spiritual and cultural internationalism. Yet by a curious irony of our academic destiny, we are not only ignorant of this grand triangular evolution, but are almost totally indifferent to the necessity of any positive knowledge of Pan-Asiatic Humanism. No doubt we know something of India; but our study of India is as yet provincial and not continental. France and Germany are nearer to our students than Iran and China, our next door neighbours and spiritual collaborators. Our students know more of Alexander and Napoleon than of Zoroaster or Confucius,

Let there be a questionnaire-test amongst the undergraduates of our colleges and my contention would be proved. No wonder then that our students, our young men, the best recruits to our public life and activities lack that indispensable back-ground of the culture and the spirit of the East without which most of our experiment and reconstructions would inevitably be the mere imitation or mimicry of occidental life and history. East and West should and must collaborate, but East must do so as East, and West as West. Then only the collaboration would be honourable and creative. Otherwise there would be fruitless parody of Oriental spirituality on the one hand or a tragic caricature of Occidental culture on the other.

Judged from this point of view our school and college syllabuses of studies stand self-condemned. The very element of Asiatic history and culture are not known to our students. No wonder then that they never bother their head about the vicissitudes of this vast continent. How can there be love or sympathy without knowledge?

MORE KNOWLEDGE OF ASIA

It is high time that we should organise to provide for this knowledge of Asia both inside and outside the academic circles. If the hard and fast regulations do not permit a sudden change in the courses of studies, let there be intensive discussions, conferences as well as popular public lectures with pictures and lantern slides with a view to bring home to our people the intimate relations that exist between the different peoples of the Orient. Even if our students are not spared the pains of cramming the delectable details of the career of Catherine de Medici or of the constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes, let them occasionally at least, study in pictures, the magnificent results of the Sino-Indian or Indo-Japanese collaboration.

The monumental remains of the Chinese Buddhist temple-city of Lung-men; the exquisite Japanese wood carvings and temples of Nara and the Frescoes of Horiuji; the Mahabharata reliefs on the Indo-Chinese temple of Angkor Wat, the Ramayana scenes sculptured on the Javanese temples of Prambanam and Panataran, the Central Asian frescoes discovered in Turfan and Tuen-Huang, the latest Buddhist remains in Khotan, Bamian, Afghanistan, and Persia—all these things should be shown, discussed and made familiar to all those who aspire to have some culture. This great chapter of give-and-take in Asiatic history should be made living. Then only we shall realise how much India has received and how largely she has given through selfless service and deathless creation. But let this study be in a spirit of humility and devotion to truth. If India had once through her loving participation in the life of humanity built her spiritual domain in the East, so as to earn the title of the "Light of Asia," that rare privilege is only a matter of forgotten history to-day! What are the shortcomings of our life or the defects of our national character that led to the present retrogression, isolation and stagnation? Let these problems be studied with scientific detachment of spirit. Let all that we know of our great achievements in the past, make us more ready to admit our present limitations, let it open our heart to the immortal lessons of the Angels of Peace and Fellowship and let our hands be ready and fit again for the

alleviation of human sufferings and for the uplifting of mankind. India became Greater India through self-effacing service for humanity. May our Asia the Mother of all the great religions of man, rise above her present degradation and once again pronounce full-hearted benedictions for the whole world.

Indian Traditions or Indians

Nothing is so shameful, so flagrantly against the laws of spiritual economy as the case of the members of an ancient and living cultural group attempting to throw off their own traditions, cultural, moral and spiritual habits and making vain efforts to tread exotic paths of thinking, feeling and willing. Yet there are millions in India who do so with the greatest pride. The following sensible words of the *National Christian Council Review* regarding the relation that Indian Christians should have with Indian tradition and culture may help foreign minded Indians to regain their sanity.

How can we distinguish the main current of the river of God from its tributary streams? Christian theology has long maintained that the head waters of religious truth are in Judea; but can that be maintained in the face of the acknowledgment of India's subtlety and courage in the endeavour after the ultimate secret of the universe? Even Christians are found to maintain that since Christ is the fulfilment of India's long quest, the Old Testament of her people is to be sought in the Upanishads or in the utterances of the *bhakti* saints. Why feed the young Indian Christian on the husks of Hebrew history when he can glean rather after the *rishis* and the *sadhus* of his own ancient land?

Islamic Hopes of Painting Europe Green

The Islamic World quotes the following from the 'Daily Express'.

In his statement of the other day that "Most English people have abandoned Christianity, but have not yet adopted any other form of religion," Prebendary Mackay said no more than the exact truth. We are no longer a Christian people in any real sense of the word, and it is useless pretending that we are. It is questionable whether we are still even a religious people. It is true that we occupy ourselves a great deal with religious and semi-religious problems and discussions; but that is a different thing from being religious. We study comparative religion; we have an intellectual curiosity about the superstitions and modes of belief of other races and times; we dabble in spiritualism and theosophy; we take an academic interest in mysticism and religious psychology generally; we are interested in Church history and in the results of the Higher Criticism—but we are not religious. Not one in a hundred of those who take interest in these things is primarily concerned to lead a

religious life himself. And of the few who are, how many are specifically Christian in conduct, outlook or belief? Christianity as a guide to the conduct of life or as a scheme of dogmatic belief, means, I am afraid, little to most of us to-day, the spirit of the age is definitely anti-Christian."

Then says the Moslem journal—

At last our friends have come out into the open! It is admitted that in England Christianity is dead, and that whilst there is a tendency to look around and dabble in religious problems, the fact remains that England is without a religion to-day. Too long has this Church held away, too long has it misled enquirers, and retribution has overtaken it in full measure. People have been led to think of Christianity as religion, and all other Creeds as Paganism, hence, when people forsake "religion", they really mean "Christianity". Here my brethren is the opportunity! Islam must be introduced forcefully and widely in the West, we must, bestir ourselves, and not be content to have one or two missions here; but we must organise and have a teacher of Islam in all the great cities of the West. We must have a full supply of literature for distribution, and we must have a good headquarters so that everyone who wishes can apply for Islamic instruction.

But the people of Europe are developing a great craving for speculative philosophy and spiritualism on the one hand and for cold scientific reasoning on the other. For this reason, would it not be rather difficult for Islamic missionaries to win over the Europeans? We are not in a position to pass any judgment on Islam as a religion but we can very well say that Islamic missionaries will have to make improvements on their intellectual equipment before they can expect to preach successfully to Europeans.

Hindu Moslem Affairs

The Anagarika N. Dharmapala writes in the *Maha-Bodhi*

In the tenth decade of the eighteenth century hooligans, brigands, pirates, adventurers, filibusterers, immoral scoundrels of different European countries armed with nothing else except destructive weapons and poisons left their shores and came to Asia and destroyed weaker races and subdued them and pillaged the countries. Politically free races were made to go under the yoke of slavery. The political crimes committed by European adventurers have had no parallel in the history of the world except during the period of Moslem vandalism. Barbarous hordes from Arabia fresh from the conquests inaugurated by the successors of Mohammad, lusting for more land and fresh pastures, with the sword and Koran in their hands, devastated the countries lying between Persia and India. The Aryan civilization that

stood for two thousand years had met with a barbarous foe who recognized neither art, literature nor aesthetic beauty. Destruction was their slogan. Entering India they destroyed the vestiges of Buddhism and converted people by force into Islam. Centres of learning became centres of brigandage. India lost the noble religion of the Buddha and the lay Buddhists were converted by force by the million into the Semitic religion of Arabia. India then had not one Moslem, but to-day there are 70 millions. The Hindus and Moslems are killing each other and the British with their impartiality fire on both parties and kill them. When the Moslems killed in number exceed that of the Hindus the latter shower praise on the British, and vice versa.

There were living on the banks of the Ganges two otters, and one day they went fishing, one going by the bank side, the other on the deeper side and both succeeded in catching a big fish, and they had it dragged on to the bank. Now how are they to have it equally divided, because the one had caught the fish by the head and other by the tail. They began to quarrel, and a fox who had been watching the two others came rather close to them and was gazing at the horizon, and the otters seeing the fox, said there is a fox, let us go to him, and he will judge our case and divide the fish impartially. They approached the fox and requested to come and help them. With nonchalant indifference the fox said that he had just left the bench of the court of the king of Benares and came here to get a little fresh air, and he had no time to attend to other matters. However, at their request the fox approached the place and inquired of the two how they had caught the fish, and the one said Lord, I got hold of the tail end, and you, he asked of the other, and he said at the head. The fox cut off the tail end and gave it to one saying that is your portion, and he bit off the head and gave it to the other, and the middle portion the fox took as his share for having decided the case. The fox marched off dragging the best portion of the fish. This story is from the Jatakas. The illustration is to be found in the Barhut railing in the Calcutta Museum.

Effect of the War on Art

Bhavachitra Lekhana Siromani N. Vyasa Ram contributes a beautifully comprehensive article on the Growth of Art in Europe to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. Regarding the effect of the war on art he says,

Whatever troubles otherwise the world might have experienced due to the Great War, art received a mighty impetus such as was never known before, except once as a result of the French Revolution. It was officially recognised that "picture-making was not a mere idle pastime, but an activity which had its own function and purpose of usefulness to humanity." More than ever they saw how art could be turned to great advantage if the people chose. The idea "art for art's sake" and art was recognized as an element of education and social progress, because nothing else in the

world could impress an idea so vividly and lastingly on the human memory. Various war artists were officially employed and ever since then more and more encouragement is being given to the growth of art in England. The fact that in London alone there are over thirty schools of art is enough for us to imagine the extent to which art is appreciated and recognised as a necessary element of education in England. As a result of the War, English art became more settled and came back to a modified realism though it is idle yet to speculate over the various phases of modern European art.

• The Work of Educated Men in Villages

Mr. W. Samiah (Retd. Tasildar) writes in *Rural India*

During the last fifty years or so there has been a steady migration into towns and cities of the intelligent and wealthy classes among the rural populations. They came out of their villages to receive English education in Schools and Colleges, and thereafter secured occupations in Government service, learned professions and commercial lines, and eventually settled themselves in towns on their pensions or accumulated savings or both. When opportunities came to satisfy their further ambition they stepped into further appointments in estates, mutts, temples or private firms and then spent all their life time for their own personal ends. They forgot altogether the welfare of the village which gave them birth. Scarcely do they pay a visit to it except perhaps to collect their dues from their recalcitrant tenants or to see a dying relation, who with a strong aversion to town life refuses to leave the village. Accustomed as they are to the luxuries and easy going town-life they feel the incompatibility of leading a village-life at the far end of their earthly existence. But it is this class of people that owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the villages. They owed their education and prosperity to the taxes wrung from the rural population and the best way of discharging that debt is for them to go back to their home of parentage and utilise their knowledge and past experience for the benefit of the village. Retired men, if they only care to spend the evening of their life in their own village, will find enough to occupy them in wholesome endeavours for the uplift of the rural populations. Let them make a beginning and they will naturally prefer a retired and peaceful life in their own village and feel contented and happy in doing some useful work in that humble sphere. And the little work which they may be able to do would be of immense advantage to the villages. Fortunate indeed is the village which can claim as its own retired men with knowledge and experience. For instance, retired judicial officers may very well spare their villages from costly litigation in law courts by settling local disputes, by arbitration and giving homely advice on the spot. Retired revenue officials may educate the village folk and give the lead in all revenue matters. Those with medical experience may open dispensaries and look after village sanitation and health; and an Ex-Engineer may help in making plans and estimates for constructing ponds, digging wells, building houses, laying out streets and

drainage, channels and repairing irrigation works. Similarly educationists will have ample scope for doing educational work and forest officials may encourage planting operations. Retired lawyers, if indeed there are any, are expected to be the natural leaders of the village and take part in training the villagers in civics and citizenship and thus enable the people's voice to be heard in the councils of the empire. In these and other ways retired men may find useful occupations in their own villages. The village communities have also a right to demand the services of such men not as a favour done but as service due to them. Their services are now badly wanted in villages. Village panchayats, Panchayat Courts, Irrigation Panchayats, Union Boards, Co-operative Societies and Banks, which are increasing in rural areas, are now in the hands of inefficient men with little experience of administration and accounts and it is no wonder that many of these institutions are not working as they ought to. In these circumstances, the re-advent of the lost intelligence to villages would be a very great boon indeed.

The writer is quite right in what he says.

Marriage among Jains

The following appears in the *Jaina Gazette*

The consequences of the lack of free matrimonial intercourse among Jains are ruinous in several ways. Thousands of young men cannot find brides within their respective sub-sects and are forced to pass their lives as bachelors. Some of the sub-sects are composed of extremely insignificant numbers. There is a difficult position. The rigid conditions, which prevail so far, preclude the marriage of their youth among other sects. Since the girls must in no case remain unmarried, they are often forced, like so many dumb driven cattle, into altogether undesirable marriages. While the girls are thus dedicated to lives of heart-rending misery and speedy widowhood, boys of brimming vitality and strength are deprived of the joys of conjugal life. The latter are no better than the dead so far as the propagation of the race is concerned. The call of youth is irresistible. There is no wonder that some of them contract objectionable marriages or fall into dissolute ways, and thereby fall into the clutches of the petty tyrants of local *Baradaris* to get ex-communicated. In this manner the vicious circle goes merrily round and round unabated. The avarice of poor parents plays a considerable part at times in the marriage of young girls to men of advanced age. Lured by monetary and other material advantages, girls are bundled into matrimony without the slightest compunction by those who profess the creed of Ahimsa. Comparative poverty is also reckoned as a disqualification for young men who are out to find mates. The evil is thus complicated and accentuated. Inter-marriage would certainly open out a wide field of natural selection and help to rejuvenate the entire communal life. As matters stand, we are torn.

into small artificial groups by means of a tenuous convention which cannot stand the test of reason for a minute. The perennial economic loss which our society is incurring by our prejudice against healthy breeding, is leading us on the road to sure extinction.

It is an admitted fact that our numbers are fast diminishing. We quite realise that the lives of thousands of our young men are running to waste and that many, many thousands of

girls are being driven to lead unhappy barren lives. Class fertility is at a very low ebb among Jains. It is impossible to produce children unless the people unite in wedlock and unless couples are physically well-matched. How long are we to continue to be hag-ridden by out-worn social theories which are sucking up all our vitality and daily leaving us the worse off in the battle of life?

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mussolini's New Powers

The *Literary Digest* gives the following:

"If one is going to be a dictator, then one should be a dictator," is evidently the Mussolini principle, remarks the *Buffalo Courier and Express* commenting on the new powers assumed by the Italian dictator after the latest attempt on his life. There never has been anything like the multiplication of manifold governmental powers in the hands of one man, outside of Asia, says the *Philadelphia Record* noting Mussolini's assumption of the Ministry of the Interior, with direct control of the police force, which gives him six Cabinet portfolios besides the Premiership, the chieftaincy of the Fascist movement, and the direct command of the Fascist militia.

The new and drastic laws were adopted very shortly after the end of the fourth year of the Fascist regime. This year was marked by a notable tightening of control, as a correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* recalls, including the outlawry of strikes, the banning of secret societies, the further limitation of the freedom of the press, laws making the Premier responsible to the King alone, another making remarks derogatory to the Premier punishable, the fining and disfranchisement of any Italian, at home or abroad, speaking disrespectfully of Fascism and the replacing of local elective officials by government appointees. This period, as a *Chicago Tribune* writer puts it, might be called Fascism's period of "direct action"; the events of the last few weeks have ushered in the "period of intransigence." The new laws are the direct result of acts of violence culminating in a boy's attempt to kill Mussolini on October 31. The youth was promptly lynched, and in an ensuing reign of terror a hundred persons were killed, a thousand injured, and hundreds of homes destroyed. On November 4 Mussolini promised his followers. "To-morrow we will have the acts you have been awaiting." So on the 5th, the Fascist Cabinet approved a list of new measures for the suppression of dissent. In the meantime an international incident had arisen. There had been grumbling in Italy over anti-Fascist plotting on French soil and anti-French demonstrations in Italy. On November 4, Colonel Ricciotti Garibaldi was arrested in France

after being accused of being an *agent provocateur* in the hire of the Italian secret service. On the 9th the Italian Minister in Paris conveyed his Government's official regret to foreign Minister Briand. On the same day the Chamber of Deputies passed by practically unanimous votes most of the laws asked by the Mussolini Cabinet. These included the revival of the death penalty for plotting against the life of the Premier or members of the royal family, and also:

"1. Punishment by prison sentences for those who enroll in any anti-Fascist organization.

"2. Annulment of all passports permitting Italians to leave the country, and heavy penalties for evasion.

"3. Revocation of the licenses of hostile newspapers.

"4. Dissolution of all organizations suspected of holding views at variance with the Government.

"5. Police dead-lines for persons suspected of anti-Fascism.

"6. Representatives of the Army, Navy, Aeronautical Corps and Militia to form special courts for judging offenders under the new regulation."

At the same time the Chamber of Deputies expelled its remaining opposition members. On the 15th it was announced that 190,000 Fascist militiamen were to be armed with rifles. Twelve newspapers were actually suspended, in accordance with these decrees, but what seems to our editors to be the last straw was the decree of the Fascist Government forbidding Italian parents to give their children names which would seem to be "subversive" to the existing system.

So to-day, says the *New York Evening Post*, "Italy is practically under martial law." Many of our papers wonder how long such a rule can endure, and consider the policy of repression a confession of weakness. To the editor of *The Nation*, "the interesting thing is not what Mussolini may achieve in the six months or six years that may yet be his, but what is the price for this horrible strangling of liberty, this destruction of every vestige of democratic government."

And yet the ruthless suppression of plotters seems to some of our editors to be at least partially justified. "Some bloodletting" may be necessary to protect Mussolini's life and his hold on power, "which he probably regrets as much as any one."

but, declares the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, "it is nothing to the streams of blood that would be unloosed in Italy if he should fall to-day by the hand of an assassin."

Free Trade for Europe?

Europe to-day is cut up into numerous economic fragments by tariff barriers although her economic life is one. Much of Europe's present misery is due to the false protectionism which is slowly undermining the health and vigour of European industries by narrowing down their relations with one another to the barest minimum. The *Literary Digest* tells us of a new movement against this dangerous protectionism of Europe. We are told:

The walls of Jericho fell before the blowing of the trumpets, but recalling this in connection with the manifesto issued by more than 200 persons representing some sixteen countries, pleading for the removal of restrictions on European trade, certain English authorities assure us that they are not simple enough to suppose that the tariff walls of Europe will fall down at the blast of the trumpet "even when blown by such competent instrumentalists as the 200 distinguished signatories" of the document. According to the London *Economist* the present plea, although it indicates a wide-spread recognition of the folly of Europe's trade practises, cannot be expected to do more than change the trend of international trade policies. Nevertheless, it is said to be more than a small mercy that the beginnings of a change are appearing. The next step, we are told by this weekly, is the international Economic Conference, which is expected to meet at Geneva next year, and is, by the issue of this manifesto and all that it means, invested with a far greater importance than it might otherwise have possessed. We read further of the manifesto that:

"It is bound to exercise considerable influence on the Governments of Europe because of the very great weight and authority of the men who have put their signatures to it. But it will assuredly rank as one of the great economic documents of history, chiefly because there has never been any declaration of economic policy—outside the decisions of official conferences—which has had so powerful an international backing.

"The document is signed by over 200 persons representing some sixteen countries. In the first place, there are the heads of a dozen Central Banks, including those of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, the chief neutral States of Europe, with the notable omission of Spain, and certain countries of Central Europe. These signatures are of special importance, for the heads of Central Banks, though not usually government officials are, nevertheless, in charge of institutions the primary purpose of which is not to make profits for their bank, but in the public interest to look after the monetary basis on which the economic life of each country depends. Being free from direct political influences and unattached to the interests of

particular groups or industries, the Central Banks are in a peculiarly favorable position for judging what is needed for the public well-being. Moreover, in present circumstances these banks, which are entrusted with the difficult problem of securing monetary stability, have good reason to know how much they are hampered in carrying out their primary function by the existence of trade barriers. The signatories include a very strong representation of other banks and other financial houses in every country."

England "Done For"

The same journal also gives the following:

Sir Thomas Beecham, one of England's leading impresarios, conductors, and composers, thinks that the musical future of England is so black "that the only thing left for musicians to do is to get out." Accordingly Sir Thomas departs for the United States, to take up his permanent residence there. At least, so report current cable dispatches from London, with the result that both England and America are stirred to editorial demonstrations of interest. Since Sir Thomas is said to be headed for Philadelphia as his first stopping place, particular importance may attach to a welcoming editorial from the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. The *Ledger*, briefly calling attention to the fact that Sir Thomas's fortune proceeds from that most famous remedy, "Beecham's Pills," notes that, since Beecham is now "seeking refreshment in America," doubtless, "the medicament on which the paternal affluence was founded is in this instance unavailing." The editor compares Sir Thomas to the "Gloomy Dean" of Westminster Cathedral, who spends much of his time prophesying woe for England. It seems that Sir Thomas's gloomy remark on the British situation, music and otherwise, runs in part:

"England is finished, not only musically, but every other way. The only thing for anybody to do is to give up and go to America. I am going as a guest and will conduct the Philadelphia Orchestra. After a few months' experience as a guest, I will stay permanently, and I advise as many English musicians as possible to leave this country and go to America.

"Why, one of my American friends spends as much money on one orchestra in California as the English spend on music in all England, including the English Government's subsidy to broadcasting."

The broadcasting of opera especially arouses Sir Thomas's ire, it appears, his cabled protest running:

"It sounds like most horrible chattering, gibbering, chortling, shrieking devils and goblins and they call it Beethoven or Wagner. The sound has as much in relation to their music as the singing of Galli-Curci to a roaring bull. It's insanity."

Future of British Politics

The *New Republic* says:

The recent municipal elections in Great Britain showed remarkable gains for labor, especially in the northern cities. Labour won one hundred

and sixty-one seats and lost twenty-one, while Conservatives won only fifteen and lost seventy-eight. The Liberals did even more badly, losing fifty-three and gaining only eight. Thus labor made a net gain of one hundred and forty, while the Conservatives and Liberals made net losses of sixty-three and forty-five respectively. Several reasons are given for this upset. The Labor party has now lost from its ranks many of the extremists who by their presence had alienated persons of moderate views. The Liberals are split asunder by the personal quarrel between Lloyd George and Lord Oxford and Asquith. There is widespread and well justified dissatisfaction with the Conservative government over its handling of the coal strike. The result of all these factors combined is to put the Labor party in a position of suddenly and greatly enhanced political strength.

This does not mean, however, that the political skies are clearing. On the contrary they seem more stormy than ever. The Communists who have been frozen out of the Labor party are aggressive and well organized. The present situation, with the coal strike virtually broken, the trade union treasuries exhausted, the leaders quarrelling among themselves and the Conservative government showing an increasing tendency to use Fascist methods, presents just the soil in which Communism best grows. At present we have the Conservatives on the right, Labor on the left and the Liberals in the middle. It is not at all improbable that in the future we may see Conservatives on the right, Communists on the left, and a Liberal-Labor alliance in the middle. The right wing of the Liberals would go over to the Conservatives; the left wing of Labor would go over to the Communists where for the most part it is already; the left wing of the Liberals would move a little further still to the left to combine with the right wing of Labor.

While such a regrouping would mean greater reality in politics, it is impossible to look forward to it without serious misgivings. The Communists are not interested in parliamentary government; they are interested in class war as a precursor to and accompaniment of revolution. For some time to come, British industrial life is likely to continue greatly depressed, for reasons some of which at least are international in character. It needs an increased degree of socialization; but the dose the Communists would apply would probably be fatal. To vary the figure: the British ship must pass through stormy waters; and it will be a serious misfortune if a large part of the crew stands by with folded arms, or seeks covertly to cut the halyards.

Life Insurance in Japan

The *Japan Magazine* tells us:

At present, life insurance companies number 44 and marine, fire and other accident insurance companies 51. Before the insurance business was so strongly established as at present, it had strong competition from foreign insurance offices doing business in Japan. These offices numbered 60 or 70 in 1900, when the Imperial ordinance was

issued controlling foreign insurance offices in Japan. They were obliged by the law to deposit an amount of money with the Government. This forced nearly half of them to give up business in Japan. At present, there are only 4 life insurance offices and 32 fire insurance offices operated by foreigners.

We see that foreign companies do not thrive well in Japan. Is this due to the Japanese being more efficient than the foreigners in business or to the fact that the foreigners have no political hold on Japan? The extraordinary dearth of foreign companies in life work (only 4) shows that the Japanese people believe in insuring with national companies and do as they believe.

Woman Explorers

We learn from the *Woman Citizen* that

A new feminine organization, founded on daring and scholarship, has just announced itself--the Society of Woman Geographers, which is to give comradeship and stimulation to the woman explorer and her ally in science. There are so far thirty-nine members, an unbelievably fascinating list of hunters and writers whose names mean dangers conquered and hidden facts unearthed. Harriet Chalmers Adams, authority on Latin America, Spain and her colonies, and on early American peoples, is president, Marguerite Harrison, co-author of "Grass," interpreter of the East, serves as treasurer; and Blair Niles, who studies the peoples of Venezuela, Ecuador, India, Java, the Andes and the Himalayas, as secretary. One of the charter members, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, has just returned from a South American trip with the Field Museum expedition--the first white woman to penetrate the wilderness of Paraguay. For widely traveled women, who eschew jungles and microscopes, there is to be an associate membership.

The Most Romantic Regiment in the World

Hugh Vincent contributes a highly interesting account of the French Foreign Legion to *Chamber's Journal*. We give quotation from it below.

In a world where the love of adventure is rapidly giving way to the exigencies of life, there still remains that famous band of adventurers, the French Foreign Legion.

The Foreign Legion was founded in the year 1831 under the name of the African Auxiliaries. A Belgian, who styled himself Baron de Boegard, collected round him some four thousand soldiers of fortune and set sail for Africa after swearing allegiance to France.

They were so poor and ragged that the Arabs called them the Bedouins from France. They gave such a good account of themselves, however,

that a royal edict, dated 10th March 1831, sanctioned their incorporation in a Foreign Legion under the title of *La Legion Etrangere*, on the pattern of the Legion d'Hohenlohe which fought at the time of the Restoration. They remained as a separate entity until 1864, when a decree was passed bringing them into the armies of the French Empire.

Recruits are given the choice of joining the 1st Regiment stationed at Sidi-bel-Abbes, or the 2nd regiment located at Saida. The former is easily first favourite with the young soldiers, for Sidi-bel-Abbes is a gay place, with cafes and dance halls, and wine, too, is cheap in Algeria. After a day or two at Oran they are sent forward to the regiment of their selection.

Sidi-bel-Abbes is distant about fifty-five miles from Oran. Here are the great barracks of the 1st Regiment, covering more than two acres of ground. The city of the Legion has a population of thirty thousand. It is 1500 feet above sea-level and is embowered in gardens, trees, and vineyards. Its fertile fields in a wide valley are watered by the river of the Mekarra.

On their arrival at the barracks the recruits are greeted with shouts of derision from the old Legionnaires. 'Here come "Les Bleus"' they call out, and pass scathing remarks on the newcomers' personal appearance. All this is simply meant as chaff and banter, and must be accepted as such. The 'blues' are then shown to their quarters. In the morning they are awakened by the cry of '*Au Jus, au Jus*' (to the juice), and an old soldier going the rounds of the beds with a big jug containing black coffee—about half a pint is apportioned to each man. Five minutes later reveille is sounded. Then ensues a rush to the ground floor, where the washing arrangements are. 'Fall in' for parade sounds fifteen minutes after reveille.

The most trying part of the life at the beginning is learning how to march: for marching is a religion in the Legion. The recruit starts by covering short distances, carrying only his arms. Gradually this is increased until he is able to carry at least seventy pounds' weight on his back, and cover twenty-five to thirty miles day by day, without interruption, at a pace of five kilometres an hour under a broiling African sun. This is the time when a man regrets the day he set foot in the Legion. The greatest crime a Legionnaire can commit is to fail in any of these soul-destroying marches.

Iron discipline is enforced, and the punishment meted out for some offences is unbelievably severe. For an infraction of discipline the mildest form is *corvee*, which is the French equivalent for 'fatigue duty' in the British army. The next in order is room arrest, which means confinement to barracks. Then there is '*Salle de Police*.' Offenders undergoing it have to sleep in their clothes on a plank bed in the guardroom.

'Ordinary arrest' is dreaded by every Legionnaire. Those undergoing one form of it are kept in confinement all the time, except when they are brought out to do six hours' punishment drill daily. This consists of going round the prison-yard at the double, with a bag containing thirty pounds of sand strapped to the shoulders. The prisoner has to halt for a minute or two and go down on one knee every time he goes round. It

is not a pretty sight to watch the agony of men undergoing this awful ordeal; I have seen the strongest collapse under it.

The Legion types are as interesting as they are varied. Some are not easily forgotten.

There was the 'Emperor,' so called because he wore a frock-coat of immaculate cut and a glossy topper when he joined up. But his great asset was the monocle he affected. The coat and hat he obstinately refused to part with until he reached 'bel-Abbes.

Spielman was another old character. He could imitate the note of almost any bird with absolute fidelity. In appearance he was not unlike a bird. He had the longest neck of any one I ever met, with an enormous hook-nose.

The Marquis de B—was a Legionnaire of the second class. He was something of a mystery to everyone. Why he elected to join as a humble ranker no one ever found out, for it was common knowledge that he had served with distinction in a famous French artillery regiment, and had held the rank of major. He refused all offers of promotion during his term of service with the Legion.

Legionnaire X was the son of a well-known French admiral. He was a devil-may-care sort of fellow, with a genius for getting into trouble. He possessed a beautiful tenor voice, and when he could be induced to sing—which was not often—the barrack room couldn't hold all the Legionnaires who came to listen. The 'boy' (he was christened the 'Babe') looked not more than sixteen, although he claimed to be eighteen. He was from Alsace, and had big round blue eyes and the wondering expression of a child. When upset by any of the old hands he would burst into tears.

His great pal and staunch friend was a most romantic character who earned for himself the sobriquet of 'Great heart.' He, too, was a mystery man who would have made the fortune of any novelist; tall and handsome, he was the modern d'Artagnan. No one knew what his nationality was, and he never invited questions on the subject. His English was perfect, and he spoke four other languages with equal facility. He was the champion of the weak, and fought their battles as if they were his own. No raw recruit appealed to him in vain for protection from a bully. He was loved by the weak, and feared and respected by the strong. When the 'Babe' was down with fever he obtained permission to nurse him. Night and day he sat by the boy's bedside until he was out of danger. When the lad went on the march again before he had quite regained his strength, faltered, and looked like giving up, it was 'Great heart' who shouldered his pack and rifle in addition to his own burden. This was against all the disciplinary rules of the Legion, but the grim serjeant only looked the other way and smiled. 'Great heart' was killed in action in Morocco, after winning the *medaille militaire* and being recommended for the Legion d'Honneur. He died as he lived, a very gallant gentleman.

Alma, Inkerman, Sebastopol—in desert warfare against the savage tribes—Mexico, Madagascar, Indo-China, and the Great War—the Legion has always shown those qualities of

reckless, bravery and heroic endurance for which it is famous.

The most valued possession of the Legion in the Hall of Honour is the artificial hand of Major d'Anjou, who was in command of a detachment of sixty-five men at the battle of the Camerone. This little band was opposed by three thousand Mexican irregulars. Five times were they called upon to surrender, but they flung back their defiance at the enemy. Finally, when only five remained, and these five all desperately wounded and without water for twenty-four hours, they agreed to a truce if allowed to keep their arms. The Mexican general granted their request, but so great was his surprise on seeing that the garrison consisted of five men, only one of whom could stand, that he exclaimed, 'We have not been fighting men, but devils.'

6. A memorial thanking the Emperor for his offer to compose an inscription for a monument in the Ta Tsuen-ssu Temple as well as for the assistance given by the Premier in obedience to Imperial command in the translation work.

7. A memorial asking permission for Shanglo and some other pupils, who for some reason or other had returned to secular life but desired to enter priesthood again.

8. A memorial repeating a petition for permission to enter the mountain for rest and recuperation and to relax the the translation work for some time, which petition was formerly denied.

9. A memorial thanking the Emperor for the favour of granting the above-mentioned petition.

10. A memorial asking the Emperor to write a preface to the translation of Maha-prajna Paramita Sutra.

Discovery of Hiuen Tsang's Memorials

J. Takakusu writes in the *Young East*

Particulars concerning the memorials presented to the Throne by Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller to India during the Tang Dynasty, are fairly well-known. In fact, the "Life of Hiuen Tsang" contains twenty-one and a volume in possession of the Chion in Temple in Kyoto sixteen of them. Besides these, it has not been exactly known how many more were written by the great traveller. As it is, a discovery of great interest has recently been made in Japan. To be particular, manuscript copies of forty-two memorials written by him have been discovered among old documents in the possession of Mr. Sakutaro Koizumi, a well-known political leader. These include ten papers which were hitherto entirely unknown. It is almost certain that forty-two represents the total number of the memorials written by Hiuen Tsang. Inasmuch as it was entirely due to the protection given him by the Emperor Koso of the Tang Dynasty that he could undertake his memorable journey to India, the newly discovered documents are of great value to a better knowledge of his life and career.

As has just been said of the forty-two memorials discovered, ten are those hitherto unknown, none of them being found either in the "Life of Hiuen Tsang" or in the volume kept in the Chion-in above referred to. These are the undermentioned:—

1. A poem composed by the Emperor Koso when he was still Crown Prince, on the occasion of a visit he paid to Hiuen Tsang at the Tsuen-ssu Temple.

2. A memorial presented to the Emperor by Hiuen Tsang when translations of the sutras were completed and submitted to his perusal.

3. A memorial asking the Emperor for procuring a set of the Sanskrit Tripitaka from the province of Khotan, as it came under the rule of China.

4. A memorial written on the occasion of the presentation by the Emperor Koso to Hiuen Tsang of hand-writings by a celebrated calligrapher.

5. A memorial thanking the Emperor for having enabled Hiuen Tsang to procure a complete set of the Tripitaka existent in China at that time.

What Shanghai means to China and the World

The Chinese upheaval has brought Shanghai to the limelight. Let us see what the *China Journal of Science and Art* says about this great port:

To those who have not lived in China, all names and towns seem practically the same. Peking, Shanghai and Canton are, of course, known to be important places with large populations, but, since all Chinese cities are thought to have large populations, no particular significance attaches to these places on that account. Peking as the capital is admitted to be of some consequence and Shanghai is associated with trade and shipping, but few realize that the latter place is one of the most important commercial centres in the world. Less than eighty years ago it was of no more consequence than a hundred other towns in China. Now it compares in size, trade and shipping with ports such as Hamburg, Rotterdam and Antwerp, and exceeds many well known places such as Marseilles and Singapore. The reason is not far to seek. Situated near the mouth of the Yangtze, which is navigable by steam craft for some 1,200 miles, it concentrates the imports and exports of an area of well over 500,000 square miles with a population of nearly ten per cent. that of the whole world. The buying and producing power of these people per head is small, but in the aggregate is very large. In 1925 the gross trade of Shanghai passed through the Maritime Customs was nearly 1,200,000,000 Haikuan Taels (about £200,000,000 or nearly 1,000,000,000 U. S. Dollars). Of this over one-third was foreign import, nearly one-third import from other places in China and the remainder local products. Twenty five years earlier in 1900, the gross trade was only 250,000,000 Haikuan Taels, and twenty five years before that in 1875, it was only a little over 100,000,000 Haikuan Taels. The shipping has grown similarly from 3,000,000 net tons entered and cleared in 1875 to 30,000,000 in 1925. These ships come from all over the world.

A similar prodigious growth is apparent in the physical development of the town. Whereas in 1843 there was a Chinese city of third class with

unimportant suburbs, there is now to the north of the Chinese city (which has also developed but not in the same ratio) a foreign style metropolis covering some 12 square miles, with some 250 miles of made roads and buildings, mostly of foreign style, of a value of perhaps, £50,000,000. The river frontage actually developed for shipping and industrial purposes amount to some 15 miles and the largest ships plying on the Pacific (20,000 or more tons gross and 30-ft. draft) can tie up in the town. Several hundred modern factories (principally Chinese and Japanese owned) constructed in recent years have made the place an important industrial centre. The principal power station has a capacity of 120,000 kilowatts or say 150,000 horsepower, the energy being derived from coal, most of which originates in China.

This development has been the result of the growth of foreign trade, bold enterprise, good municipal government, and the regulation of the river since 1905 by the Whangpoo Conservancy Board, without which large ships could not have reached the city.

From scientific and artistic standpoints Shanghai is of similar consequence, though as yet development along these lines has not kept pace with commercial and industrial development. However, there can be no question of the city's importance in the growth of both science and art in China. There are many art-craft industries that are rapidly growing in importance. Its engineering industry is large, and there are many important educational institutions. It is the principal point for the export of Chinese art objects and antiques and while it cannot compare with Peking for artistic motives, there is a strong nucleus of people whose occupations or hobbies contribute to the production or distribution of beautiful things.

The future is obscure from some points of view, but there can be no doubt that Shanghai will continue to grow and will maintain its place as the leading city on the Asiatic continent for many years to come.

Indo-Japanese Rivalry in Cotton

The following quotation from the *Living Age* should be of interest to Indian Cotton Millowners:

Although Japan raises no cotton and India does, she can manufacture cheaper than her competitor, and is driving the products of the Hindu and the Persi mill owners of Bombay, not only from the Persian Gulf market, but also from India itself. While her labour costs are lower, her spinners receiving only about thirty-seven cents for an eleven hour day, other elements also account for this. Her mills are better organized, equipped, and managed. A German correspondent, writing in *Vossische Zeitung*, makes this comparison of the industrial efficiency of the two countries: 'I have visited cotton mills in Bombay, and I have just seen a number of those in Osaka. The mills in Japan are much cleaner and more sanitary than the sheds, filthy with betel-nut spit, where the Hindus work. Every large Japanese factory has

a restaurant where the employees can get three good meals for four or five cents each. Many factories have their own up-to-date hospitals. The dormitories of the unmarried employees, and the little cottages of the married help, are quite up to the average accommodations in that country. Intercourse between managers and workers is courteous. No Japanese would stand for a moment the rough treatment which is customary in India. On the other hand, Japanese wages are from a quarter to a third lower, and their working day is from one to two hours longer, than in India. On the whole, I should prefer to work in a Japanese factory rather than in an Indian factory and I should far prefer this to working in a Chinese factory. Japan's six million spindles can compete at an advantage with the seven million spindles of India, not only because wages are lower and the working day is longer in Japan, but because India's mill managers are unreliable, her cotton brokers are often dishonest, and her selling houses charge very high commissions. Osaka, in a word, is a more efficient industrial city than Bombay.

Austria's Greatest Poet

In the same journal we find a short sketch of Austria's Greatest Poet. We reproduce a part of it below:

His name is Rainer Maria Rilke, he lives in Paris, and he writes in French.

Herr, or rather Monsieur, Rilke was born in 1875, in Prague. Slavic blood flows in his veins, which probably accounts for the ease with which he learns foreign languages. In 1900 he went to Moscow, discovered Dostoevskii, one of whose novels he translated into German, and visited Tolstoi. When he arrived at Yasnaya Poliana, the author of *War and Peace* plunged out of his front door shouting that he did not want any lunch, but preferred to walk in the forest. He turned to Rilke's astonished party and asked, 'Which do you choose—to go with me into the woods and the fields, or to eat here like a bunch of imbeciles with plates and tumblers?' For once Rilke disdained the interior life.

Rilke learned English simply in order to be able to read Browning in the original. It took him only a few months, and when his purpose was accomplished he abandoned his study of that tongue whose genius seemed to me so foreign that, 'once my curiosity was satisfied, I had forgotten it again completely within six months, and to-day I do not understand a single word.' French he found far more sympathetic to his taste, and German he liked less and less.

The poet's best friend in France is Paul Valéry, of whom he tells this amusing story. Valéry had come to pay a visit, and the waggish *chief de gare*, seeing the initials 'P. V.' on his luggage, pretended to send them by *petite vitesse*. When the joke was discovered a hearty laugh was enjoyed by all.

American Exploitation of Europe

Lending money has been for a long time one of the most potent weapons of Imperialism. Create economic interests, then protect them by force—such has been the procedure of economic exploitation by the "powers" in modern times. It will appear from the extract given below from the *Literary Digest* that Europe is at present fearing what might eventually develop into American Imperialism in that continent. We are told,

The fear that America will completely dominate Europe through its power of wealth is said to be rife in various European countries, but especially in France, which is resolved to resist such an eventuality. This explains the formidable opposition raised against the ratification of the debt settlement, we are told, and in the *London New Statesman* Mr. Sisley Huddleston, a distinguished observer of French affairs, relates that "an influential American," who has always advocated the cancellation of Europe's debts by America, showed him carefully worked-out figures to prove that if Europe really endeavoured to pay its immense debt to America, it could do so only by further huge borrowings from the same source on definite pledges, and that in the course of fifty or sixty years America by this process would have bought up almost the whole of Europe. Of such an eventuality we then read:—

"It sounds absurd, and indeed as a practical proposition is absurd. But theoretically the possibility exists. Since it is by a transference neither of gold nor of goods that Europe can pay it is not difficult to demonstrate on paper that in one way or another there may be effected a change of control and of possession of property inside Europe. This is, however, reckoning without circumstances which one can dimly envisage, and which one believes to be ineluctable."

"Take the case of Germany. I have already noted the facts, and will only recall briefly that according to Arnold Rechberg, German steel manufacturer, finding themselves short of working capital after the period of inflation had ceased and stabilization of the mark had been accomplished, were obliged to turn to American banks, backed by American steel interests, and obtained loans on condition of American participation. The allegation is that the ultimate object is to secure a predominant holding. Now the German heavy industries, through the Hugenberg organization, control the majority of German newspapers and various patriotic associations and parties. This is only one example that might be given of American penetration into German affairs. In a quarter of an hour a loan of thirty million dollars was subscribed in New York for Germany; and if a statement which has received publicity in France is to be accepted the rhythm of American investments in Germany is such that were it to remain unaltered, Germany's national riches would in a few years pass into American hands. An estimate, which I can not verify, puts American interests in Germany already at 35 per cent. of the total."

Will Syria become Italian

The *New Republic* informs us,

Is France planning to turn over the Syrian mandate to Italy? Persistent rumors have come from the European capitals in the past week that this is so. The quid pro quo has even been named: France is to be supported in her North African policy, which means that Italy will cast no covetous eyes on Tunisia and will not encourage Spanish ambitions in Tangier. These rumors as to Syria have been denied; but there is nothing inherently improbable about them. The French are heartily sick of their disastrous venture. They cannot afford the expense of the war which they brought about through the insane folly and cruelty of their administrators under the mandate. The whole enterprise has thus far been a liability, not an asset, and there is reason to suppose that this condition will continue even after Syria has been "pacified." Mussolini, on the other hand, would find several advantages in taking over the mandate assuming of course, that he could get the assent of the League of Nations. He could make terms with the Druse without "losing face," as the French feel they would do. He could present to the Italian people the new colonies he has been grandly offering them without knowing how to make good on his promise. He would find himself one step nearer to being overlord of the Mediterranean, which is his ambition. If the new venture brought about a war with Turkey as is more than possible—well, a war now and then is an excellent thing for a dictator. It keeps the population from dwelling too much upon troubles at home.

An Entente of Steel Magnets

The same journal also informs us,

After years of intermittent negotiations, the steel makers of Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Saar Valley have reached an international agreement which has been hailed in the American and European press as the reunion of the coke of the Ruhr with the iron ore of Lorraine and the greatest steel trust the world has ever seen. According to the news despatches, which contain few details, the essential features of the convention signed on September 30 are as follows:

Beginning October 1, 1926, and for a period of five years, the five groups of steel makers named above have agreed to limit their aggregate annual output to 27,528,000 tons, with a possible decrease to 30,000,000 tons and a possible increase to 26,000,000 tons. The production quotas have been fixed according to the following percentages: Germany, 43.18; France, 31.19; Belgium, 11.60; Luxemburg, 8.23; Saar Valley, 5.77. Each group is to deposit one dollar in a common fund for every ton of steel produced within its allotted quota. For each ton produced in excess of the quota a penalty of four dollars is to be paid, while a refund of two dollars will be made for every ton which any given group fails to produce of its allotted percentage of the minimum of 26,000,000 tons annually. A collateral agreement between France and Germany provides for the exchange of Ruhr coke for Lorraine iron ore.

Apparently no definite agreement has been reached or even attempted for either the allocation of export markets or the fixing of prices. While only the four countries named and the Saar are

participants in the convention, the way has been left open for the adherence of Great Britain and for the smaller steel producing countries in central Europe.

NOTES

Swami Shraddhananda's Martyrdom

The murder of Swami Shraddhananda, while lying in sick-bed at Delhi, by a Mussalman, named Abdur Rashid, has naturally roused great indignation among Hindus; and many Mussalman leaders have also unreservedly condemned the deed.

At the time of his death, the Swami was 71 years of age. He had recently had an attack of broncho-pneumonia and was slowly recovering from it. The murderer got access to him on the pretext of discussing some problems of Islam with him and shot him dead with a revolver, firing five times in quick succession. Swami-ji's death was almost instantaneous. The murder of an old man, lying in sick-bed, in this treacherous manner, is a most cowardly and shameful deed.

The miscreant Abdur Rashid is said to have declared that he alone was responsible for the act, and that he expected to go to heaven for having killed an unbeliever. Heaven must be a very undesirable place to live in if its portals are thrown open to treacherous and cowardly assassins. As for responsibility for the deed, it is to be hoped for the reputation of even the most criminal, turbulent and fanatical sections of Muhammadans that none of them were privy to it. That the Muhammadan community in general is not responsible for it, goes without saying. As regards the murderer, we fervently hope that he will repent, that his heart will change, and that he will obtain God's mercy and forgiveness. And may his deed also serve to remind us that few of us are free from communal hatred, which we must get rid of, and that therefore his shame is our shame, too. Electricity is discharged from a point in a mass of matter; but that does not mean that only the point was surcharged. No; the whole mass was surcharged. Similarly, though the assassin may be one, it was not his hatred alone that prompted his action but

the hatred of masses of men professing different creeds.

Though we hope no other Mussalman than the murderer was connected with the foul deed, many leading Mussalmans who could be named cannot be absolved from indirect but none the less real responsibility for the murder, because of the "militant" speeches delivered by them and the dire consequences foretold by them if the shuddhi and sangathan movements were not discontinued by the Hindus. We regret to have to write these words, for the outstanding figure in these movements was Swami Shraddhananda. We have always been opposed to mutual communal recriminations. We earnestly deprecate them at this juncture, too, and in future. We are second to none in our desire for real and whole-hearted friendship between all classes and creeds. But such friendship cannot be secured by a "hush hush" policy or by make-believe. Neither can it, of course, be promoted by needlessly offensive remarks. It must be understood and accepted unreservedly by the followers of all creeds, that so long as the practice of conversion continues, the right to convert in an open and legitimate manner must belong perfectly, equally to men of every religious persuasion. Personally we do not attach any importance to outward conversion and the profession by an individual of any particular faith. It is a man's inner life and outward conduct that really matter. But, as we have said before, so long as there is conversion, men of every religious persuasion must be allowed to convert. As regards the shuddhi and sangathan movements, we have never been opposed to them, though we have criticised the name shuddhi; because we do not believe that a non-Hindu or a Hindu of the so-called untouchable castes is necessarily *ashuddha* or impure.

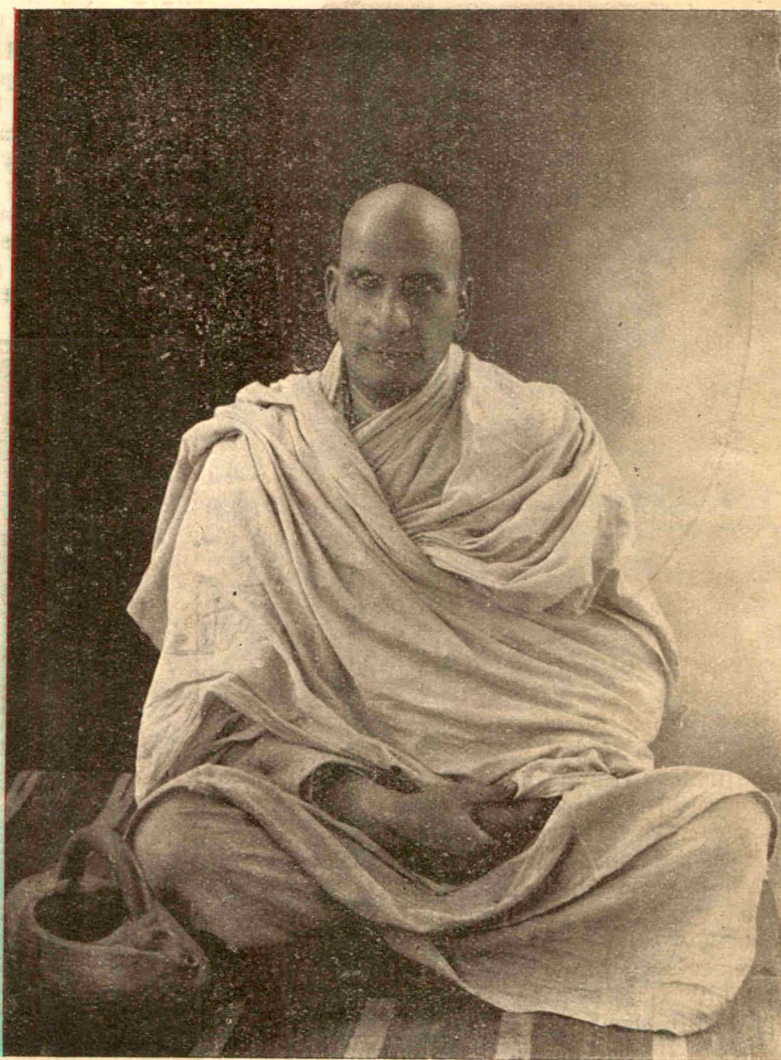
Swami Shraddhananda led a dedicated life. Giving up his lucrative practice as a lawyer in

the full maturity of his powers, he devoted the best portion of his life to the foundation, building up and carrying on of the Gurukula Vidyalaya for educating Hindu boys and young men according to the ancient ideals and methods of India and imparting to them both the ancient learning of the land as well as modern scientific and other knowledge. Some years ago he made over the charge of this institution to able hands, and devoted himself entirely to public activities of a different kind. He was a sincere nationalist, and desired to have the friendship of Mussalmans and other non-Hindus without sacrificing the self-respect and social and religious rights and principles of his own community. Latterly he had incurred the odium of the Moslem community on account of his fearless advocacy of shuddhi. But there was a time when even Mussalmans respected and trusted him so much that he was asked and allowed to deliver a discourse from the pulpit of the far-famed Juma Masjid at Delhi. He continued to the last to be loved and trusted by individual Mussalmans and to reciprocate their feelings as is evidenced among other things by his being treated by Dr. Ansari during his last illness. He was a perfectly fearless man. The incident of his squaring his broad chest to be shot at by soldiers in the employ of Government in the streets of Delhi will be readily recalled.

His conduct was always in accord with his convictions and principles. He was not a believer in the modern system of caste, and accordingly he married his two sons and his only daughter outside his caste. He led a life

of strict purity and self-control, and was a man of mild disposition and affable manners. We had the honour of meeting and speaking to him only once. It was in the Arya Samaj Mandir in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

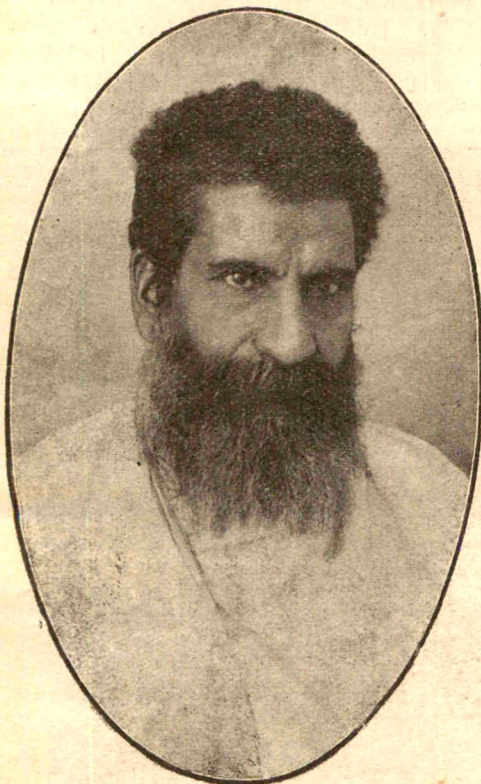
The void created by his death in the ranks of the public workers of India cannot, so far as we can see, be filled up immediately or in the near future. But if God wills, a



Swami Sraddhananda

greater worker than he may arise to carry on his work. That does not mean that the shuddhi and sangathan movements will suffer any setback. Thousands will step forward to do the work that was nearest his heart and undergo similar martyrdom, if need be. Such workers, it is to be hoped, will bear in mind

that the Swami wanted not only to reclaim those Mussalmans and Christians who or whose ancestors were at one time Hindus, but also to remove the stigma of untouch-



Swami Shraddhananda

ability from millions of our fellow-creatures who, though Hindus, are treated as if they were neither Hindus nor even human beings. He earnestly desired to imbue them with self-respect and to improve their condition.

Swami Shraddhananda's life has its lessons for those also who do not believe in or are even opposed to the Gurukula system of education and the shuddhi and sangathan movements. To the people of India and to humanity at large he leaves the legacy of a pure life spent in the selfless, sincere and fearless pursuit of noble aims and high ideals. May we all be able to make this heritage our own, each in his own way.

The Congress Presidential Address

The presidential address delivered by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar at the forty-first Indian

National Congress held at Gauhati was not as brief as Mahatma Gandhi's presidential address or as that of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. But neither was it as long as that of Maulana Mohamed Ali and some other presidential addresses. Its length was not likely to tire the patience of his audience. It deserves to be treated with respect as embodying the opinions of a man who has made sacrifices and devoted his powers to the cause of India's political freedom.

There is little emotional appeal in the speech. The appeal almost throughout the discourse being to the intellect, there was no room for an oratorical delivery. But that is not necessarily a demerit of a presidential address. Merely oratorical flights may produce greater momentary effects, but do not leave any lasting impression behind. The best addresses are no doubt those which vitalize the patriotism of a people, which



S. Nabinchandra Bardalai
General Secretary, Reception Committee, I. N. Congress

have an ennobling, chastening, purifying, rousing and strengthening effect owing to their emotional appeal and which at the same time convince and satisfy the intellect. But

all subjects do not lend themselves to oratorical treatment of this kind. And those which merely convince and satisfy our reason are by no means to be undervalued. For this reason, we think Mr. Iyengar's speech will rank high among Congress presidential addresses, though it may not be considered one of the very best. It is succinct, free from verbiage, and well and ably argued.

Some omissions arrest the attention of the readers of his printed address. He does not pay the customary tribute of respect to the memory of the political leaders who died during the year. He says nothing regarding mass civil disobedience. And it must be considered a merit of his speech that he does not criticise or denounce any rival political party.

He begins by pointing out that the foremost of our duties for the coming year is to mobilise all our forces on the issue of the National Demand, which was formulated in February, 1924, in the Legislative Assembly by Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Nationalist Party, consisting of the Swarajists and the Independents.

It asked the Government to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India and for that purpose to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend the scheme of a constitution for India with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities; and to place the scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature after dissolving the Central Legislature and finally submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute. That resolution was passed by a majority of 76 to 48 against the Government.

Instead of meeting the National Demand, and in order to side-track the principal issue, the Government appointed the Reforms Inquiry Committee in pursuit of a tinkering policy, "to investigate the feasibility and

desirability of securing remedies for the difficulties and defects connected with the working of the Government of India Act but consistently with the policy, structure and purpose of the Act." The Majority Report of the Committee admitted that Dyarchy was "clearly a complex confused system having no logical basis, rooted in compromise and defensible only as a transitional expedient,"



S. Srinivasa Iyengar
President, XLI Indian National Congress

but curiously enough expressed the following opinion:

While the period during which the present constitution has been in force has been too short to enable a well-founded opinion as to its success to be formed, the evidence before us is far from convincing that it has failed.

The Minority Report, on the other hand,

concludes that "the present system has failed and is incapable of yielding better results in future." The Government of India, however, tried to induce the Assembly to accept the recommendations contained in the Majority Report. This led to the reiteration of the National Demand in the Assembly in an amplified form in September 1925. In February, 1924, the resolution embodying



S. J. Tarunram Phookan
Chairman, Reception Committee I. N. Congress

the National Demand was carried by 76 votes against 48. In September, 1925, it was carried by a majority of 72 to 45, the Independents and Swarajists acting together on both occasions. But on neither occasion did the Government pay the least attention to it.

Mr. Iyengar then refers to the walk-out in March, 1926, on the Government refusing to accede to the demand, in accordance with the Congress mandate.

The leader of the Party in the Assembly said on that occasion: "We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands and send us again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate and, God willing, with the sanction for fulfilling its aspirations and enforcing its commands."

Mr. Iyengar thinks that

The results of the campaign thus opened and of the general elections that followed and are just now over, have justified the policy of the Swarajya Party in the Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils and have abundantly proved the wisdom of the great experiment inaugurated by the Congress at its Cawnpore Session.

Along with many others, we are unable to support this view, though we admit that the Swarajists have been more successful on the whole than seemed probable to us in July last when we left India for Europe.

"We are asked to work Dyarchy"

From the Secretary of State downwards, British bureaucrats have said, "in every variety of accent and phrase", that we should "lay aside for the time being our demand for Swaraj and should soberly and whole-heartedly work the present constitution." Mr. Iyengar has no difficulty in showing that the new constitution has been worked by various groups of moderate or progressive politicians "soberly and whole-heartedly" for six years. And Minister after Minister has borne witness against it. Mr. Iyengar is, therefore, right in concluding,

What the Government therefore requires really of us is that the Congress should give up its demand for Swaraj and merge itself in the bureaucracy.

That cannot and ought not to be done.

The speaker next proves conclusively that Dyarchy is not workable, workable, that is to say, in such a manner as to lead to the establishment of fully responsible Government.

Dyarchy not the only Defect of Reform Act.

Particularly valuable and cogent are those paragraphs in Mr. Iyengar's address in which he shows that the removal of dyarchy alone

will not end our troubles and lead to the establishment of Swaraj.

For, we must remember that in respect of transferred subjects there is no responsible government and the mere transfer of reserved subjects to additional Ministers on the same statutory conditions as at present govern transferred subjects will not improve matters. At the outset, each Legislative Council has a solid block of nominated and official members to support the views or policy of the bureaucracy on questions relating to transferred subjects, though a majority of elected members may decide otherwise. Thanks to the nominated members and to the number of special constituencies, supple, reactionary or obscurantist, the composition of a Legislative Council is such that the Ministers have to depend upon the support of the Governor and his Executive Council. Nor is it very difficult for a Governor to form, against a majority group of elected members, a Ministry with the aid of a minority group of elected members and of his own nominated and protected block. This has been done again and again in every province. Secondly, under existing conditions, the power of appointing Ministers exercised by a Governor is not a mere technical mode of naming the established leaders of the majority in the Council but is a substantial power of patronage by which a nobody or anybody can be made a benami leader to carry out the Governor's policy. Thirdly, we all know that a Legislative Council has no control over the items of expenditure known as non-votable under each transferred head, including the salaries and allowances and all other payments of officials belonging to superior services in that department. Fourthly, the Ministers have little or no control over the members of the Civil or other public services serving in departments dealing with transferred subjects, and the Governor has and exercises the power of making all appointments to posts in the transferred departments. The statutory independence of the Indian Civil Service is the most outstanding feature of the Reform Act. All the parliamentary apparatus of a responsible government will prove to be a costly and pompous futility unless the completest control over the Indian Civil and other services is unreservedly secured to Ministers fully responsible to a wholly elected legislature. Fifthly, the Governor is empowered to over-ride the Ministers' decisions on questions relating to a transferred subject and direct him to act otherwise. Sixthly, the Governor has an emergency power—the emergency to be determined by himself—to authorise expenditure notwithstanding a vote of the Legislative Council in respect of transferred subjects. Seventhly, the Governor has power to stop legislation in respect of transferred subjects notwithstanding the opinion of the Legislative Council. Eighthly, he can return a Bill relating to a transferred subject to the Council for reconsideration with his recommendation which are in effect obligatory. Ninthly, when a Governor cannot through his Ministry manage a Council to his satisfaction, he can himself administer the transferred subjects, as happened in the Central Provinces. Tenthly, a Minister can hold office during the Governor's pleasure, which does not mean the formal expression of the Council's pleasure but his own independent pleasure, against the opinion of the

Council, as was vividly demonstrated by Lord Lytton in Bengal. Eleventhly, the Governor is entitled to disallow any motion for the adjournment of the business of the Council to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance even when it relates to a transferred subject. Lastly, the allocation of the revenues for the administration of transferred subjects depends primarily on the will of the reserved half and of the Governor and not on the decision of the Legislative Council.

Central Government not at all Responsible

Mr. Iyengar points out in detail that the Central Government is not at all responsible to the Indian Legislature, which has no power of the purse. He shows as follows that the Reform Act has in one respect made the Governor-General a greater despot than he was before:

In addition to the power to make temporary ordinances, the Governor-General is given, what he had not before the Reform Act, the autocratic power of certifying any bill and signing it as a permanent law on his sole and absolute authority notwithstanding the refusal of the Legislature.

The Congress President has made it abundantly clear that

The centre of gravity both in the central government and in the provinces, alike in transferred and in reserved departments, when analysed closely, is, both in fact and in constitutional theory, in the Executive Government, in other words, in the bureaucracy. It would therefore be a tragedy if we still sought to discover, in all this statutory hypocrisy, the germs of self-government.

Status of India and of the Dominions

It requires to be pointed out repeatedly as Mr. Iyengar has done that,

While India is being denied Swaraj, the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Empire Prime Ministers has restated the position of the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status and in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs though united by common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." That Committee adds, and rightly, that every Dominion now and always must remain the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation. India is, of course, excluded from this privileged communion. She is not to be a free country, equal in status to the Dominions, but is to bear the galling burden of an Empire; and the nature and extent of her co-operation are to be determined for her by others.

We have to repeat that, in the case of India, co-operation means subservience and subordination.

The speaker was therefore perfectly justified in saying,

The time has, I think, come when we must make it clear to others and to ourselves that if England wants India to remain within the British Empire it can be only on the terms just stated; and that otherwise none can or should set any limits to her freedom.

If we confine ourselves to the abolition of Dyarchy are we certain that the residuary powers of the Governor will be surrendered? What again is the use of responsible Provincial Government without a responsible Central Government? The comedy will be enacted differently but its spirit and purpose will be there if the Central Government is not a fully responsible government. Supposing again, both the Central and the Provincial Governments are made responsible governments and we are still not to touch the Civil Service, the position will be no better. The Indian agents of the foreign bureaucracy will be more numerous and there will be more competition for Minister-ships but the masters will be the same. We cannot therefore compromise on the question of appointment and control of the services or provide for them a dual control. Any scheme of self-government will be nothing but an empty form if the control over the army and navy and the control over the political relations with Indian States, as distinguished from foreign relations with other countries, are not given to our Swaraj Government. Any such reservation will deprive the Indian Swaraj Government of financial, administrative and political control over the Indian people including Indian Princes. Otherwise, self-governing India will be menaced by an army under foreign control and the Indian States will be perpetual thorns in its side, if nothing worse.

Army and Navy

Mr. Iyengar has shown that for real Swaraj we must have control over our army and navy, and is rightly confident that a self-governing India would be able both to pay for an adequate army and navy as well as to man and control them. We should not therefore admit our imaginary incapacity to administer the army and the navy.

The Council Programme.

The president then chalks out the following council programme and explains and defends each item in detail:—

The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various councils should be one of resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress

towards Swaraj; and in particular, Congressmen in the legislatures should:—

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the national demand;

(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets (unless otherwise directed by the All-India Working Committee) until such response is made by the Government;

(c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;

(d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country;

(e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of the Zamindars; and

(f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

But supposing the Swaraj party is able consistently and fully to carry out this programme, which we doubt when we bear in mind its past record, we do not see how such a programme would lead to Swaraj. Swaraj will certainly come in future. What has to be explained is, how it would be the logical outcome of any council programme. Mr. Iyengar has not attempted any such explanation.

Nor has he explained even in the briefest way possible why accepting the office of president of a council is not "acceptance of office." He is right in observing:

By accepting office, the Congress is bound to become an unconscious ally of the bureaucracy. And, if the most advanced party in the country takes office, where will be the determined and disciplined opposition in each council to fight against Dyarchy or for Swaraj? Neither the Ministers nor their party can openly speak and vote against the administration of reserved subjects.

But is not a council-president an ally of the bureaucracy? Does he not "soberly and whole-heartedly work the present constitution" to which Mr. Iyengar objects? Can the council-president "openly speak and vote against the administration of reserved subjects" or any other subjects?

Self-reliance

We agree with Mr. Iyengar that from the point of view of the ideal,

The remedying of grievances must be upon the basis of self-reliance and resistance and not on the basis of co-operation with the Government. The people must be taught to assert their rights and to develop their powers of self-reliance and resistance.

But, as he does not mention the sanction and does not seem to remember how the boycott of British Indian law-courts and the substitution of national law-courts in their place (which was part of the Non-co-operation programme) actually worked, we cannot consider the following as a practical man's suggestion :

The Congress members of all the legislatures should meet as a separate national legislature and frame model laws for adoption by the people.

Village Sabhas

As an ideal again, we have no quarrel with the following suggestion :

We must establish village sabhas that shall under Congress mandate, administer village affairs and be the units of a permanent Swaraj. The great practical difficulties that are in the way must not depress us but should only serve as a powerful stimulus to exertion.

But where is the sanction ? And where there are village unions, will not the village sabhas come into conflict with the village unions ? The capture of local bodies is a more feasible plan ; and as village unions are such local bodies, why not capture them, too, instead of creating independent village sabhas ? Of course, voluntary associations of village people for educational or other particular purposes should and do exist, and they work well, too, in some places. But they have no power to make rules for all the inhabitants of a village or levy rates on all, which a village sabha must do.

Constructive Programme

Mr. Iyengar then expatiates upon the constructive programme. He thinks "the restoration of the spinning wheel to its ancient primacy has made the boycott of foreign cloth real to an appreciable extent." We should have been glad if that were a fact. But the speaker himself states that "during 1925-26, Khadi production was 19 lakhs and this year it is expected that there will be an increase of 25 percent." Suppose it becomes 24 lakhs. Taking the value of imported foreign cloth to be

60 crores, does the production of 24 lakhs' worth Khaddar represent any appreciable boycott of foreign cloth ? 24 lakhs is only $\frac{2}{5}$ percent of 60 crores.

The Boycott of foreign Cloth

If we want to boycott foreign cloth, and we think we ought to, we should emulate the Chinese example and learn Chinese methods. *The Guardian* of Calcutta states in its issue of the 10th December that "the boycott of British goods in Southern China has resulted in still further losses to shipping companies. We in India have little conception of the effects on the British colony of Hongkong of the Chinese boycott. It has been more effective than we think." It has in fact been so effective that Lord Inchcape felt compelled to find out who was responsible for the anti-British feeling in China, and he has hit upon the missionaries as the only party to blame ! *The Guardian*, by the way, effectually disposes of his accusation.

Untouchability

The section devoted to untouchability in Mr. Iyengar's address is valuable from many points of view. He is right in observing that

The final solution of the question, depends in great part upon the improvement of the economic conditions of the vast bulk of the untouchables.

Neither foreign nor domestic critics are, however, right when they assert that untouchability is a formidable obstacle to Swaraj, or that its removal will automatically bring about Swaraj. We cannot wait for Swaraj till it is removed any more than we can wait till caste is abolished. There is the capital instance of the United States of America achieving freedom long before the abolition of a very real and wide-spread slavery. But we must all agree that we must make an end of untouchability, apart from any question of Swaraj and whether we ever win Swaraj or not.

Labour and Unemployment

As regards the question of Labour, the President says in part :

The organization of labour has been included by the Congress at Cawnpore in its constructive programme. We must give it a front place in our work for the coming year. The welfare of labour, its housing, its provident funds and industrial insurance and all the other things required for improvement in the treatment and conditions of labour are of great national importance. They constitute a reserved subject though they concern

us more than the bureaucracy. Labour legislation in India, whether it concerns registration or trade unions or other matters, is by no means satisfactory. Labour is not represented by its own men in the existing legislative bodies, as the present electorates are too unmanageable and expensive. And nomination is a wholly inadmissible method of securing representation either of labour or of the depressed classes or of any class of the population. The Congress must therefore increasingly promote the welfare of labour and the Congress party in each legislature should represent its interests and pay special attention to its requirements.

Regarding unemployment, he asks among other things :

Will the present Government, for instance, establish the great industry of shipbuilding on a large scale or start a line of state-owned steamships that will earn freight for India and give employment, as Indian Railways do, to tens of thousands of Indians ? Assuredly not.

A very pertinent question.

Government's Currency Policy

The President observes on this topic :

A little reflection will make us agree that the lower price of imports is no compensation especially when we remember the expenditure on imported goods by the vast bulk of the consumers is but a small percentage of their total expenditure. The loss inflicted upon India is very substantial, whether we have regard to the drop of 12½ p. c. in the real value of agricultural produce or of exports or have regard to the competition between products of Indian and foreign industries, or to consequential increase in agricultural indebtedness. In our fear lest our own capitalists use us, let us not allow ourselves to be exploited by foreign capitalists in the interests of England and to the general detriment of India.

Indian States

Mr. Iyengar thinks that the Indian States should be included in our scheme of Swaraj.

I share, to the full, the sympathy of all those who think that Indian States are a kind of very imperfect Swaraj. They remind us of the high estate from which we have fallen and our national instinct, sound in the main, prompts us to preserve these relics of an ancient dignity. But the reconciliation between sentiment and the imperious necessity for Swaraj is by no means difficult. The rulers of Indian States ought, in their own interests and in the interests of their subjects, to content themselves with the position of hereditary governors or administrators of their territories under a system of representative institutions and responsible government.

The people of each State should have such representation in the Assembly as may be necessary to safe-guard their interests, till each Indian State obtains a system of responsible government.

Greater India

The President has not forgotten our sisters and brethren across the seas. Of all that he says and says well on this topic, we will quote one observation :

The term "coolie" connotes the dignity of labour and the Indian coolie settler, lowly as he is, is far superior in status to the original convict settler in Australia.

He is in favour of the opening of a foreign department of the Congress to look after the interests of overseas Indians.

Further, a small committee should be appointed to go to the principal foreign countries where Indians, whether traders, students, labourers or others, reside, so as to get into direct personal touch with them.

Asiatic Federation

That Mr. Iyengar mentions only "the possibilities of a cultural and business union with all Asiatic countries," but does not at present think of any political federation, shows his level-headedness. When India becomes fully self-ruling, both as regards internal and external affairs, it would be exactly true to say, as Mr. Iyengar says now,

The time has perhaps come for us seriously to think of a Federation of the Asiatic peoples for their common welfare. So long as our neighbours were ruled by irresponsible autocrats, such an idea was clearly out of the question. Now that Angora, Persia, China and Siberia are governed by democracies, a federation of Asiatic democracies will make for peace, prosperity and freedom of Asia and therefore comes within the range of practical politics.

Communalism and Nationalism

We hope the Congress President's reading of the situation was correct when he said,

The forces of nationalism are steadily and visibly triumphing over the forces of communalism.

That communalism is a negation of nationalism and is an obstacle to Swaraj, is being rapidly and very generally realised.

Communalism has been rampant from the first among Mussalmans. Hindu communalism is an effect of it. So, if Mr. Iyengar's observations, quoted above, are to be considered correct, it must be shown that Mussalmans are giving up communalism and swelling the ranks of nationalists. We do not think it can be shown. We shall be sincerely glad and thankful if any one will bring forward proofs to convince us that we are mistaken.

It would be good if all communalists realised that

Communalism is not so much a positive idea of benefiting one's own community as a destructive desire to obtain advantages at the expense of the other communities.

Politics and Religion

We have no hesitation to endorse the following observations of Mr. Iyengar:—

The intrusion into politics of religion, and very often of dogmatic religion, must be resisted as a primitive or mediaeval idea, born of theocracies, and disastrous alike to religion and to politics. Hinduism and Islam will gain immeasurably in strength and purity if they are not mixed up with secular politics. I do not speak of morality or of that spiritual quality which is common to all great religions; for thereby politics and organizations are cleansed and made sweet and wholesome. In the evolution of States, theocracies have not survived, as they were responsible for fanaticism, persecution and internal strife, and neglected the material welfare of the people and the proper arts of government.

Fanatics among Hindus and Mussalmans may not like the following statement of an historical fact, which is nevertheless true:—

No proselytizing can equal the hearty crusading fervour of early and mediaeval times: and the two great religions of India have in spite of innumerable conversions and re-conversions adjusted and consolidated themselves and have acquired an adamantine stability.

Appeal for Unity

—One of the reasons why this REVIEW has been from its very first issue a non-party organ is the belief formulated by Mr. Iyengar in his own way in the following words:

There can be only two parties in India, the party of the Government and its adherents that obstruct Swaraj, and the party that fights visibly and unceasingly for Swaraj. An army has several arms, but it would be a singular army indeed if its cavalry fought its infantry and its artillery opened fire on both. The duties of all groups or parties in the country and in the Congress is vigorously to co-operate with one another in their fight for Swaraj just as the arms of a sensible army will do in a real war.

We are, therefore, able unreservedly to support his appeal for unity;—only we would have this unity not for one brief year but until freedom has been actually won, as we do not believe in fixing a date for the attainment of Swaraj.

Rabindranath's Popularity in Germany

When we were in Vienna we received

the following cutting from an Anglo-Indian newspaper:—

Cologne, Sept. 26.

Five thousand people to-day paid from half a crown to ten shillings each to hear Rabindranath Tagore lecture on the philosophy of India.

The lecture, which was delivered in English, was translated into German.

In the evening the poet gave excerpts from his poems in Bengali which proved to be very popular.—*Reuter*

On this item of news, *The Statesman's* comment was quite characteristic. It wrote in its issue of the 28th September:

Although it has awoken an uneasy consciousness of inferiority in the British mind, the sincerity of German admiration for Shakespeare has never been doubted and many of the best disquisitions on the immortal plays have come from Teutonic pens. Nevertheless, and after making due allowance for the speaker's compelling personality, it is a little difficult to believe that a Cologne audience listened to Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali poems with any real enthusiasm. Only after complete familiarity with the language has been obtained can foreign poetry be appreciated, and when the audience is divided from the poet by every difference of upbringing and environment, the sympathy indispensable to understanding is impossible. Without cynicism then we may conclude that it was Rabindranath himself rather than his poems that "proved to be very popular" with his German hearers. Even the educated Indo-Briton cannot do the same justice to the *Gitanjali* as the Bengali.

We were not among Tagore's Cologne audience, but we were in the midst of two of his German audiences,—one at Dresden and the other at Prague. In both places we found that the recitation of some of his poems was received with perhaps greater enthusiasm than his lectures. At both Dresden and Prague, a fair proportion of the audience understood English, and could follow what he said in English. At Dresden, as in the other towns of Germany visited by the poet, Professor Tara Chand Roy of Berlin University, a Panjabi Hindu, translated Tagore's lectures into German. The professor has a powerful voice and an easy command over the German language. So his translations greatly helped those of the audience who did not understand English. At Prague, no one translated the Poet's lectures into German or Czech. Nevertheless, as many among the audience knew English, they understood and appreciated his lectures.

As for the poems which he read, in English or in Bengali, we found that they were appreciated very much. Both at Dresden and Prague, when he had finished

reading the poems according to the programme, the cheering went on and he repeatedly felt obliged to read out other poems. At Dresden, his English poems were recited beforehand in their German translation by Professor Tara Chand Roy. This helped those among the audience who did not know English to appreciate them. Some at least of the English poems which he read out at Prague to German or Czech hearers were also given in German or Czech translations—we cannot say whether all were so translated.

But neither at Dresden nor at Prague were all the Bengali poems which the poet read out translated into any European language. Still they all roused immense enthusiasm. Poems can be appreciated both for their sense and feeling and their music. It is well-known that the poet has a musical voice and is an excellent reader. Besides, he is a perfect master of the histrionic art, and some of his poems lend themselves easily to be read in the way that an actor would render them on the stage if they formed part of the play. Moreover, even the sense and feeling of some poems can be partly expressed by appropriate gestures and delivery. These considerations may convince those who are not determined to remain unconvinced that some Bengali poems, when properly read or recited, may be appreciated even by those who do not know Bengali. Perhaps the average German and the average Czech has a more sensitive and trained ear for music in general and the music of Bengali poems in particular than the average Indo-Briton as represented by the editor of *The Statesman*. And it is possible even for unmusical people sometimes to appreciate good music—a fact to which we may be allowed to bear personal testimony. At Prague we went to see a Czech school for orphans and boys and girls without some limb or other. The children sang some Czech songs. We enjoyed them, though we do not know Czech and are not qualified to appreciate Western music.

Indo-Britons, formerly styled Anglo-Indians, may not be able to appreciate the English *Gitanjali*, but in Great Britain there are numerous unhyphenated true Britons who fully understand and appreciate it.

Congress Session at Gauhati

Gauhati is a comparatively small town

in Assam, the easternmost province of India. It was very plucky on its part, therefore, to invite the Indian National Congress to hold a session there. Mr. Tarun Ram Phookan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Nabin Chandra Bardalai, General Secretary to the Reception Committee and other earnest workers are entitled to great credit for their enthusiasm and earnest labours.

The attendance at the Gauhati session of the Congress has been put down by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Forward* at over ten thousand. *The Bengalee* and *The Statesman* on the other hand, state that the number of persons attending was five thousand or thereabouts. Even if we take the lower figure to be correct, the attendance does not indicate any want of enthusiasm on the part of politically minded Indians. That so many as two thousand delegates attended the Congress session in a far-off town like Gauhati, and that in such a small town fifteen hundred persons could be enlisted as members of the Reception Committee, are facts of which nobody need be ashamed.

Mr. Phookan's Address

The address of welcome delivered by Mr. Tarun Ram Phookan is conceived in a manly and optimistic vein. He briefly narrated the ancient history of Assam, dwelling specially on its heroic episodes, and referring to the cultural renaissance in that province, said :—

However poor our condition under the British Raj may be to-day, we are inheritors of a very ancient Hindu culture, and I am proud to say that if there is any place, where catholic and progressive Hindu Religion is a living force, that place is Assam.

He also pointed out that spinning and weaving (both cotton and silk) are still practised in Assam in the homes of the people to a considerable extent.

Lord Birkenhead, with some politicians of lower rank, has uttered the threat repeatedly that unless India "co-operates" and works the constitution given to her, she cannot have any further reforms. Mr. Phookan's commentary on the above is as follows :—

"Good, bad, or indifferent you must work the present constitution," dictates the Noble Lord, "or you will be given no further reforms." This, to my mind, means that India's power of resistance must be crushed, she must be humiliated. Let Gauhati Congress, let the representatives of the people of India answer the challenge of the Noble Lord fairly

and squarely, but I personally believe that the Councils should either be mended in a manner suitable for the attainment of Swaraj or should be ended completely. Let Gauhati Congress decide whether India should get back to her old mentality of begging for favours on bended knees with folded hands or that she should stand on her own rights and make a demand for her birthright. Let Gauhati Congress decide whether India should be humiliated into co-operation in the hope of getting some favours or that she should stoutly refuse co-operation till her legitimate rights are conceded to her.

That Non-co-operation has not brought Swaraj as early as was expected has not dispirited Mr. Phookan. He is not at all down-hearted. Says he :—

I personally possess a great deal of robust optimism and I have a firm faith and a clear vision that the freedom of India will come sooner than many people expect—if only we work honestly, earnestly and unitedly. Let not our success be judged by the measure of our achievements. Non-violent Non-co-operation had worked wonders within the very short time it was practised. It has animated Indian life with a sense of manhood, it has infused that love for freedom for the motherland, which cannot be killed even by the most inhumane methods of the Bureaucracy. It has taught us that the weakest nation has a right to rebel against the most powerful nation that tries to impose by strength of arms its will against the wish of the people.

Mr. Phookan need not have adopted the apologetic tone that he did, in seeking to justify the invitation of the Congress to Gauhati, when he said :—

Our right to invite you to such a distant and a poor country is based upon our modest achievement during the Non-co-operation Movement, on the terrible sufferings undergone at that time by the people of Assam at the most cruel hands of the Bureaucracy and above all in our sincere willingness to follow your lead through the Congress and do our honest best in the fight for Swaraj.

Earlier in his speech also he referred to the sufferings of the public-spirited workers of Assam in the following words :—

The severest indictment that the Government of Assam stand charged with, is the wilful slow poisoning of the people of Assam by carrying on their immoral traffic in opium. And what is more, when a number of selfless workers raised their voice of protest by preaching temperance during Non-co-operation, they were mercilessly flung into prison.

The sufferings of our Assamese brethren have not been in vain. These have not only made them strong but their labours have greatly reduced the consumption of opium in the province.

Mr. Damle's Speech

We are indebted to Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C.I.E., Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Akola Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, for an advance copy of his speech. A considerable portion of his address is devoted to the narration of the recent political history of India and of the Congress movement.

The following words of his ought to make for unity :—

It is undeniable that all the political workers in India, whether they are inside the Congress or outside and whether they belong to one group or another, are animated by the same motive to do devoted service to their motherland and are fired with the same righteous and noble sentiment of patriotic love for India. They have honestly been seeking out the surest way to carry forward the political status of India to the highest altitude attainable as early as possible. They are agreed also as to the 'practical limitations' within which their activities have to be carried on. In this state of things every right-minded patriot has to place the true interests of his country above considerations of self or party. In his heart of hearts every sensible Indian cherishes and must cherish an ardent wish for the rapid advance of his country to the destined goal, *viz.*, responsible self-government or Swaraj. For an early realisation of this object is required the consolidation of our forces and united action in the right direction.

But the sentence which follows is not likely to result in united action :—

"I shall, however, content myself with asserting my honest conviction that the activities of the Swarajists and non-co-operators in the country are proving a serious handicap to the smooth and orderly progress of the country along the right path."

To communalists he addresses words of sober wisdom when he says :—

Religious orthodoxy was more rampant in days of old than it is now. It is now common knowledge how Turkey has emerged from the War. The Angora Republic has shaken off the hold of old religious notions, ideals and prejudices. With the Turks religion does not stand above politics. Its claims on its followers have been subordinated to those of the State. In India, however, the same old notion survives in full force—a major part of a Mahomedan's every-day life is engaged like that of the non-Mahomedan population in attending to non-religious matters of purely worldly importance and in their associations with their fellow-men of other faiths the occasions are rare when their religious preachings affect their everyday acts and their relations with other communities. The history of all civilized countries, Turkey included, teaches us that in proportion as the peoples' interests advance in matters political, social, and international, the primitive rigidity of religious precepts and injunctions requires to be relaxed and religious orthodoxy to be shaken off so as to permit social and

political growth to keep pace with advancing and changing times and circumstances. In India both the Mahomedans and the Hindus possess a large community of interest. Neither of them can afford to impede and risk the steady advancement of their political growth and social amity. Both must advance side by side with equal pace and in equal measure if the entire body politic of India is to present a healthy and all-sided advancement. The religion of neither community should demand a surrender of these non-religious interests. Religion teaches us, our duty to God and our devotion to Him can be expressed as fervently in a temple as in a mosque. The conventional outward symbols and formalities clothed with sentiments of religious sanctity have hardly any permanent and real value in estimating the depth of heart and the steadiness of mind dedicated by a religious devotee to the service and realization of the Divine Power. The religious truths so far as they are divine claim common allegiance and homage from humanity as a whole. That being so the apparent points of antagonism discernable in what may be strictly deemed to be mere outward conventional appendages should not be regarded as of great significance and value. They may be made adjustable to varying needs and circumstances. Such adjustment does not affect the high divine truths.

Calcutta University Election of Fellows

Four Fellows are going to be elected this year by the registered graduates of the Calcutta University. It has thousands of graduates, but the registered graduates number only a few hundreds. This is due to the rules relating to the registration of graduates and the unnecessarily high fee which has to be paid every year for keeping one's name on the register. The rules should be amended and the fee made almost nominal.

As the present number of registered graduates is small, canvassing is quite easy, and various kinds of pressure are brought to bear on them. They ought, therefore, to be all the more careful in giving their votes. The Calcutta University is not a political institution and its Senate is not a political body. Only those persons ought to be elected to it who are cultured and have taken an active interest in the spread and improvement of education, who have shown that they are actively interested in the improvement and reform of the university, and who are jealous of its good name. It is almost as ridiculous to send a man to the Senate merely for his political opinions as to select an engineer or a physician merely for the sake of the political party to which he belongs.

European Politics and Indian Publicists

For about half a century some Indian publicists or others have generally sided with some political party in Great Britain and expected that it would help them in promoting the cause of self-rule and freedom in India. But India has been always treated by all British political parties as outside party politics. It has been everybody's, that is to say, nobody's, business to promote the cause of Indian freedom. Some Indian politicians nevertheless think that when Labour again comes to power in Great Britain, India will have Home Rule. Let us wait and see.

Whatever the result may be, we do not deny that there is some connection between British politics and Indian politics. But with European continental politics we have no such connection. We are interested in continental politics only in a general way. But our interest is none the less keen and real for that reason. We rejoice and are encouraged in our fight for freedom when we find the cause of popular freedom triumphant in any country. On the other hand, whenever and wherever tyranny is rampant and freedom of expression of opinion and liberty of association are suppressed, we cannot but feel pain and sympathise with the sufferers. The disadvantage we suffer from is that, owing to distance and to our sources of information being practically almost wholly British, we do not generally get unbiassed information. Perhaps Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, all groan under the same kind of cruel oppression and tyranny and suppression of liberty; but, British news-vendors and publicists may not be equally interested in denouncing evil-doers in all lands. So far as we are concerned, as in Indian so in European and American politics, we do not adopt a partisan attitude. But we are afraid we cannot guarantee the same non-party attitude on the part of *all* our political contributors.

A Science Congress in Japan

The Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress was held in Tokyo from October 30 to November 11. The inaugural meeting was attended by about 3000 persons and was highly successful. This large attendance at a science Congress shows the great intellectual progress which the people of Japan have

made. The Congress was attended by delegates from China, the U. S. A., Canada, Hawaii, Australia, France, the Philippines, etc., and there were also English, Dutch and Japanese delegates. Papers on various scientific subjects were read at the many divisional and sectional meetings.

The closing ceremony of the Congress has held in the form of a general meeting. It decided to hold the Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Java. It also resolved to perpetuate the Congress. The resolutions proposed by the divisional meetings and passed at the above general meeting are as below:—

1. Cooperative study of volcanology and local seismology.
2. Geodetic study by submarine boats.
3. Creation of the "Pacific Geological Review."
4. Selection of a Preparatory Committee for the Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress.
5. Making of weather-charts.
6. Use of radio for the unity of time of meteorology.
7. Unity of wave-lengths of radio.
8. Unity of methods of study of mineral resources in the Pacific region and its organ.
9. Topographic study of the bed of the Pacific.
10. Study of the shape of the globe and more particularly of the shape of the Southern Hemisphere with Australia in the centre.
11. Preservation of natural monuments in the Pacific region.
12. Memorial to the Chilean Government regarding the preservation of animals and plants of Juan Fernandez Island.
13. Study of corals of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean.
14. Biological study of the Pacific.
15. Protection of crops, more particularly plant quarantine, in the countries of the Pacific.
16. Cultivation on declivities and their use.

Indian Medicines in Ancient Japan

At Nara, the oldest Imperial Residence of Japan, known all over the world by its giant statue of Buddha, the "Daibutsu", cast out of gold bronze, there stands also an old Imperial treasure-house, "Shoso-In", which was built almost at the same time as the Daibutsu was cast, i. e., about 743 A. D. This treasure-house serves for the storage of various precious objects which were in the possession of Emperor Shomu Tenno, and which were dedicated after his death to the Daibutsu by the Empress-dowager Komyo-Kogo. Among these valuable offerings, says *The Young East*, we find also vegetable, animal and mineral medicines, partly home products of Japan, but mostly from Arabia,

Persia, India and chiefly from China. The various medicaments are in all of 60 kinds packed in 21 lacquered boxes. They are dedicated to Vairochana, synonymous with the Great Buddha. In the list given in the *Young East*, it is easy to recognise a few Indian medicines. For instance, musk, *pippali* (*piper longum*), *amalaki*, *amra* or mango, *haritaki* or myroblan, *sharkara* or sugar, etc.

The Late Principal B. V. Gupta

As I left Calcutta in the last week of July, 1926, and was absent from India for four



Principal Bipin Vihari Gupta

months, I did not hear of the death of Principal Bipin Vihari Gupta till recently and could not pay my tribute of respect to his memory at the proper time. I was a very unworthy pupil of his in mathematics at the Presidency College, in the third and fourth year classes. He was then assistant professor of mathematics. I dreaded mathematics but for some reasons which I need not mention, I took up mathematics as one of my subjects for the B.A. examination. As I was not a good student of mathematics, fear made me absent

myself frequently from Professor Gupta's class. Nevertheless the good professor knew that I was a pupil of his but a truant. I distinctly remember now that on one occasion he told me with a smile, "চাটুজ্যে, তোমাকে যে দেখতেই পাওয়া যায় না." "Chatterjee, I wonder why one cannot catch sight of you." That was the only rebuke—a very mild one, he administered to his unworthy pupil. But though I did not regularly attend Prof. Gupta's class, I could understand that he was a mathematical genius and a very able teacher. My fellow-students and myself could not but contrast his ability as a teacher with the comparatively inferior ability of a British graduate, a high Cambridge wrangler, who had then recently come out from England as our professor of mathematics, whereas Bipin Babu was only an assistant professor. In spite, however, of this marked difference in ability, the British graduate retired from Government service as Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Bipin Babu drew a salary of only Rs. 600 a month at the time of his retirement—about a fifth of what the educational director did.

Professor Gupta was a man of a cheerful temper and had bright genial eyes.

I am indebted to my esteemed friend Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray for a copy of a biographical sketch of Principal Gupta, which has appeared in the *Ravenshaw College Magazine*. Professor G. C. Ganguli tells us there that Bipin Vihari Gupta was born in October 1855 in Halisahar. His academic career was brilliant, he having stood first in all University examinations except the F. A., in which he stood second. Sir Alfred Croft, a former Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, wrote of Professor Gupta when the Provincial Educational Service was organised in 1896: "He is a distinguished Mathematician, being the only graduate who obtained a first class in the M. A. in that subject from 1874 to 1880."

Mr. Ganguli writes:

{It seldom falls to the lot of an educational officer to command respect from all as Bipin Babu did. He was almost an idol at Calcutta both as a University Student and as a Professor of Mathematics. Successive Directors of Public Instruction and Principals of Presidency College had nothing but the highest praise for him and his work. "When he was Principal of the Ravenshaw College," remarks one, "his work was admirable both from the scholastic and administrative points of view and he has left his mark on that College, not only

in having raised it educationally, but also as having worked and enlarged the Hostel system there most successfully." "It may be stated without exaggeration", remarks another, "that a complete revolution was effected in every department of the College and the School attached to it by Mr. Gupta." Principal Maitra, a just and severe critic, in his evidence before the Royal Commission spoke highly of the work done by Principal Gupta as head of our College.

He was not only a born Mathematician but was well read in many subjects. Dickens was his favourite author. I was struck with the wonderful quickness of his understanding. With his strong commonsense he could at once dive deep into a matter, however complicated, and took little time to solve any problem, however intricate. From his intelligent discussion of matters medical, legal and engineering, I often thought that he might have excelled equally as a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer.

He was a keen sportsman himself and, much in advance of his time he greatly encouraged sports among the students. His elder son Bhupi unfortunately cut off in the prime of life, was one of the founders of the Orissa Athletic Association and his younger son Omru won several prizes for sports year after year. Before partially losing his eyesight Bipin Babu was a dead shot. His was the Greek ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano* i.e. a sound mind in a sound body. He was of robust health and had to take leave only for a little over 3 months during his 34 years' service. He was very fond of gardening, which was his main occupation in his retirement. He knew some thing of everything and everything of something.

He was a remarkable figure in every society in which he moved. He was absolutely free from *hauteur* and was not only accessible to all but felt for all. When there was a devastating flood in Kendrapara in 1907 his heart bled and, without waiting for anybody, he issued an appeal for the distressed people and the appeal was liberally responded to.

For months Bipin Babu had to work hard in this connection but it was to him a call of duty, a self-imposed task, a labour of love.

Those who had the privilege of being his personal friends valued him as an agreeable companion and a faithful friend.

When before the last summer vacation I saw Principal Gupta unable to move without others' help I thought of the time when in his youth, incredible as it might appear, he having missed a train at Natore ran with it and caught it at last at the next Station.

The students, it may be safely asserted, found a father in him. On hearing that a 3rd year meritorious student was unable to pay his College fees, he approached a gentleman who advanced without a word his two years' College fees and the student could prosecute his studies, obtain his degree and follow a useful and honourable career. As he had himself to struggle hard against poverty in early life, he could readily sympathise with poor students and in their behalf he carried on correspondence with the D. P. I. and in consequence half a dozen free-studentships were granted to each Government College; but the initiative had been taken by the principal of Ravenshaw College, which was then not a very important College.

Child Marriages and Indian States

As part of the celebration of the birthday of the Maharani of Bharatpur the Maharaja of that State has given his consent to a measure entitled the Bharatpur Social Reform Act, which is to come into force in that State from January 1, 1927. This is quite a fitting way to commemorate the birthday of a woman, as it is calculated to remove some causes of the miseries of her sisters of high and low degree and relieve their sufferings.

The Act enables widows to contract a second valid marriage and enables their children to inherit their property. To avoid controversy or dispute as regards marriage or remarriage of widows they shall be registered in the courts of tehsildars or in temples or mosques recognised by the State on payment of a fee of Re. 1. Another clause, relating to child marriages, makes them invalid before a court of law if contracted between parties who have not attained the age of 14 in the case of females and 16 in the case of males. All persons knowingly abetting a marriage or remarriage contrary to the Act would be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years or a fine not exceeding Rs. 3,000 or both.

The Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda passed a law years ago to prevent infant and child marriages. But as for some reason or other, the object desired has not been gained, he is thinking of taking steps to make the law more effective. It is to be hoped he will succeed in his efforts.

If in British India the age of consent even in marital relations is raised sufficiently high, that may indirectly prevent the marriage of female children in many cases. We say this, because our Government is not likely to pass any law meant directly to prevent child marriages.

Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's Address

Not having received any advance copy of the presidential address of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer at the ninth annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation held at Akola, we have been able to read only extracts from it in a newspaper. It appears to have been conceived in a different vein from that of Sir Moropant a Joshi at the Calcutta session of the Federation last year. Sir Moropant did not strongly criticise any rival party. Sir Sivaswamy has strongly criticised the Swaraj party. Says he sarcastically :—

"We wonder whether the country has since March 8, 1926, been secretly or openly prepared for mass civil disobedience, and whether it is any

more fit to resort to this weapon than it was when the Congress committee submitted its report.

"Knowing, as the Swarajists must do, that the country is not prepared to follow them in the stunt of civil disobedience, their talk of sanctions is meaningless and can only be sheer bluff."

It cannot be denied that there is a great deal of truth in what Sir Sivaswamy says in the following passage about the Congress creed :—

The creed of the Congress party has undergone many changes. They have climbed down from their heights of non-co-operative aloofness to participation in the work of the Councils. They have climbed down from a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction to a policy of supporting some at least of the measures for the benefit of the people. It is not however likely that the Swarajist party as a whole will abandon their infructuous policy and return from the barren wilderness to the paths of commonsense and wisdom.

He then passes on to pat the Responsivists on the back.

With the robust good sense and grip of actualities which is characteristic of the Maharashtra community, they have led a revolt against the fatuous policy of the Swarajist party and succeeded in forming the party of Responsive co-operation. We welcome the formation of this party which has practically adopted our creed, though it has not joined us and seems to fight shy of the name "Liberal." The formation of the Responsive Co-operation party is really a triumph of the principles for which the Liberal party has all along stood.

He laments the disfavour into which the Liberals have fallen and explains it thus :

It is an irony of fate that, while the principles for which the Liberal party has stood, have been slowly gaining recognition, the party itself should have fallen into disfavour with the people.

But the explanation is not far to seek. In the first place, the policy of moderation does not appeal to the popular mind in the same way as a policy of extremism. A member of the Moderate or Liberal party, who is prepared to look at the different sides of a question and make allowances for them all can never indulge in the same sweeping statements and denunciations, as a member of a party which refuses to look at the other side of the question or face realities and is prepared to recommend short-cuts, however dangerous, to the end in view. The Liberal party cannot possibly make spacious promises of a millennium to be attained in months or weeks and can neither attribute all the evils under which the country is suffering to the foreign domination nor refuse to recognize the benefits that the country has derived from the British connexion.

There is another reason. The Liberals as a party have not given up their faith in British justice and generosity and their habit of appealing to these qualities, though individually eminent Liberals like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri have more than once said very caustic

things about this same sense of justice of the British people. We do not know whether Sir Ali Imam is a Liberal. He was, however, a trusted member of the Government of India. Recently he is reported to have warned a Patna audience and of course the larger audience of his countrymen all over India, "against putting any great store by the pronouncements of British statesmen; the only moral they ought to learn from repeated betrayals being that they should set their house in order". But Sir Sivaswamy Iyer continues to set great store by the utterances of British statesmen and appeals to their generosity also, as the following paragraphs from his address will show :

So far as we can judge from the utterances of British statesmen, the main point upon which they desire to be satisfied is our willingness to co-operate with the Government in working the reforms introduced in 1921.

Signs are not wanting of a disposition on the part of British statesmen to advance the appointment of the Commission. One can see a marked change in their utterances and a tone of greater willingness to appoint the Commission earlier.

Let us allay the apprehensions of Britain that the grant of responsible government may be accompanied by a desire on our part to injure British interests or sever the British connection, I would say to the Government that trust begets trust and that the longer the delay in making the further advance, the greater will be the feeling of distrust on the part of Indians in their professions of sympathy and goodwill. Let them take their courage into their hands and deal with us generously and they will find a grateful response from politicians of all shades and a closer and a more spontaneous linking of the ties that bind the two countries.

The patience and faith of the Liberal party appear to exceed the patience and faith of Job; and if our Earthly Providence in the shape of the British statesmen were as just and merciful as Divine Providence, we could have predicted without waiting for the final issue that the Liberal party's great virtues would be surely rewarded by the grant of some adequate boons. But as the greatest admirers and even the flatterers of British men in power have never attributed divine perfection to them, we can only wait and see what the reward is going to be.

As regards appointing the Commission earlier than 1929, there may be other reasons for taking such a step than generosity to India. By 1929, Labour may again come into power. So the Conservative Ministry now in power may like to choose the personnel and settle the terms of reference to the Commission instead of leaving these

things to be done by a Labour Cabinet. The present Cabinet may be anxious, as "Indo-Britons" like Mr. Langford James are, for the appointment of the Commission now, before Indian politicians have had further opportunities of Co-operating with the Government and proving their capacity.

In conclusion, referring to future Liberal policy, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer declared that it would be their duty to co-operate with any and every party in all questions on which they could see eye to eye.

Our Pictorial Supplements

We issue with this number the reproduction in colours of two water colour paintings.

The portrait of Panini, the great ancient Sanskrit grammarian, is of course imaginary. It is that of a great critical scholar.

The other picture is that of Radha, the beloved of Srikrishna, waiting for the coming of her lover. The mood of expectancy is well-depicted in her face.

Small-pox Epidemic in Durban

Mr. C. E. Andrews writes to us from Durban in a letter dated Nov. 20, 1926 :—

"The small-pox epidemic here has brought out the worst side of things. And we have had to face a cruel attack on the ground of being insanitary, when we have been driven into it by the pressure of the European".

Mr. Andrews has enclosed a cutting from the *Natal Mercury*, containing a very strong statement made by Mrs. Knight, one of the most trusted members of the Durban Town Council. Her statement is an amazing revelation. Summarising it, the *Natal Mercury* writes :—

Strong evidence of the indifference and neglect of the Durban Town Council in relation to the housing of Asiatics, even of its own Indian employees, was given by Councillor Mrs. E. L. Knight in the course of an interview which she accorded a representative of the "Mercury".

She states that notwithstanding innumerable reports by the Sub-Committee on Indian wages and conditions, and by the Borough Health and Sanitary Officials for years, practically nothing has been done to remedy the scandalous housing conditions of Asiatics which exist in the Borough and which again have been brought prominently to the fore since the outbreak of small-pox.

"Some Councillors," she declares, "have felt and said that the more wretchedly the Indians are housed and paid, the more likely will they be willing to be repatriated and return to India."

The Crown Prince of Sweden As An Archaeologist

The Young East of Tokyo reports:—

H. H. Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden, recently visiting Japan in company with his consort, Princess Louise, is a noted archaeologist. His chief object in visiting this country was to widen his scientific knowledge by carrying out archaeological researches. Accompanied by a few noted Japanese archaeologists, the Prince went on September 13 to some shell mounds in Chiba Prefecture about twenty miles from Tokyo, and unearthed a stone axe believed to have been used 3,000 years ago, articles made of horn, more than 20 kinds of shells and an earthen jar in nearly perfect condition. His Highness was exceedingly delighted with his successful excavation and said that he hoped to present them to the museum at Stockholm.

The Prince is an archaeologist of distinction. He has previously conducted excavations in Greece and is the patron of the well-known group of scientists who are exploring the neolithic and the Bronze Age sites of China and Manchuria. Some of these explorations have led to the discovery of painted pottery of a surprisingly advanced technique. "The manner of its manufacture, its general appearance, and the recurrence on it of certain kinds of decorative design", writes R. L. Hobson in *Discovery*, "all recalled the pottery found of neolithic and early Bronze Age sites in Eastern Europe and Western Asia, viz., at Tripolye in South-Western Russia, at Anau in North-Eastern Persia, at Susa, Nur, and as far east as Baluchistan." Interesting speculations were at once suggested one of which is, "Was there a common origin for the neolithic inhabitants of both extremities of the Asiatic continent"? The writer in *Discovery* thinks that one result of the archaeological explorations in China, Manchuria and the borders of Tibet may probably be the proof of a common origin in Central Asia for both the Eastern and Western groups of Asiatic peoples.

Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf came to India from China after inspecting the work of the Swedish archaeologists there. He is also interested in Chinese sculpture.

In Calcutta, the very day he reached the city, he visited the archaeological section of the Indian Museum. He also visited the archaeological and the picture gallery of the Museum on the two following days accompanied by the Crown Princess and their party. In other places in India also the prince and princess have shown active interest in Indian art and archaeology.

It would be a blessing if the princes of Indian royal families took as much intelligent and active interest in archaeology as this Swedish prince does. Many an Indian State would, if explored, reward the archaeologist with finds and discoveries of great value to the historian.

"Communalism in Excelsis"

This is the caption of an editorial note in *The Guardian*, "a Christian Weekly Journal of Public Affairs," published by the Rev. Principal P. G. Bridge. In it has been criticised the speech delivered as president of the European Association by the barrister Mr. Langford James at the annual dinner given by the Association to His Excellency the Viceroy in Calcutta. Though the editor of the *Guardian* realised that it would be wrong to judge a community for utterances after a sumptuous dinner, yet he has criticised the speech because it "bore every mark of careful preparation." We now proceed to quote substantial portions of the note.

Mr. Langford James informed his guests at the very outset that the only object of the European Association was to protect the rights and interests of the European community in India. It is not unfair to conclude that any further responsibility towards the people of the country, to ensure them better government, health and education or any of those benefits which the millions, though without a stake in the country, have a right to expect from a civilised government, was supererogatory on the part of the European community. With this introduction the speaker plunged immediately into the defence of two Europeans who during the year had been charged with causing the death of two humble coolies.

The editor then gives details of the cases. In the one the assault was punished with a fine of Rs. 200.

Against this decision the Government of Assam, strictly within its rights, appealed to the High Court and a fresh trial was ordered. The man was again convicted of the same offence. In the second case another European was charged with causing the death of a mill-hand but after a prolonged and careful enquiry was discharged. Against this decision also the Bengal Government made an unsuccessful appeal. Mr. Langford James asserted that Government were vindictive in their determination to have these men punished for the alleged crimes. If Mr. Langford James felt so strongly against the judicial system which permits appeals to the higher courts for enhancement of sentence, he, as a lawyer, ought not to have remained silent all these years. We realise that grave injustice may be done by a procedure which is, by the way, unknown to English law. On the other

hand, in a country like India Government must protect the citizen against grievous miscarriage of justice. It was not, however, the legal procedure against which Mr. James' complaint lay, but against its application to a European accused.

Mr. Langford James then paid a tribute to "what he was pleased to term British qualities."

He added that Englishmen had a right to be in India on moral and on "equally strong grounds," for he added "the British people have very largely made India." The speaker must surely lack a sense of humour when he made this and the further statement that "the stock-in-trade brought to India by their forefathers was stamina, honesty and initiative." We could probably accept the first and last qualities mentioned by him, though it would appear that initiative is a lost characteristic of the present generation. But where was Mr. Langford James taught Anglo-Indian history? for surely honesty was a rare quality among the early "bag-men" of the East India Company!

Mr. James then turned his attention to the Indianisation of the Army.

He asserted that he had been considerably disturbed by statements made from several quarters "that any system of what I will call infiltration of Indian officers into British messes is likely to have disastrous repercussions at Home. I have been told that parents are loath to allow their son, to join the Indian Army under such a system." Whether this is true or not, we have no means of discovering. The English people have strange prejudices, but behind this crude, if not vulgar, assertion was a sequence of thought which ranged in its scope from the dinner table on the one hand and Bolshevik Russia on the other. With an inflamed mind Mr. Langford James peered into the future. Here was the Indian Army a perfected machine of war, recruited from the peasantry of India and incidentally paid for by them, officered almost exclusively by members of the old English governing classes, paid for also and doubly paid for by the aforesaid peasantry. In the year of Grace 1926 a young man, an Indian and therefore not of the same caste as the officers themselves, obtains as an act of justice his Commission from the King. There is panic. An out-caste has appeared and social boycott is put into operation. Aged fathers in their dotage testily assert that India is "going to the dogs," that the efficiency of the military system will be impaired and the Moscow Bolshevik with his Red Army is already entering the Khyber Pass. This was the vision that Mr. Langford James conjured up.

We need not make more extracts. Britishers have repeated *ad nauseam* that they hold India in trust for its people. Mr. Langford James is a typical trustee, determined to remain in absolute possession of the trust property till the day of doom.

Equal Rights for Indians under the Portuguese Government

When the Indian Delegation to South

Africa reached Lorencó Marques, which is in Portuguese territory, the local Indians sent to the Deputation a telegram of welcome assuring the Deputation that Indians under the auspices of the Portuguese Republic were enjoying all equal rights without disability of nationality, caste, creed or colour, and expressing a desire that the same equality of rights should be attained by their brethren residing in the British Empire.

Will the Britishers and the Boers be too proud to learn from the Portuguese?

Complete Indian Provincial Autonomy Favorable to British Imperialism

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness on 13th July 1858, on being asked,

"7771, you speak of the dangers that arise from a central government, and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous?—yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

"7772, Mr. Danby Seymour.

Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time?—Yes."

He gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India, which would make the peoples of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different way since antiquity.

B. D. B.

Indian High Officials and Equality in the British Empire

One Anglo-Indian (old style) signing himself as "Sagittarius" wrote in the *Civil*

and *Military Gazette* of Lahore on September 5, 1906 :—

"I take no alarmist view, but regard the whole subject calmly and rationally. Not only myself but many others must surely see daily the increasing impertinence, disrespect, officiousness and disloyalty of the subject race. I wish to lay special emphasis on the words *subject race* for the native of India, be his position and salary what it may, should and must understand that British blood has conquered India and rules it, and respect and deference must be shown to it at all times and in all places."

Mr. William Archer, who has quoted the above passage in his book entitled "India and the Future" gives one or two more extracts from the same paper.

"Let the Babus clearly understand that we have admitted them into the administration as our servants, not as our partners. A partnership between Europeans and natives there must inevitably be," but it must be "with the ruling classes, not with the servile classes."

Again :

"Already discerning people in England must be beginning to see that even half-a-dozen princely counsellors of the intellectual type of the Maharaja of Bikanir would be worth a whole parliament of babbling B. A. s."

The author rightly says :—

"The senseless swagger of such utterances is directly due to the idea that we have some sort of Providential mandate to rule India forever....."

The extracts given by Mr. William Archer in his book clearly show what meaning British imperialists attach to the word "Co-operation." It is subservience and subordination on the part of Indians. Responsivists should take note of the fact.

It is also clear that "the ruling classes" have been singled out for special praise and patronage because they are more subservient than the agitating "Babus" and B. A. s. The prominent mention of the Maharaja of Bikanir makes one wonder what he has done to deserve this pillorying. High Indian officials in the employ of the British Government must be very careful lest they be similarly pilloried. Many of them, we know, are able men. But for preferment, currying favor with the British Government and even with Britishers of lower rank than themselves is necessary.

Anthropological Expeditions in India

As announced in the Press, two anthropological expeditions from Europe are visiting India during this winter. The first is a

German expedition under Dr. Egon von Eclesbedt of the University of Freiburg. Dr. Eclesbedt is a pupil of the late Prof. Von Luschan of Berlin and is a young man, who has published two excellent monographs entitled. "Razenelemente der Sikh" in the *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie* and "Comparative Anthropometry of the Punjabis" in "Man in India", being based on the measurements taken by him on the Punjabi soldiers captured by Germany during the War. The expedition under his charge is coming to India to study the primitive tribes in the Malabar coast and the Himalayan regions.

The second expedition is being undertaken by the Zurich University under Prof. Hans Wehrli and Dr. Martin Hurliman. The University of Zurich is one of the foremost centres of Physical Anthropology in Europe, built mainly by the efforts of the late Dr. Rudolf Martin, the brothers Sarasin and Dr. Schlaginhaufen. The object of the present expedition under Prof. Hans Wehrli is to collect ethnological data from important strategical points in India.

We have been informed that the Government of India are providing all facilities to these expeditions, even going to the extent of granting free railway passes, and there cannot be any doubt that steps thus taken are in the right direction. It is the duty of all enlightened Governments to do their utmost to help all scientific investigators sent by foreign countries. While therefore we approve of the eagerness of the Indian Government to help these expeditions, we must condemn its apathy in its own domains. Since the preliminary work of Risley (due mainly to the initiative of the late Lord Curzon), practically nothing has been done by the Government of India to promote anthropological studies in India, particularly by Indian anthropologists and the Natural History Museum and other scientific bodies in India do not possess any Anthropological Department, in unenviable contrast to such Institutions in Europe and America.

The Universities of India also sadly lag behind the Western Universities in the matter. They appear to be keen to duplicate and reduplicate subjects almost reaching the saturation point, but there is a definite lack of policy to orient their teachings to the needs and interests of India. With a diversity of cultures and antagonistic races no country in the world is better suited to anthropological studies and nowhere else are the

results of scientific dispassionate enquiries more important for the growth of a common but really harmonious body politic than India. We recommend in this connection the excellent scheme for collegiate studies prepared by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, where he makes anthropology a subject of compulsory study for all college students and draw the attention of the Government and the Universities to this matter.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's Book on the Bengali Language

Pandit Haraprasad Sastri is a sort of Columbus in the region of Bengali language and literature. His discovery of the *Charyya* literature has pushed back the chronology of Bengali literary history by centuries. His benedictions upon the works of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee on the Bengali language pronounced in connection with a touching function at the residence of Sastri has a symbolical importance—the retiring *savant* embracing the rising scholar. Sastri made a feeling reference to his interview with Bankim Ch. Chatterjee who listened to *Valmiki's Jaya* (বাল্মীকির জয়) a whole morning through and and honoured the young author Haraprasad with a fatherly embrace. Dr. Chatterjee acknowledged his gratitude in moving terms, and the whole party was treated to a sumptuous feast. Principal Aditya Mookerjee, S. J. Hirendra Nath Dutta, Pandit Basanta Ranjan Ray and others were present. Dr. Chatterjee's book has been receiving warm appreciation from the scholars of Europe and India. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a review of his book by Professor Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, who has made a special study of Bengali during his stay in Santiniketan.

X.

A Talented Indian Sculptor

The Indian school of *painting* is an established fact of modern Indian history, but to hear about the progress of modern Indian sculpture would mean a few contractions of the facial muscles in ironical wonder which may not be unworthy of a statuesque delineation. Yet it is a fact that for several years Indian devotees of the Form-goddess have been working silently and steadily to rediscover the form cult so wonderfully

presented in the deathless creations of ancient Indian sculpture. On the Bombay side several sculptors have done good work, the late Mr. Fanindra Bose had shown great promise, and now we find S. J. Deviprosad Rai Chowdhury, the talented *painter* of the Bengal School coming out with a series of remarkable studies in sculpture. We find here that latent hunger for plastic form which seemed to break through the vigorous sweep of his brush strokes. Let us hope that his fingers and chisel would be equally eloquent and audacious. The "Wrestler" group is as faithful in its observation of Indian athletic life as it is suggestive of the subdued fury



Umaprasad Roychowdhury, the Artist's Father

that would soon break out into a thunderous charge. The left figure in its self-confident scientific pose, in its meditative restraint; is a veritable incarnation of strength in repose. This was exhibited last year and has since been acquired by Hamilton and Co. of Calcutta. There is also a series of portraits. Those of Principal Percy Brown and of Chanchal Banerjee (a brother artist of the Bengal School) deserve mention. If in the study of Chanchal we find the characteristic inflection of a Rodin stoop,



Mr. W. I. Keir

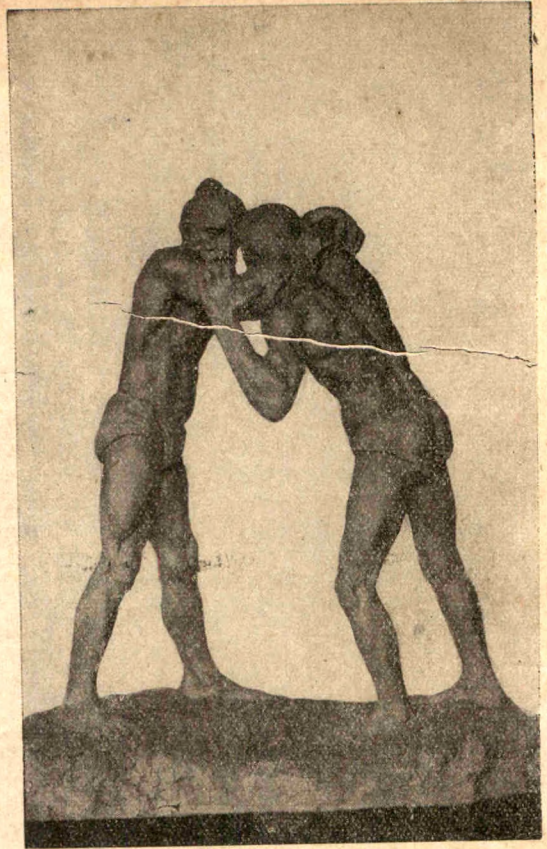
yet the artist has given a sufficient jerk of his Indian soul to produce finally the psychic portrait of an artist's soul. This is not the happy and comfortable-looking caricaturist as Chanchal is known in life, but his penetrating gaze into Reality surprised into plastic fixation. The figure of Mr. Keir, consulting architect to the Government, shows the artist to be fully equipped in the technique of modern portrait sculpture and it has fetched the gold medal and the first prize of the Government Art School Exhibition this year.

But the thing which shows the artist at his best, which raises him above the mastery of grammar and technique, is the portrait study of his own father. Here we find observation transformed by devotion and remarkable strength tempered by rare sympathy. If our artists can produce such



Chanchal Kumar Bannerjee

work, then we may safely prophesy that modern Indian sculpture has a future. The floating forms, the fleeting gestures that can hardly be captured by the restricted sweep of the mythological and mystical



The Wrestlers

brush of modern Bengali painters, may be immortalised if earnest *rupa-dakshas* like Mr. Deviprosad devote their life to combine the study of real life with that of the archetypes of sculptural form that India had evolved through centuries. The land that had given to the encyclopaedia of form the Buddha and the Nataraja has a future in sculptural art and, let us hope, that many would follow the example of Mr. Roy Chowdhury in order to bring about a renaissance of Indian sculpture.

K. N.

A Visit to Sarat Ch. Chatterjee

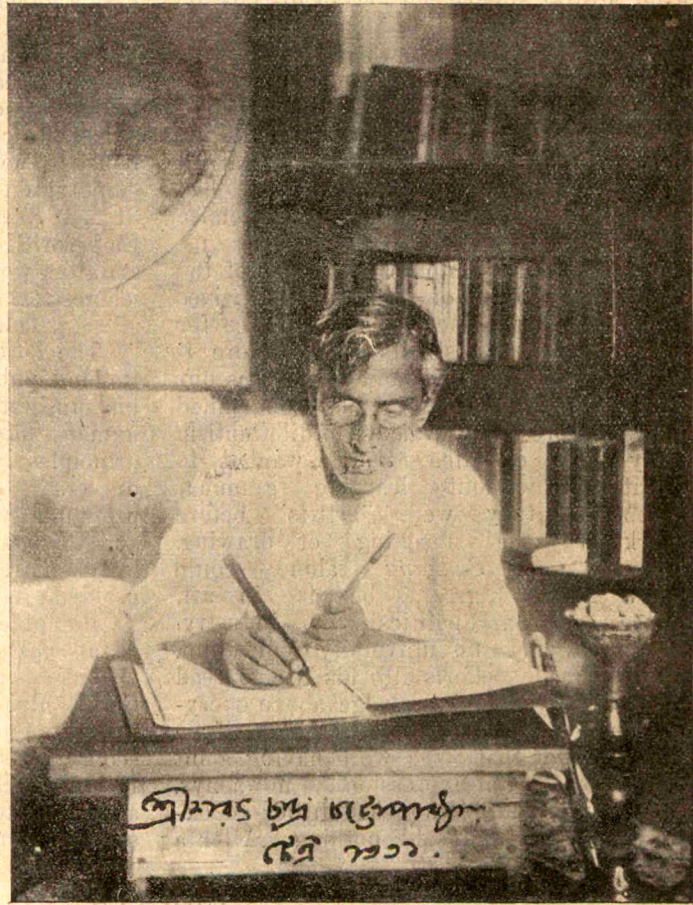
Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the famous Bengali novelist, has built a beautiful garden-house for himself at Deulti, a village on the Ganges which is 32 miles by railway from Calcutta. The house stands on a site sloping gently into the Ganges, which sweeps past this place in a mighty curve. From the beautiful rose garden attached to the house one can see in the distance on the opposite bank

of the river the dim outlines of the district of Midnapore. Nature is vivid and powerful at this place which S. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee has chosen as a refuge from the tremendous trifles of City life. Deulti is in the heart of deltaic Bengal. The soil here is rich and with a little human aid is adaptable to every kind of production, from ordinary paddy to *Marechal Neil* roses. The gifted Bengali litterateur has chosen his 'nest' with an instinct for suitability and setting which is rare and is only found in men whose senses are extraordinarily keen and responsive. Deulti possesses scenic qualities which are unique. It is a vantage point whence one can get a glimpse of the eternal through the far-stretched blue of the sky and the gorgeous expansiveness of the Ganges. It also provides delicacies in the subdued flushes and fine tints in the evening sky and in the subtle play of colour, light and shade on the heart of the river between the setting sun and the slim country boats which silently glide on to somewhere. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, a realist but a worshipper of the Beautiful, finds this place just suited to his nature, which loves the touch of what is and is beautiful and cares little for the speculative wanderings of the so-called "creative" artists.

We started from Calcutta one Saturday morning for Deulti to pay a visit to S. Chatterjee. The Bengal Nagpur Railway provides a faster mode of travel than the bullock carts with which our ancestors had to be satisfied in pre-British Bengal. For this we are indebted to the great island race of exploiters and administrators and to the B. N. Ry. Co. It took us somewhat less than three hours to cover the 32 miles which lay between Calcutta and Deulti, and we alighted at the latter Station only to learn that we had a four mile march before us to reach our destination.

A local gentleman kindly guided us all the way to S. Chatterjee's house across fields painted azure by the countless pea blossoms and along high earthen embankments built to keep the floods out of the peasants' hearths and homes.

S. Chatterjee was having a game of chess with some village friends when we arrived. He received us on a verandah where he usually reclines on an armchair and has his fill of the sky, the river and fresh air. We



Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

found he had aged considerably since we last saw him, and on referring to this change, we were told that his brother, Swami Vedananda of the Ramkrishna Mission, had only recently died of some undiagnosed disease. He died in S. Chatterjee's arms, suffocated, tortured and within a few hours. Nothing could be done. The pain of seeing his brother

die while he was absolutely powerless to do anything was so great, said Sj. Chatterjee, that he could never dream that such pain was possible. At an advanced age his sorrow had come to him as a revelation of the intensity of human suffering.

We could say nothing. We silently listened to him as he recounted to us in a soft undertone how good and full of the spirit of adventure and restlessness, his brother was, and how devoted to the cause he served.

After a little silence, he began to talk on the sorrows of India and of Bengal in particular. He was vehement when he began to describe the injustices, untruths and cowardice that we usually wink at and leave alone. This policy of ethical *laissez faire* was killing our nation inch by inch. Unless we learned to be true to our convictions and had backbone enough to avoid compromise with evil, there was no hope for us. He could have some faith in the youth of the race, but where boys of eighteen had wives and children could there be any place for youth? Our race lost its youth before it had a good grasp of it, and here was our greatest tragedy. Sj. Chatterjee also condemned strongly the present prevalence of dilettantism in every field of life. People wanted to be writers without learning grammar and thought they were "artists" before they knew the meaning of drawing. Discipline and *Sadhana* alone could make a nation great, be it in art, literature, music, politics or industry. He said, he had no university education, but he had made efforts all his life to read and learn and valued knowledge above everything else. We asked Sj. Chatterjee, if he did not consider that we were having a bit too much of "self-expression" nowadays, especially from those who had little to express. He smiled and said nothing. After a

little while he said that in his opinion the greatness of Art is in restraint not in running riot. It was nearly dark when we left Deulti. Sj. Sarat Ch. Chatterjee impressed us as a man of singularly rational outlook or life. He has the gift of looking at things in their proper perspective and of correct evaluation of blessings and evils. A. C.

Death of the Emperor of Japan

The untimely death of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Yoshihito of Japan has cast a gloom over that land of smiles and cheery optimism. The Emperor was loved by the Japanese as their own father and his sudden death has put the whole Japanese nation in deepest mourning. We offer our sincerest condolences to our gallant neighbours. The late Emperor was the 122nd emperor of Japan. He was born on August 31st, 1879 and was the 3rd son of the late Emperor Mutsuhito. He was highly educated and was well-trained in the military and naval sciences. A. C.

Tolstoy on Manual Labour

The letter of Leo Tolstoy to Mon. Romain Rolland published elsewhere shows how deep his insight was into the fundamentals of human happiness. His formulation of the principles of conduct which would ensure universal *Kalyana* clearly points out his profound sympathy with Indian ethical ideals and this naturally creates a hunger in us to learn more of his views on the common problems of humanity.

Rotaphel verlag of Munich have published a small volume entitled "Tolstoy and the Orient" (in German) which gives us the Great Russian sage's correspondence with various Asiatic friends and admirers of all sects and religions. Readers of the Modern Review will be glad to learn that we are arranging to give them English renderings of selected extracts from this book. A. C.

ERRATA

(January 1927)

Page 62 The name of the picture should be Dr. Oskar Von Miller.

Page 64 Col. 1 the name of the picture should be *Basistha Ashram*, Gauhati.

Col. 2 the name of the picture should be *Umananda Island*, Gauhati.

Page 66 Col. 1 the name of the picture should be The Palace of the Ahom Kings, in ruins.

Col. 2 the name of the picture should be *Urbasi* rock in the middle of the river Brahmaputra with the Signal Pillar, Gauhati.

In the Contents for the December (1926) number, insert in its proper place,

An Astonishing Book about India (A Review)—
J. T. Sunderland 604

Page 637, column 1, line 16, for *plupical* read *physical*.

"Greuthner," 2, line 2 from bottom, for "Greuthner," read *Guethner*.

Page 695, under the Note "Mussolini A Genius and Patriot", insert the initials T. D.



DREAM OF LIBERTY
Artist—Dr. Abanindranath Tagore

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE NO
242

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA

By A. V. THAKKAR

ACCORDING to the Census returns of 1921, our aboriginal tribes number about 16 millions in India, forming one in twenty of the population. They are most numerous in Assam, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Central India and Burma. The following figures show the strength of some of the major aboriginal tribes in India.

Gond (C. P., B. & O., C. I., U. P., Hyderabad and Assam) ...	29,02,592
Santal (Bihar and Orissa, Madras and C. I.) ...	22,65,282
Bhil (Bombay, C. I., Baroda and Rajputana) ...	17,95,808
Kurumban (Coorg, Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore) ...	8,55,279
Oraon (B. & O., Bengal, Assam and C.P.) ...	7,65,680
Banjara (Bombay, C. P., Punjab, Hyderabad and Mysore) ...	6,51,927
Kandh (B. & O., and Madras) ...	6,16,824
Munda (B. & O., Bengal, and Assam) ...	5,93,839
Savara (B. & O., Madras and C. I.) ...	4,75,868
Ho (B. & O.) ...	4,40,174
Naga (Assam) ...	2,20,619
Kachari (Assam) ...	2,07,266

Almost all these tribes live in the solitude of forests and jungle-clad hills—small pools of humanity without any living connection with the main currents of Indian life and culture. Truants to civilization, their life is an unending series of terrors, terror, of man, animal and unknown powers. In the words of Sir Herbert Risley, they “worship and seek by all means to influence and conciliate the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than for good, which reside in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree, which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, small-pox or murrain.”

There is nothing so grinding and corrosive as fear, and fear forms the stuff of life and beliefs of these tribes. Fear has degraded many of them to the deepest depths of misery and abasement. Unacquainted with the more civilized methods of agriculture and industries and ignorant of the ways of trade and commerce, their life is hard pressed by poverty and the rigour of starvation often drives them to occasional acts of violence and crime and to be classed by law as a “criminal tribe.” The fierce struggle for economic advantages has continually driven these tribes to places where food is more and more difficult to gather or grow. Forest laws in many cases operate harshly on them, by limiting the area of cultivation, in order to preserve the forests, and by prohibiting the free use of forest produce beyond a very limited extent. Technical and slight infringements of forest laws are sometimes met with punishments severe beyond all proportions. Not infrequently the poor aborigines bind themselves for small cash to work as field labourers to well-to-do cultivators or money-lenders. The “Kamia” system, passing under different names in the different provinces in India, and which amounts to serfdom in practice, counts among its victims a very large proportion of aborigines. The writer recalls listening to Gond *Kamias* in a village in the interior of the Central Provinces. One of them related how he had bound himself to serve as a labourer to a money-lender until he paid back Rs. 30 in cash and 6 maunds of paddy, which he had received from him. He said that he had served for eleven long years, yet emancipation was not in sight; for he could never get together enough cash to pay back his creditor to his satisfaction.

The people of the plains miss no opportunity of exploiting the labour or the produce of the labour of the aboriginal tribes. Simple as they are, they always lose in dealing with the cunning money-lenders, liquor-vendors and traders from the plains. Their labour is heavily underpaid, they are cheated out of their land, extortionate interest is charged from them, and liquor completes their ruin. The aboriginal tribes have no reason to be thankful for the contact of the 'civilized' people with them; for the 'civilization' which the money-lenders, the traders and the liquor-vendors carry with them is a thing to be avoided. So far the results of the contact have been generally very unhappy for the aborigines.

From this tale of exploitation by some of the advanced communities in India, one turns with gratitude and admiration to the work of the Christian Missionaries. The supreme purpose of the missionary activities among the aborigines is, no doubt, to Christianize them—a purpose which the missionaries themselves never conceal. As an American missionary once put it to the writer, it is their 'One Job' above all other. But one would far rather welcome the evangelization of all the aborigines than a continuance of their present degraded condition. It is easy enough for non-Christian critics to feel panicky over the mass-conversion of whole tribes of aborigines, like the Khasis and Lushais of Assam, to Christianity. It is a far more difficult thing to make the communities to which such critics belong do even a small fraction of what the Christian missionaries are doing. It is one thing to contemplate the glories of Hinduism or Islam; it is quite another to go out into the dense forests and isolated hills and live among the aborigines to help them to a better life. It is an undisputed fact that Christian aborigines are better off than their fellow-tribesmen in many respects, particularly in education. Communal jealousy apart, the complaint that one hears against 'convert' aborigines is that they cut themselves adrift from their people and by servile aping of the Europeans make themselves particularly disagreeable to their own community. The complaint is largely true and I respectfully invite the attention of the missionaries to this unsavoury aspect of conversion to Christianity. It is not pleasant to contemplate that the life of the aborigines should be made the hunting ground for competing evangelists belonging to different

religious sects. How one wishes that it were possible that the missionaries belonging to different sects had sought to serve for the sake of service, impelled by all that is best in their own faiths, without being impatient to swell the number of converts and impose their dogmas and doctrines on masses of people. As things are, the Christian missionaries have evangelized and served a section of the aborigines. Other faiths in India have not yet attempted to do either in a serious or organized manner or on a large scale.

In the provincial legislative councils the interests of the aborigines have received very little attention. Two seats are allotted in the B. & O. Legislative Council to the representatives of the aborigines, to be filled by nomination. Although the 'depressed' classes and backward tracts are represented in some of the provincial legislatures, the B. & O. legislature alone, out of eight provincial and one central legislatures, provides for the representation of the aborigines. In this connection it is important to remember the proportion of the aborigines per 1000 of the population, which is as follows according to the Census of 1921:—

Assam—248, C. P. & Berar—204, B. & O.—62, Bombay—82, Madras—32.

It is impossible to think of the introduction of any practicable system of election for the representation of the interests of the aborigines. On the other hand, considering the large number of these primitive people, whose poverty is only surpassed by their ignorance, it is necessary that their interests should be, by some method or other, represented in the provincial and central legislatures. It will add to the representative character of the legislatures and give publicity to the needs and grievances of the aborigines, which is not given them at present. It is a regrettable fact that very few of the members of the provincial and central Legislative Councils take any interest in the welfare of the aborigines. Earl Winterton recently announced in the House of Commons that the seats for the representation of Labour and the Depressed Classes would be increased in the Provincial Legislatures after the General Election. As already pointed out, the numerical strength and the peculiar position of the aborigines demand that their claims to better representation in at least all provincial legislatures should no longer be ignored.

Apart from the Missionaries, social

workers and legislators, the aboriginal tribes of India should be of special interest to all students of anthropology and sociology. Here are strange social institutions in a nebulous state slowly hardening and taking shape, dim glimmerings of a faith in future life and fantastic cosmologies, crude rituals to propitiate evil influences, a life surrounded by ignorance and chased by terrors, known and unknown.

Yet they are our brethren, children of the soil in a very intimate sense, defeated in the fierce race of modern civilization and hard hit by the strenuous conditions of civilized life. They deserve our help and sympathy to enable them to adapt themselves to the changed and ever changing conditions

all around. An All-India Association, consisting of all who are interested in them and their welfare, can alone adequately meet the need by focussing the attention of thoughtful people on the life and needs of the sixteen millions of aborigines of India and interlinking the various tribes among themselves and with the rest of the people of India.

However populous a country may be, the life of sixteen millions of its inhabitants can never be an object of contempt or neglect without prejudicially affecting the interests of the rest. A progressive integration of the various peoples within the Indian boundaries is the only true and solid foundation of the future Indian democracy.

BUDDHIST REMAINS IN AFGHANISTAN

BY RANJIT PANDIT, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

IN the eastern portion of the Iranian Plateau, the centre of the ancient world at the junction of the cross roads of Central Asia joining India and China, is the country now called Afghanistan. Through the mountains and valleys of Afghanistan came to the plains of India from time immemorial, warriors, merchants and pilgrims. No other country has been a conduit pipe for the passage of such differing peoples, nor has any other country been subjugated by such a diversity of masters. Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Huns, Turks, Arabs and Mongols invaded Afghanistan and established their own power, therein realising the strategic importance of the formidable barrier of the Hindu Kush between India and Central Asia. They in turn founded powerful cities and, having realised to a greater or less extent their dreams of conquest in India, disappeared from history, being pushed by fresh invaders.

Few Indians realise that the political and religious history of Afghanistan is a part of the early history of their own country. Through Afghanistan Asoka sent religious missions to "the Hellenistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus"...

"The missionary organisation thus embraced three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe."¹ In the succeeding centuries the heathen raged so furiously that history stopped for awhile till, according to Buddhist legend,



Tope Bimaran—Jelalabad

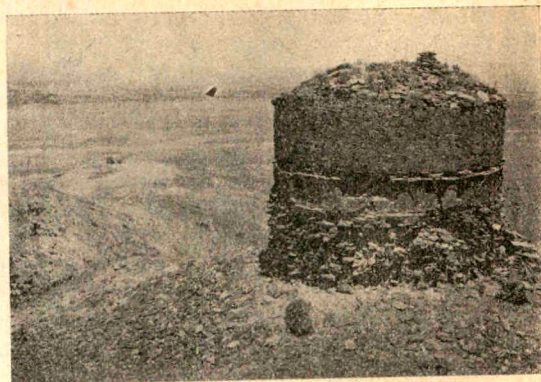
the Kushan Emperor Kanishka was miraculously converted to the Path of Righteousness. While Asoka spread Buddhism among the Greeks and the Western peoples, the empire of Kanishka influenced China and the Far East. A son of the Emperor of China was

miraculously cured of his blindness in Gandhara while listening to a Buddhist preacher.² Through Afghanistan Indian religion, sculpture, painting and music spread from Central Asia to Japan. The Indian Caucasus or Hindu Kush was the Northern frontier of India.³ "In former times Khurasan, Persia, Irak, Mosul, the country upto the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic." The eminent Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fahien (399-413 A.C.), who visited India, passed through Afghanistan, which he calls "North India."

"The country of Wuchang commences North India. The Language of Mid-India is used by all. Mid-India is what they call the Middle country. The dress of the people, their food, and drink are also the same as in the middle country. The religion of Buddha is very flourishing."⁴

About this time the famous Indian missionary Kumara Jiva (385-417 A. C.) went to China to labour for many years to translate Buddhist books into Chinese.⁵ The Indian Scholar Paramartha arrived in China 546 A. C. with a collection of Buddhist manuscripts and died there in 569 A. C. The patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Bodhi-

dharma, migrated in 526 A. C. to China, which became thereafter the seat of his patriarchate.⁶ Chinese pilgrims continued to trek to the Holy land for pilgrimage and



Stupa of Convent in the amphitheatre of
Seh Topan
Buddhist Kabul

collection of Buddhist Sacred Books. Song-Yun, Envoy of the Chinese emperor, visited Eastern Afghanistan, Gandhara and Udyana. Buddhism flourished in this "garden-land" of the Kabul river country, nor were literature, poetry and the arts of peace neglected. No less ⁷ than sixty Buddhist pilgrims from China visited India in the latter part of the VII century⁸, the most distinguished amongst them being the intrepid Scholar-Saint Hiuen Tsiang. He visited Afghanistan, with which country he begins his description of India. Travelling east from the Hindu Kush. Hiuen Tsiang describes the Buddhist cities of Kapisa (north of Kabul) Lamghan, Nagarahara, Hidda and Peshawar. In the Gandhara country he observes the growing power of Hinduism. He writes:

"The Capital of the country is Po-lusha-pu-lo (Purushapura, the modern Peshawar).....the climate is warm and moist and in general without ice or snow. The disposition of the people is timid and soft; they love literature; most of them belong to heretical schools; a few believe in the true law. From old time till now this borderland of India has produced many authors of Shastras, e.g., Narayan Deva, Asanga Bodhisatva; Vasubandhu Bodhisatva, Dharmatrata, Manorhita, Parsva, the noble, and so on. There are about 1000 Sangharamas, which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs and solitary to the last degree. The stupas are mostly decayed. The heretical temples to the number of about 100 are occupied pellmell by heretics."⁹

Early in the VIII century the Arabs penetrated into Afghanistan and the roads



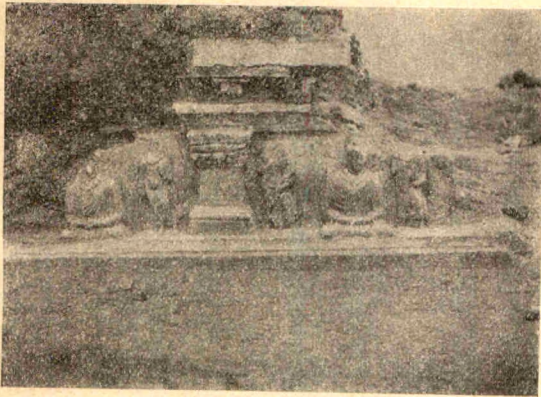
Hidda
Statues of Cell No III

over the Hindu Kush were blocked by the conquests of the Arab General Kotaiba in Central Asia. The intimate cultural and spiritual union between China and India was threatened and the Emperor of China invoked the aid of the Kshatriya Kings of Kapisa and Kashmir, to whom he sent letters-patent conferring the title of King to face the common danger.¹⁰ An influx of Hindu learning took place at Baghdad under Harun (786-808

ous part known as Kaffirstan, which still continues mainly non-Mussalman.

Islam in Afghanistan as in Kashmir was a superstructure on the existing Buddhist *cum* Hindu construction. The miracles of the older faiths continued: they were ascribed to Muslim spiritual power; the hair of the Prophet's beard replaced the hair of Buddha and the miracles of the Stupas were reproduced in the mysterious movements of the tombs (Turbat) of the "minor prophets" of Islam.

Sculpture and painting found no serious consideration in Islamic countries, where owing, it is said, to the doctrines of the Prophet art was mainly confined to carpets, tapestry, inlaid work and calligraphy. Times have changed. Painting is no longer in disrepute, Turkish students are busy moulding the clay in the ateliers of sculptors, in Rome and Paris. The modern Republic of Turkey held in the autumn of 1924 the first Art Exhibition at Angora, of the work of young Turkish artists trained in France, chief among whom is Ali Sami Beg, who in 1918 was appointed Director of the Ewka Museum. There is now at Kabul a museum, of which the Director is a cultured Afghan gentleman.



Hidda—Stupa of Cell No I

A. C.). The ministerial family of Barmak came from Balkh where an ancestor of theirs had been an official in the Buddhist Temple Naubehar, that is Nava Vihara, the new temple.¹¹ The last Kshatriya King of Kabul, the descendant of Kanishka, of the Turki Shahiya dynasty, ruled till the capture of that city, in 870 A. C. (A. H. 256) by the Arab general Yakub-i-lais.¹² The Samanides, whose princely house held almost the entire east of the Khalifate during 892-999 A. C. came into direct relations with Hindu Pandits in Kabul and Eastern Afghanistan, and their Minister Aljaihani imported Indian culture into the Islamic world. Alaptagin, a Turki slave of the Samanides, set up as independent ruler of Ghazna and his successor Subuktagin, Mahmud's father, paved the way for war for the lasting establishment of Islam in Afghanistan and India. The hardy mountaineers of Afghanistan, partly Buddhist mainly Hindu, fought, for centuries, with their reputed valour. Jaipal was obliged to cede the frontier fort of Lamghan, about 70 miles from Kabul, to Subuktagin in 990 A. C. (A. H. 380). Under the Ghaznavite Conqueror, Mahmud, Afghanistan was finally converted to Islam with the exception of the mountain-



Cliffs of Bamiyan with Statue of Buddha
53 metres high

In 1922 M. Alfred Foucher, Professor at the Sorbonne University, the well-known author of "Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara", entered Afghanistan from Persia *via* Herat and was welcomed by His Majesty the Amir as the first Frenchman officially sent by the Government of the French Republic. M. Foucher succeeded in inducing the Afghan government to sign a convention whereby France obtained for a period of thirty years the

privilege of carrying out archaeological research in Afghanistan.

The prospecting work done by the able band of French archaeologists has already proved to be of great interest. While the missions of Pelliot, Klementz, Aurel Stein, Grunwedel, and Von Le Coq, who succeeded one another since 1897, discovered for us the civilization and art of Central Asia and the researches of the Indian Archaeological Survey and of M. Foucher made us acquainted with the Greco-Buddhist art of the Indian section of Gandhara, Afghanistan remained from the archaeological point of view a terra incognita. What little we knew we owed to ancient historians and above all to the accounts of Chinese pilgrims who traversed Afghanistan between the V and VII century after Christ. In recent times as a result of Anglo-Afghan wars Honigsberger and Simpson discovered a number of Buddhist stupas in the valley of Kabul but they were ignorant for the most part of the neighbouring convents and sanctuaries. Very little was known of the monuments of Ghazni or Ghazna, the capital

army to the fort of Agra. No archaeologist had visited Balkh, the ancient Bactres,



Fragments from the Convent of Tappa Kalan



Minar Chakri : "Pillar of Wheel," Kabul

of Mahmud the Conqueror, except the gates of his tomb brought by a British Indian

"mother of cities", a hundred times destroyed and rebuilt, residence of the legendary kings of Persia, the birth place, it is said, of Holy Zarathushtra and, later, the capital of the Greco-Bactrian Empire.

The learned French Archaeologists visited these interesting sites for the first time in 1923, made important discoveries and brought with them interesting documents and art treasures which are now housed in the Musée Guimet at Paris. Through the courtesy of M. Hackin, the learned conservator of the Musée Guimet, who has travelled widely in Afghanistan, where he followed the route of the Chinese Scholar-Saint Hiuen Tsiang, I was permitted to study the results of French archaeological research at the Musée Guimet. M. Hackin also kindly gave me photographs of the excavations, a few of which are here reproduced.

The results of French Archaeological Research in Afghanistan may be divided into three groups:—

(1) The first group comprises the cities of Jelalabad, Hidda and Buddhist Kabul—

all three in the valley of the Kabul River and of which the art is purely Gandharian.

(2) The second group concerns the sanctuaries of Bamiyan and the neighbouring valleys. The art, one finds here is still Greco-Buddhist but already more akin to that of Central Asia than to the Gandharian.

(3) The third group constitutes the monuments of the Mussalman epoch, Ghazni and the citadels of Shahr-i-Zohak and of Shahr-i-Gholghola.

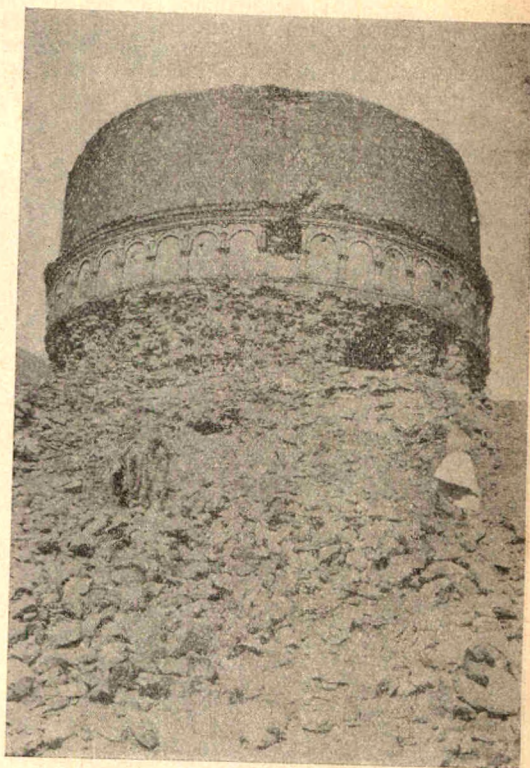
We are here concerned only with the first two groups.

No monument anterior to the epoch of Buddhism has up to the present time been discovered in Afghanistan. The valley of Kabul and the North-West Frontier of the Punjab were the home of art, half Greek, half Indian. According to Professor Foucher there was a double and inverse expansion of Hellenism towards the orient following the political conquests of Alexander and of Buddhism towards the occident by the religious missions of Asoka. The Greco-Buddhist art of the first century before Christ expanded in the following two or three centuries and later fell into decadence and disappeared in the VI century. While however it perished in its country of origin, its influence, modified by local conditions, continued to be felt in India till the arrival of the Mussalmans and is felt to this day in Ceylon, Indo-China, China, Japan and Tibet.¹³

The towns and celebrated sanctuaries of Buddhist Afghanistan are today in ruins. Begram, near Charikar, is Kapisa, the summer residence of the Emperor Kanishka, the most zealous propagandist of Buddhism. Jelalabad is the holy Nagarahara, the site of the miracle of the Buddha Dipankara, one of the most celebrated in Buddhism and a favourite theme of Greco-Buddhist sculpture. Hidda is the Hi-lo of Hiuen Tsiang, a place of famous Buddhist pilgrimage owing to its precious relics of Buddha.

Bamiyan in the heart of the snowy mountains is the sacred city of hundred convents and 12,000 grottoes and the famous colossal statues of Buddha. The French archaeologists in discovering in Afghanistan the vestiges of a brilliant civilization of a by-gone age are carrying forward the work of British archaeology round the city of Peshawar. Ancient Gandhara lay on either side of the modern Indo-Afghan frontier. It is not surprising that at Jelalabad, Hidda and Kabul the same art, plan of building and process

of construction of stupas should be found as at Taxila, Takht-i-Bahi, Shahri-Behlol and Shahbaz Garhi, with slight variations imposed by the nature of materials and climate. The decoration of monuments, stupas, convents and sanctuaries is almost identical. On the other hand, some of the statues discovered recently by the French at Hidda, in the course of a rapid excavation, have, from the artistic point of view, nothing to equal them up to now in the Indian section of Gandhara.



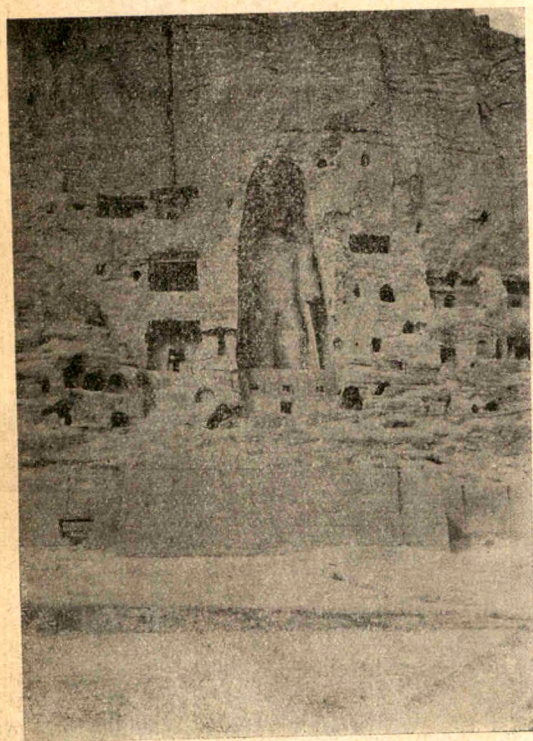
Khaesta Tope, Jelalabad

"One of these statues is of Buddha on the march. When brought out into open air it began to perish and fell into dust a short time after its discovery. A photograph is the only souvenir of it. The sculpture was admirable. The drapery has the thickness and at the same time the lightness of Greek drapery of the best epoch. The nervous feet are of a beauty of design and perfection of execution with which Greco-Buddhist work, too often heavily executed, had not accustomed us."¹⁴

The Sanskrit name Nagarahara occurs on a ruined mound of Ghosrawa in Behar.¹⁵ It was the ancient capital of the Jelalabad district and is mentioned by Ptolemy. The site of ancient Nagarahara, first determined

by Simpson, is now confirmed by French archaeologists. Nagarahara was visited by the eminent pilgrims Fa-hien, Song-Yun and Hiuen Tsiang. The latter writes :

"The country of Nagarahara (Na-kie-lo-ho) is about 600 li from east to west and 250 to 260 li from north to south. It is surrounded on four sides by overhanging precipices and natural barriers. The capital is 20 li or so (four miles) in circuit. It has no chief ruler—the commandant and his subordinates come from Kapisa. The country is rich in cereals and produces a great quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is moist and warm. Their manners are simple and honest, their disposition ardent and courageous. They think lightly of wealth and love learning. They cultivate the religion of Buddha and few believe in other doctrines."¹⁶



Statue of Buddha 35 Metres High at Bamiyan

Hiuen Tsiang gives a detailed account of various stupas of Nagarahara, one of which he says was built by Asoka. It was "two hundred feet or so in height". He also relates the story of a dragon who dwelt in a cavern near Nagarahara. This cavern is referred to by both Fa-hien and Song-Yun. The dragon on seeing Tathagata was converted and vowed to defend the true law. "He requested Tathagata to occupy his cavern ever

more." Hiuen Tsiang thus describes the Cavern of the Shadow :

"To the south-west of this Sangharama a deep torrent rushes from a high point of the hill and scatters its waters in leaping cascades. The mountain sides are like walls ; on the eastern side of one is a great cavern, deep and profound, the abode of the Naga Gopala. The entrance leading to it is narrow ; the cavern is dark, the precipitous rock causes the water to find its way in various rivulets into this cavern. In old days there was a shadow of Buddha to be seen here, bright as the true form, with all its characteristic marks. In later days men have not seen it so much. What does appear is only a feeble likeness. But whoever prays with fervent faith, he is mysteriously endowed, and he sees it clearly before him, though not for long."¹⁷

The little town of Jelalabad is to the east of the sacred Buddhist city of Nagarahara. The ruins of the ancient city are now visible wherever the cultivator allows the soil to lie fallow. But to the east on the neighbouring hills and flanks of Siah-koh, "the black mountain", are still extant the stupas and the convents which rendered the name of Nagarahara celebrated in the Buddhist world. Even on the plains below some stupas exist which have not yet been completely destroyed by cultivation or assimilated by the villages. The French archaeologists were unable to identify in the debris the stupa built by Emperor Asoka. It was, unfortunately, also difficult to identify the famous cavern where one saw appear and disappear the shadow of Buddha.

The Khaesta Tope, which, in Pushtoo, means the "magnificent tope," is the best preserved stupa of Jelalabad. It is situated on a side of the Black Mountain and dominates the entire valley, which opens out at the confluence of the Kabul River and the Surkh Rud, thus overlooking the site of Nagarahara, the modern Jelalabad, and even the valley of Hidda which meets the valley of Jelalabad a few miles to the east.

M. Andre Godard, specially designated by the French Government as Architect to the Archaeological delegation in Afghanistan, has admirably described this fine stupa. In his opinion this splendid monument was constructed with such great skill that it would have continued to resist the ravages of time but for the meddling of Honigsberger and Masson. The former made an opening on its northern side and demolished the four angles of its base and the latter made an opening in the east and knocked off the summit !

M. Godard writes :

"The Khaesta Tope is situated on a vast terrace whence a broad flight of steps gives access to the circular ambulatory. The lower portion of the cylindrical shape, on a level with the ambulatory, was decorated by bas-reliefs and statues of Buddha, in standing or sitting position, supported on the moulding below between the pilasters of the base. A series of umbrellas supported by a metallic mast surmounted the dome of the monument. The whole was covered with stucco, painted and in part gilt."¹⁸



Convent of Tappa Kalan

The decorative effect of the Khaesta Tope consists in its beautiful situation and the happy proportions of its various parts. What survives today, intact, is merely its general shape—a part of its magnificent base and of its central belt of arches. But we can imagine what it was like in ancient times and at the same time imagine fifty others similarly marvellously situated and richly decorated. Being brilliantly illuminated at nightfall they would be silhouetted against the hills which surrounded the holy city and its sanctuaries.

The monument was perhaps not intrinsically artistic nor was its architecture entirely faultless, but the Buddhist stupas were not intended to make an appeal by the refinement of their art. What was intended was rather to strike the imagination of the faithful, by their number, the choice of their location, their imposing massiveness, by the sculpture colour and gilt with which they were decorated, and by the chants, lights and incessant movements of pilgrim processions of which they became the occasion.

Hidda was visited by Fahien. Describing the Vihara of the skull-bone of Buddha, Fahien adds, "though the heaven should quake and the earth open, this place would remain unmoved". Hiuen Tsiang writes :

"To the south east of the city (Nagarahara) 30 li

or so is the town of Hi-lo (Hidda); it is about 4 or 5 li in circuit; it is high in situation and strong by natural declivities. It has flowers and woods, and lakes whose waters are bright as a mirror. The people of the city are simple, honest and upright."¹⁹

He describes the various stupas containing different relics of Buddha which worked miracles. He adds :

"The king of Kapisa has commanded five pure conduct men (Brahmanas) to offer continually scents and flowers to these objects. These pure persons, observing the crowds who came to worship incessantly wishing to devote themselves to quiet meditation, have established a scale of fixed charges, with a view to secure order by means of that wealth which is so much esteemed by men. Their plan, in brief, is this ; All who wish to see the skull-bone of Tathagata have to pay one gold piece : those who wish to take an impression pay five pieces. The other objects in their several order have a fixed price, and yet though the charges are heavy, the worshippers are numerous."

Hidda is now nothing more than a miserable little village. Like its neighbour Nagarahara it was one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage of the Buddhist world, where, according to Fa-hien, who visited it, the baton, tooth and skull-bone of the Buddha were exposed to the veneration of the faithful on a golden throne. The convents and sanctuaries are today reduced to heaps of debris, of sand and pebbles. The stupas, deprived of the stucco with which they were covered,



Hidda
Base of a Stupa

are shapeless excrescences on the plains. The grottoes which served as habitations for the pilgrims are so damaged or smoked that one discerns with great difficulty a few traces of frescoes and painting. In the immense desert plain of modern Hidda it is difficult to imagine the lakes and the gardens of which

Hiuen Tsiang speaks. But the recent discovery by the French of the foundations of the ancient monasteries and the vestiges of barrages and quays in the vast beds of waterless streams confirms the faithful account of the Chinese pilgrim.

The site of Hidda has proved extraordinarily rich for the French archaeologists. An ancient convent which had evidently developed into a rich sanctuary has been discovered. It is situated almost in the centre of the ancient town on the "Tappakalan," the great hill. The result of the excavation is described as follows:



Bamiyan
Colossal Statue of Buddha 53 metres high.

"Among its numerous cells only about forty have been cleared. Each of these cells sheltered a small stupa richly decorated with plasters and bas-reliefs. Within the walls, in the recesses of the gates and along the length of the courtyard were found a very large number of the Statues of Buddha of all sizes and epochs, the smaller ones placed in front of the larger. The courtyard containing the great Central stupa is itself literally covered with little stupas. This sanctuary both by the quality and the number of statues and votive monuments is a veritable museum of Greco-Buddhist art. Nothing or almost

nothing of what we had found now exists. The inhabitants of Hidda, fanatical Mussalmans as they are, view with a malicious eye this search for the idols of a detested religion. Despite our explanations, our professions of faith, our visit to a holy man of the country, the menaces of government and the friendly protestations of the village Malik, our excavations were destroyed by blows of the pick-axe, after the midday prayer, on the Friday following the end of our labour! Our poor statues offered but little resistance. They collapsed in a heap of dust. We could hardly collect, the next day, a few heads! Nevertheless the result sought for had been obtained. We learnt that Hidda was one of the most interesting artistic centres of Gandhara. There is no doubt whatever that the labour of a careful excavation would be rewarded with magnificent results."²⁰

In the days of Hiuen Tsiang Buddhism appears to have been on the decline and in Gandhara Brahmanism was apparently beginning to strangle it much as modern Hinduism is absorbing the Buddhism of Nepal. The capital of the Gandhara country was Purushapura (Po-lu-sha-pu-lo), the modern Peshawar, which, together with Nagarahara and Hidda, formed part of the Kingdom of Kapisa. Kapisa was an ancient city known to the Greeks and is mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny. Panini calls it Kapisi. The Kingdom of Kapisa is described in great details by Hiuen Tsiang.

"The King is a Kshatriya by caste.....He cherishes his people with affection and reverences much the three precious objects of worship. Every year he makes a silver figure of Buddha eighteen feet high and at the same time he convokes an assembly called the Moksha Mahaparisad when he gives alms to the poor and wretched, and relieves the bereaved."

Brahmanism, however, seems to have flourished side by side with Buddhism from Kapisa to Purushapura (Peshawar). Regarding Kapisa Hiuen Tsiang writes:

"There are about 100 convents in this country and some six thousand priests. They mostly study the rules of the great vehicle. The stupas and Sangharamas are of an imposing height, and are built on high level spots from which they may be seen on every side, shining in their grandeur (purity). There are some ten temples of the Devas and thousand or so of heretics; there are naked ascetics and others who cover themselves with ashes, and some who make chaplets of bones which they wear as crowns on their heads."²¹

Thus Digambara Jainas, Pashupatas and Kapaladharins flourished in the north of Kabul. Hiuen Tsiang does not name the capital city but he places it 600 li to the west of Lan-po (Langhan), which again is 100 li to the north-west of Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahara). The French archaeologists locate the capital city Kapisa about 10

kilometres south of Charikar and about 60 kilometres north of modern Kabul. The distinguished Chinese envoy Wang-Houen-Tse, sent by the Emperor of China in 657 A. C. to offer robes at the Buddhist holy places, entered India by way of Nepal and after visiting Vaisali, Bodh Gaya and other sacred places returned to China through Kapisa by the Hindu Kush and Pamir route. Between 661-665 A. C. Kapisa appears to have become a province of the Empire of China.²²

Ptolemy mentions the ancient city of Kabul. On the modern road from Jelalabad, about 12 miles from Kabul, is a line of high mountains. Here are three vast amphitheatres, *viz.* Seh Topan, Kamari and Shevaki. Buddhist Kabul lay within these three amphitheatres. Nothing remains today of Buddhist Kabul except the deserted site with the ruins of a number of stupas and convents as at Nagarahara and Hidda. The sanctuaries and convents now discovered, although interesting from an architectural point of view, do not reveal any trace of decoration. Nevertheless Kabul was a holy city in Buddhist Afghanistan. It maintained about 30 convents. There exists even now outside the ancient city on a neighbouring hill a gigantic pillar which has resisted to our own days the destructive efforts alike of vandalism and earthquakes. It indicated in ancient times, to the inhabitants, the route of Nagarahara and India. This splendid pillar, known today as Minar Chakri or "Pillar of the Wheel", is constructed like the stupas in India—of identical material and technique. Its curious capital is now incomplete at the top, but it no doubt was surmounted by the Buddhist symbol, the Wheel of the Law, from which it derives its name.

We now come to the second group.

Hiuen Tsiang who visited Bamiyan, "situated in the midst of the snowy mountains", says that,

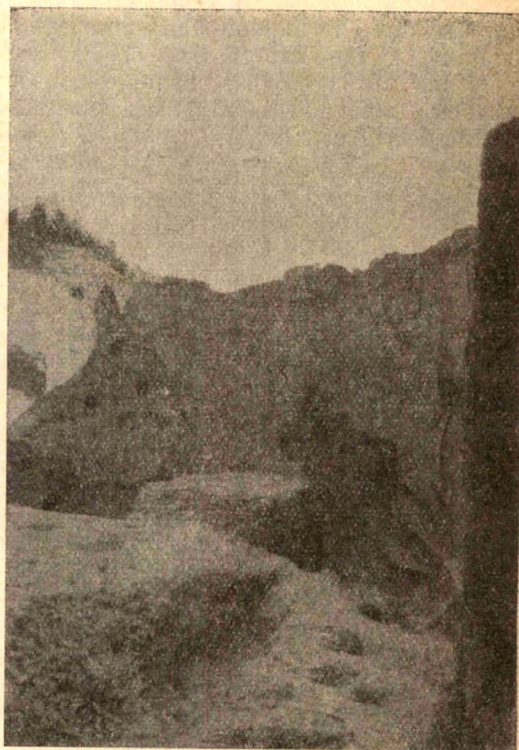
"It leans on a steep hill bordering on a valley 6 or 7 li in length.....These people are remarkable among all their neighbours, for a love of religion; from the highest form of worship to the three jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) down to the worship of the hundred spirits there is not the least absence of earnestness and the utmost devotion of heart.....There are 10 convents and about 1000 priests. They belong to the little Vehicle and the School of the Lokottaravadins."²³

The rock-hewn colossal figures of Buddha in Bamiyan are described in the ²⁴ Ain-i-Akbari and the Farhang-i-Jahangiri. Hiuen Tsiang writes, ^{23a}

"To the north-east of the Royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha erect in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness."

"To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Sakya Buddha, made of metallic stone in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together and thus placed in a completed form as it stands."

"To the east of the city 12 or 13 li there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position as when he attained Nirvana."



Bamiyan

Paintings decorating the niche of Seated Buddha

These colossal statues attracted the attention of British officers during the campaigns in Afghanistan. General Kaye, writing in 1879, says:

"On the opposite side of the valley from the great standing image, about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills. A short way up this there is a nearly insulated rock, on the first summit of which there is, in relief, a recumbent figure bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard."²⁵

The people call it Azdaha or dragon, slain by a Moslem saint!

The first Buddhist convent at Bamiyan was perhaps founded by the Emperor Kanishka. At this period Balkh was the Emporium of international trade and the centre of the three principal commercial arteries of Asia; on the west towards the Roman Empire, on the North-east towards China, on the South-east towards India. The site of the religious convents at Bamiyan was thus admirably chosen. The rich caravans and merchants journeying towards passes of the Hindukush on the Grand Trunk road from Bactria to India could not fail to stop at Bamiyan. In time the list of pious donors swelled and generations of artists laboured to add to the number and splendour of the sanctuaries of Bamiyan. The French archaeologists have established that from Taxila to Kabul there prevailed the same school of Buddhist art. They hold



Stupa in Buddhist Kabul

that the colossal statues of Bamiyan also belong to the same Indo-Greek School, but the decoration and plan of the grottoes and the paintings in the niches approximate to the architecture and paintings of the Buddhist sanctuaries of central Asia. In Bamiyan the sanctuaries are situated on rocks. As at Qyzyl, Bezekli, and Tuan-Huang in Serindia, they owe their origin to the need for shelter from the rigors of the climate. The valley of Bamiyan being at a very high altitude remains covered with snow for over six months in the year and is at all times swept by terrible storms from the north.

M. Godard says:

"The colossal statues of Buddha, two in standing position and three sitting, were sculptured in the niches of cliffs. They were then gilded so perfectly that Hiuen Tsiang in the VII century

believed that the Buddha 35 metres high was made of bronze. This statue was perhaps the first to be made. The body is too stout and short. The legs are attached to the body like props. The head is of monstrous size. The proportions of Buddha of 53 metres are much more happy. The body reposes harmoniously on the legs in a perpendicular line according to the style of Greek and Roman statues which served as models."²⁶

Madame Godard, who accompanied her husband in his journeys in that difficult country, has copied from the niches, above the heads of the Buddhas, some of the better preserved paintings. Her sketches and paintings are placed in the Afghanistan section of the Musée Guimet at Paris. We owe to this accomplished lady a debt of gratitude for her unique service to Indian art. The paintings in the niches, the major portion of which has, unfortunately, been destroyed, are the only ones now in existence between Ajanta in India and Central Asia. They are, judging from the copies in Paris, very interesting from the point of view of design, colouring and possible origin. They do not represent one school of art. They appear to be the work of several artists of different nations during the long centuries when Buddhism was the chosen religion of Afghanistan. Each artist, lay or ecclesiastical, passing through Bamiyan, where all civilizations then met, left a sample of his own skill and thus different schools of painting were more or less represented from the II century to the beginning of the VIII century after Christ, *i.e.*, up to the invasion of the Mussalmans.

Madame Godard says:—

"The paintings which decorate the niche of the Buddha 35 metres high contain portraits of divinities and of the donors in Sassanian coiffures. But of Sassanian art we at present know so little. The paintings of the niche of the Buddha 53 metres high are of superior art. They take us back to India by the warmth of their colour and the elegance of their design. They represent Yakshas, Genii of the air, accompanied by their wives carrying offerings, in flight towards the image of Buddha. A personage represented at the summit of a niche of one of the seated Buddhas irresistibly makes us think of a Byzantine Christ. Another representation is that of a Chinese, while a group, of which a few traces remain in a grotto of the valley of Kakrak near Bamiyan, is without doubt the work of an artist from Central Asia."

The first convents and sanctuaries at Bamiyan appear to have been constructed in the open air, but the monks were soon compelled to seek sheltered habitations. The cliffs were hewn and cut into innumerable convents and stairs made to connect them. There were however some convents which

were self-contained. Each one of these independent convents had a special stairway leading up to a gate which gave access to a large vestibule overlooking the Bamiyan valley. The vestibule was connected with a sanctuary and a large hall, probably used as the council chamber by the monks. There were passages which led to cells and store-rooms for the use of the monks. Interesting plans of a few out of the thousands of grottoes which riddled the hills of Bamiyan are now exhibited in Paris.

According to M. Godard :—

"The most ancient grottoes are to be found near the Buddha of 35 metres, at the level of the soil. Their architecture is very rudimentary and there is no decoration. The later grottoes become more perfect and ornate with first paintings and then sculpture, stage by stage, round the Buddha of 35 metres, then than round the seated Buddhas and lastly round the Buddha of 53 metres. It is here no doubt that the gigantic labour carried on for several centuries without cessation is at last terminated. In the beginning of the VIII century Arab hordes penetrated into Afghanistan. The Buddhist monks were massacred, hounded out or converted and their convents abandoned and destroyed."

The Buddhist town was supplanted by the Muslim city Shahr-i-Gholghola, "City of Sobs," situated on the other side of the Bamiyan Valley, almost facing the cliffs of the colossal Buddhas. This city and the citadel of Shahr-i-zohak were destroyed, in the XIII century, by the Mongols under Genghis, the Scourge of Islam.

In the Yusufzai country, forty miles north-east of Peshawar, is Shahbazgarhi on the site of an ancient Buddhist city, called by the Chinese pilgrims Po-lu-sha. The famous toleration Edict of the Emperor Asoka is inscribed on a rock near Shahbazgarhi in the Kharosthi script (Aramaic). The same Edict (No. XII) in Brahmi character was first discovered at Girnar in Kathiawad and was translated by the veteran French savant M. Senart, who holds the place of honour among orientalists. This Edict is as follows :—

"King Piyadasi, loved by the Devas, honours all sects, ascetics, and householders : he honours them by gifts and various modes of reverence. But the King, loved by the Devas, attaches less importance to these gifts and honours than to the desire to see the growth of moral virtues which constitutes the essential part. The growth of the essential foundation of all sects, it is true, implies diverse ways ; but for all there is one common way, which is restraint in speech, that is to say,

one should not exalt one's sect by disparaging the sects of others ; that one should not disparage for trivial reasons ; that on the contrary, one should on all occasions render to other sects the honour which is due to them. In thus acting one works for the progress of one's own sect, while doing at the same time service to the sects of others. He who exalts his own sect does so, no doubt, from attachment to his sect with the intention of glorifying it, but in so doing he on the contrary inflicts severe injuries on his own sect. That is why concord alone is good in the sense that all persons should listen and love to listen to one another's creeds. This, in effect, is the desire of the king, loved by the Devas, that all sects should be instructed and that they should profess their true doctrines.

All persons, whatever their faith, should be informed, that the king loved by the Devas attaches less importance to gifts and external reverence than to the desire to see the growth of the essential doctrines and respect of all sects. To obtain this result are employed the Censors of the Law of Piety ; the Censors of the women, the Inspectors and other corps of officials. And the fruit of it is the growth of one's own sect and the glorification of the Religion."²⁷

1. V. Smith : Early History of India, page 184.
2. Ashwaghosha Sermon, 54.
3. Alberuni's India, Vol. I, page 21.
4. Beale : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, XXX
5. 6. B. K. Sarkar : Chinese Religion through Hindu eyes, pages 181-182
7. Chavannes : Voyage de Song-Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhara.
8. Chavannes : Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident (Paris, 1894)
9. Beale : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 98.
10. V. Smith : Early History of India, p. 363.
11. Kern : Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, II, pp. 445, 543.
12. Stein : Geschichte der, C, ahis Von Kabul (Stuttgart, 1893).
13. O. Siren : La Sculpture Chinoise du V an XIV Siecle, 1926.
14. Recentes decouvertes en Afghanistan 1925, p. 12
15. J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII, pp. 492-8
16. Beale : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 91
17. Beale : Vol. I, p. 93
18. Recentes decouvertes en Afghanistan 1925, p. 15
19. Beale : Vol. I, pp. 95-97
20. Recentes decouvertes en Afghanistan, p. 17.
21. Beale : Vol. I, p. 54-55.
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INDIAN LIFE IN FIJI

By NISHI BHUSHAN MITTER,

Educational and Social Worker

THE Fiji Islands are situated between Australia and South America—the shortest distance from the Australian shores to Fiji is about 1,450 miles. The Fiji Group contains two large islands, viz, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, which are the most important ones, and also a few other smaller Islands. Viti Levu, which is more important than Vanua Levu is 87 miles long by 54 broad, containing 4, 112 sq. miles of surface. Suva, a sea-port, is the capital of the Fiji Group. Fiji is a hilly country with plenty of flat land for cultivation purposes. Vanua Levu, the second in size and importance, lies north-east of Viti Levu, the shortest distance from Viti Levu is 39 miles by sea. The length of Vanua Levu is 114 miles and the breadth is 20 miles, comprising 2, 128 sq. miles. The natives of Fiji are known as Fijians or Kaivitis, who are supposed to belong to the African Negro race.

Although there is no direct proof as to the origin of the Fijian race, but according to Fijian tradition, it is evident that they came by sea and landed in the islands a long time ago. No historical records of the Fijians are available prior to the arrival of the Europeans. The only clue that can be found as to the origin of this race, is gathered from their national songs, which show that they had sailed from a distant country in the Far West under the guidance of two chiefs named Latunasombasomba and Ndengei. After travelling through the sea for a long time by canoes, they were at last driven to the Fiji shores by a big hurricane. Since then they began to thrive in these islands. They were savage and cannibals prior to the advent of the Europeans. Abel Tasman, a famous Dutch sailor, discovered the islands in the year 1643. The next European visitor was Captain Cook, who passed the islands in the year 1769 and touched at Vatoa. In 1789, Captain Bligh passed Gasawa group and in 1792, he again visited the islands. Captain Wilson narrowly escaped from being wrecked off Tavenni coast in the year 1797.

There was no settled government in Fiji before the arrival of the Europeans. Each clan had its own chief to whom it paid homage. These chiefs were at constant war with one another. In the year 1750, there rose two more powerful states than the rest, viz, Verata and Rewa and each of them tried in vain for a long time to reign supreme over the other when a third state, Mban, made its appearance. Later on, Mban became the most powerful state in Viti Levu. The last King of this state was Thakomban. A few Europeans had already settled in the islands and in the year 1835 the Missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church began to preach Christianity amongst the Fijians. A certain Missionary Mr. Baker was baked and eaten up by the Fijians while working for his Mission. King Thakomban was opposed to Christianity for a long time but afterwards in the year 1854 he embraced Christianity and to-day the whole Fijian race is Christian.

However, it is not intended to go into all these details of the Fijian race. Details are given just to show how the administration of this country came into the hands of the British and how Indians were introduced to these Islands. After embracing Christianity King Thakomban found that his influence was gradually declining—war broke out with Rewa, who was joined by all the heathens of the South-East of Viti Levu, and during the many battles that followed Thakomban's power was shaken, when unfortunately the house of the American Consul was burnt and pillaged. Thereupon, the Government of the United States sent a bill to Thakomban for \$ 30,000 (£ 6,250) for damages. He could not pay this money. So when he was anticipating war with the United States, Maa fu, the Tougan chief (Tougo is an Island in the Pacific) landed at Rakiraki, with the intention of attacking him by marching overland to Mban. To escape these dangers from both hands he offered to cede the Islands to the British. So the then British Consul Mr. Pritchard prevented any war for the time being. In 1860, England sent Colonel Smythe to the Islands to explore.

He made an unfavourable report the next year. So the British Government refused Thakomban's offer. So at last he made an offer to the United States in utter despair but no definite reply was forthcoming on account of that country's being engaged in civil war at the time. Meanwhile the European population increased in the islands, most of them being engaged in cotton plantation. These European planters did all they could to prevent war in the interest of their own industry. But things went to worse for Thakomban—his debts increased to £ 85,000 and there was so much disorder everywhere that in 1873 he made a fresh offer to Great Britain for cession of the Group. But this time, the Colonies urged on Great Britain the annexation of the Fiji Islands to the Empire. In 1874 Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of New South Wales, was sent to Fiji to settle terms with Thakomban. On October 10, 1874, Thakomban and several other influential chiefs signed the deed of cession and the administration of the Fiji Group passed into the hands of the British and Fiji became a British Crown Colony. After the annexation, the British Government found that the labour question was the most important and difficult one for the opening up of the country. The Native Fijian would not suit the purpose, as he only works when he pleases. So it was found necessary to import labour from elsewhere. The first experiment in this direction was made from the Solomon Islands, but shortly afterwards, the Government of that country stopped further importation as it wanted to keep its own labourers. All schemes for the importation of foreign labour failed until it was arranged with the Government of India to supply a sufficient number of labourers from India annually and thus the abominable indenture system came into existence.

The horrors of the indenture system—oppression of the Indians—the Cooly Lines system—the demoralisation, etc., are only too well-known for repetition. When the author went to Fiji in the year 1914 in the post of Supreme Court Interpreter, he found the greatest of all constructive needs was the need of education amongst the Indians and felt strongly in his heart that only true education could give them relief in their sufferings. But the greatest drawback was want of proper leaders to guide them. As a Government servant he could not do much to help them. But however in 1914, Messrs C. F.

Andrews and the late W. W. Pearson went to Fiji to inquire into the condition of the Indians under the Indenture System. It is well-known with what indomitable courage, sacrifice and harculean labour these two great souls and true friends of India and of the poor, at last succeeded to have the abominable indenture system abolished. To-day, it is a thing of the past and our gratitude is due to these two heroes.

Messrs. Andrews and Pearson left the Island, the indenture system was abolished, but no call of educational work came to the writer during the three subsequent years. During the time he had the satisfaction of being able to have a bad humiliating railway law repealed—which he had to do at the risk of losing his Government post, which, however, did not occur. The law was that none but Europeans should be eligible to travel in the first class and that Indians, Fijians and all other races must travel in the second class (there being only two classes). This was the author's first important work in Fiji while in the Government service. Since then up to the present-day everybody has been allowed to travel in the first class compartments irrespective of colour or race.

In the year 1917, Mr. Andrews paid a second visit to Fiji. This time he went to open schools for the education of the Indian children. The longed-for call came now and the writer had to sacrifice his Government post with its prospects and pension, etc., to keep his promise to Mr. Andrews to take up educational work as his life-work. Two schools were started and the author took charge of one of them as Head-master and continued until three years later, when he was compelled to resign for want of funds. During this time he started the "Indian Association of Fiji" and the "Indian Labour Federation of Fiji." These organisations were the first of their kind and the author was the President-founder of both the organisations. He got Government recognition for both of them and applied to the New Zealand Labour Federation for affiliation with their organisation, to which they gladly consented.

The Indian Association and the Fiji Indian Labour Federation did splendid work to better the conditions of the Indians there. The author received substantial help in his work for the Indian Association from many quarters—and he wishes to mention some of them with gratitude: Indian, Overseas

Association; England, Labour Federation; New Zealand, Womens' Association, and Women's Service Guild; Australia; the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay and many others.

From what has been known of Fiji and the condition of the Indians prevailing there up to the present time, one will at once ask the question, whether Fiji will remain the home of the emigrated Indians and will form in the future a part of Greater India or it will be wiped clean of the Indians at some future date. If it is the latter, there is an end of the question—the Indians there can safely be left to themselves to take care of their own affairs until that time arrives. But if the former, then there is some food for serious thought. From the author's own experience he feels at heart that Fiji will never wipe out the Indians and therefore will remain the home of the emigrated Indians and will form in the future a part of Greater India. He, therefore, wishes to discuss the problem of Fiji as briefly as possible. The problems of Fiji are:—

(I) It has an Indian population of about 60,000, mostly ex-indentured Indian immigrants and their children. Considering its climatic and other conditions, it makes a splendid home for the Indians.

(II) It has a Government which is merely an instrument in the hands of the mighty capitalistic monarch—the C. S. R. Co. for all practical purposes.

(III) The native Fijian being the owners of almost all agricultural lands, the Government cannot provide land to the Indians. Lease of land is granted by them to the Indians on payment of heavy bribes—the Government cannot control the situation. Owing to the difficulty in procuring suitable land for agricultural purposes, the Indians are compelled to swallow the C. S. R. Co.'s bait by accepting land from them at the cost of their freedom. The agreement that is usually made between the C. S. R. Co. and the Indian tenant is nothing but a little improved form of the contract that existed in the indentured days. By this contract the Indian tenant binds himself to work for the Company whenever he is asked to do so. Since the abolition of the indenture system the C. S. R. Co. has gradually pursued this course to meet its labour demand and this practice alone has helped it to preserve its existence. On the other hand, the Indians that accept land from the Company on such

terms, cannot thrive well, but always remain poor depending on the C. S. R. Co.'s employment. This offer of land to the Indians is so nicely and cleverly done in its outward appearance that it dazzled even our friend Mr. MacMillan who was sent to Fiji about two years ago by the Y. M. C. A. of New Zealand to work amongst the Indians there for their upliftment. He was so much touched with the assumed magnanimity of the C. S. R. Co. on account of this offer that he spoke and gave publication to his appreciation of the offer in laudatory terms and also advised the Indians to help in removing the bar to fresh emigration. This is an instance to show how cleverly the C. S. R. Co. does its business.

(IV) Want of educational facilities—The Government has provided only one Government School for the Indians, which was only about eight years ago, and it grants aid to a few private schools. There are Christian Mission Schools where Indian scholars are admitted but the educational system there as well as in the Government School is so defective that a drastic change is vitally necessary. The need for more extended facilities is so great that one is inclined to call it the greatest need of all. The education that is given to-day to the Fiji-born Indian children is fundamentally wrong. The evil effect of such education is quite apparent in the present-day Fiji-born youths, who are considered even by their parents a worthless for any useful purposes. These youths are quite unfit and unable to help their parents in their agricultural business and at the same time, no kind of office work is available to them. The present-day educational system makes them such creature that they cannot earn their own livelihood and do not come of any use to anybody. The Board of Education of the Fiji Government has quite overlooked the fact that the Indian population of Fiji is entirely an agricultural community. So it commits the greatest blunder in thinking that the curriculum for the European Schools was quite suitable for the Indian Schools as well. It was owing to the controversy regarding this question between the Minister of education and the author while acting as Headmaster of Andrews School, Nadi, that he refrained from accepting any grant from the Government for over twelve months when the same was offered to him at £50 per annum. At last when at the end of that period, he was

allowed to have his own curriculum he accepted it. Of course, this was only a temporary measure and it lasted as long as he was in the school. It is very strange indeed that although the Minister of Education admitted that the author was right in his views in respect of this question and said that the old curriculum was drawn up at a time when there was no question of Indian education in the Colony and that he would see that a suitable curriculum was prepared for the Indian Schools as soon as opportunity would present itself; still nothing has been done yet—though a long period of eight or nine years has elapsed since then. It is in matters like this, that a little effort can achieve substantial and invaluable results. It could have been possible to make such effort if the Indians were represented in the Legislative Council or in the Board of Education, or if there were sufficient educated Indian leaders amongst the community who could bring pressure on the Board or the Government. But unfortunately they do not exist. It is, therefore, strongly recommended that the prevailing system of Indian education should be drastically changed and in its place, a suitable curriculum should be prepared providing necessary technical courses, in view of the fact that the Indians of Fiji are entirely agriculturists.

(V) Want of Medical Aid—There is great need for medical aid for the Indians in Fiji. This has been so truly described in Messrs. Andrews and Pearson's joint report that it is not necessary to describe it here. Of course, things have much improved since then. The writer would like to point out in this connection how the Australian Women's Associations helped the Indian cause in Fiji. A letter received by the author from Mrs. Bennet, Hon. Secretary to "The Committee of Enquiry into the Social and Moral conditions of Indian Women in Fiji," which is composed of about 50 combined Australian Women's Societies, is given below:—

2 Sirius Flats Clemorne Road,
Clemorne, Sydney N. S. W. 4. 5. 21

DEAR MR. MITTER,

Miss Priest gave me your address quite some time ago and asked me to write to you as a Fellow Theosophist, but I never get the time somehow as I wanted always to write at length and my social work keeps me busy. Miss Priest and Miss Dixon will have told you that I am Hon. Sec. to "The Committee of Enquiry into the Social and Moral Conditions of Indian Women in Fiji" which is composed of about 50 combined Australasian Women's Societies. We sent Miss Garham to Fiji

to enquire into conditions following on Mr. Andrews' report of same and upon her return asked the Fijian Government for certain reforms, one of which was the appointment of a woman (Medical) at the Government Hospitals to attend principally to Indian women and have been successful in getting Dr. Mildred Staley appointed to Leva Hospital. I am writing now to ask if you will give me your individual ideas and opinion of the situation in Fiji re the strike and conditions generally. You may speak absolutely freely to me as a Theosophist. I shall not use your information in any way officially or quote you but allow wisdom to guide me just how to help better conditions.

I have recently seen some Fijian papers with accounts of the strike and see that a commission has been appointed which includes Mr. Pillay. I like Theo. D. Riaz better. In one paper he sounds fair and a humanitarian, do you know him? He lives at Tawaran and sounds as if he should be on that commission.

If you have a chance of meeting Dr. Staley do take it, as she is in full sympathy with the Indians and is a keen educationalist. She was about 7 years in Lahore at Lady Aitcheson Hospital (R. M. D.) 9 years at the Women's Hospital, Delhi, some years in Malay, in fact, has devoted her life to the work of alleviation and education among the Indians except what time she was doing war work in France, Salonica, Syria and Palestine. She is not a Theosophist but an understanding humanitarian. I think you may be able to help her as she will not understand conditions just at first—she is staying at a Hotel and I hear is going to urge for dispensaries to be built in the town as the Indians will not go to the hospital. Of course, Dr. Staley is a Government Servant and will not be able to speak very freely, but I think it will not be difficult for her to cope with conditions.

I shall be so glad to hear from you.

With all good wishes
Yours Fraternally
(Mrs.) H. F. BENNETT.

But unfortunately the Fiji Government dispensed with Dr. Staley's services a couple of years after her appointment.

(VI) Franchise—The Indians do not enjoy franchise right, either Legislative or Municipal, though they pay rates. There has been talk of extending to them franchise right and to give them three elected members in the Legislative Council but still it is all in the air.

(VII) Poll-Tax—The abominable Poll Tax Ordinance has been passed against the united protests of the whole Indian community and also against protests from many European quarters. By this Act every male person in the family, ranging from 16 to 50 years of age, has to pay one pound sterling per annum. The rigours of this Poll-Tax have been most acutely felt by the Indian community.

(VIII) Moral Degradation—The moral degradation amongst the Indians has been

most pathetic. Much has been said and recorded in the report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson about the demoralization of the Indians in Fiji. It is of utmost importance to take immediate steps to raise their moral standard.

(IX) Want of Leaders.—The need for proper leaders is very great. The Indian community having been deceived many times by self-interested leaders in the past, it has become difficult now for earnest and sincere workers to get their confidence. The people are very often misguided by selfish persons who assume leadership for the time being to meet their selfish ends. This makes things worse.

(X) Absence of Unity.—Unity is lacking amongst the Indians in Fiji. Every self-styled leader carries his own men with him and is constantly at war with other similar leaders and their men. It is very difficult to get things done by united action.

There are other problems, but they are of less importance. Amongst those that have been mentioned already, the author would lay special stress on education and moral upliftment. These two are the crying need of the moment and on them depend the salvation of sixty thousand Indians. It is of utmost importance that public bodies or some philanthropic society should give the lead in this direction in order to produce the desired result. The Y. M. C. A. of New Zealand has recently sent their Secretary Mr. MacMillan to work amongst the Indians in Fiji. When the author first met him, just after his arrival in the island, he was quite satisfied when he discussed his plan of work with the author, but later, on the eve of his departure from Fiji he was surprised to see the change in his angle of vision, which no doubt was caused by the magic influence of the C. S. R. Co. To the author it was a great pity to find him thus changed.

Then there is the question of raising the moral standard of the Indian people; much of it will be accomplished with the introduction of the true spirit of education. But propaganda work in this direction will immensely improve the conditions. From the author's experience he feels, that nothing else will produce a better result than placing a living moral ideal in the every day life of the reformers themselves, in the midst of the Indian community of Fiji. On other problems, the author does not wish to suggest anything here. The Indians of Fiji

are powerless to solve these two difficult problems by themselves, therefore, they look to India for help in this direction. But unfortunately India has not yet extended her helping hand to them. During the author's eleven years' stay and propaganda work in Fiji he has so often cried for help for his unfortunate countrymen there—but he has invariably found that all his cries and appeals have proved to be cries in the wilderness. Our public leaders were always so deeply absorbed in their struggle for Swaraj that they had no time to listen to the sufferings of thousands and thousands of our poor, helpless countrymen abroad. They have always given us to understand that the Indians abroad must undergo patiently all their sufferings until Swaraj is won at home—it does not matter if that comes to happen after a century or more. But alas! these leaders could not be convinced that if they had given only five minutes' time from every hour of their Swaraj work towards the service of the Indians abroad, at least half of their miseries would have been ended by this time. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, our distinguished leader, visited Fiji at a time when the Government of that country was seriously thinking of introducing the notorious Poll-Tax Bill in the Legislative Council. He made eloquent speeches on equal status for the Indians. The European population listened to his speeches with interest, admired his oratorical powers, but laughed in their sleeves for his advocacy of equal status for those whom they knew to be helots in that country. The Indians of Fiji also felt that it was like striving to arrange a princely mansion for a starving beggar in the street. Mr. Sastri's visit was at the time when the Indian labourers' wages was reduced from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 6d. per diem and shortly after he left the shores of Fiji the Government passed the Poll-Tax Ordinance. The author does not mean to say that Mr. Sastri's visit did no good—it might have done some good in other directions but it did no good at all to redress the grievances of thousands of our poor countrymen abroad. The author would be misunderstood if he were thought to be criticising his distinguished leader's memorable tour—He simply mentions this instance to show the mentality and lack of understanding of the true problems of Indians abroad, on the part of our leaders. He can confidently say that with the trouble that

Mr. Sastri took, and the money that was spent on his famous tour, he could have done immense good to our long forgotten countrymen abroad, if he had cared to do so by directing his activities in the right direction. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson's joint report on Fiji was published in 1915 in which the horrors of the Indenture system and of the treatment meted out to the Indians there were vividly described. But it is only too well known that none else but that noble-souled man—Mr. C. F. Andrews who had nobly begun that philanthropic work and later a few other followers of his, have been patiently continuing that work—already achieving considerable results. Although the civilized world was shocked at the horrors of the Indenture system that was described in that memorable report, it failed to wake sufficiently our public leaders from their slumber and indifference in respect of the sufferings of our unhappy countrymen

abroad. Later on, every appeal from them for help was answered with, "you must fight your own battles single-handed until Swaraj is won at home." This has been the unfortunate position. Could our national leaders and philanthropic bodies afford to help them to rise from the depths of their miseries and deplorable condition? They will do well, if they do; the cost of it is not too great considering the fact that on it depends largely the welfare and the salvation of thousands and thousands of our forgotten and suffering countrymen abroad and at some future date India will look with pride to these far off Colonies where a sturdy, brave and intelligent community of the Indian race will live with contentment and peace and will proudly proclaim mother India's glory to the other nations of the world. Let us all strive with our organised efforts to make this dream a reality. May, God, help us. *

* Read before the *Greater India Society*.

THE MONETARY STANDARD AND THE BATTLE OF THE RATES

By PROF. J. C. DAS GUPTA, M. A.

THE question of a sound monetary standard has been one of the vexed problems of Indian Economics; no less than five expert commissions have been appointed, in little more than 30 years, 'to examine and report on the Indian Currency and Exchange System', and yet even to-day it can hardly be said that we have reached our goal.

The reason for this strange phenomenon is not far to seek. If India were isolated from the rest of the world she might adopt any currency system she chose, and take no thought of the monetary systems of other countries, but in point of fact, she has extensive trade relations with gold standard countries and has further to remit millions of pounds annually on account of what are known as 'Home Charges'. It is, therefore, of fundamental importance to India's economic welfare that her currency system should be brought into line with that of the great trading countries of the world. And this is

why Indian opinion has been unanimous in its demand for a gold standard. A solution so simple as this has unfortunately never recommended itself to the currency authorities of the country.

Centuries of monetary experience show that a steady bimetallic ratio is incapable of achievement, but this has been the line of experiments in the Indian Currency System. A glance at the history of the evolution of the currency system of India will make it abundantly clear that a lack of appreciation of the fundamental difficulties of maintaining a stable ratio of exchange between countries with entirely dissimilar monetary systems lies at the root of most of India's currency ills. Bimetallism was the first system that came in for trial. It failed to work satisfactorily because of the relative depreciation of gold in terms of silver. Attempts were next made to raise the value of gold by suspending its coinage in India. These ex-

periments also met with no better success, and the Court of Directors decided to place India on a monometallic silver standard. The thorny problem of Indian exchanges continued, however to be as complex as ever; for, in addition to the ordinary causes of exchange fluctuations, there were changes in the relative values of gold and silver to be taken into account. The problem assumed such a serious turn about the seventies of the last century, on account of a long-continued Indian decline in the gold value of silver, that the Government were compelled to ask for foreign aid to help them to settle the silver question. It was only after the failure of the international conferences that the Herschell Commission was appointed to make recommendations whereby Indian exchanges might be stabilised. Convinced of the evils of the silver standard this Commission recommended the closing of the mints to the coinage of silver and the establishment of a gold standard in India. The rise and fall of the rupee exchange continued even after the closing of the mints, and it became necessary to re-examine the situation and to devise ways of establishing the gold standard more firmly. The Fowler Committee was, therefore, appointed in 1898 to examine the whole question. This Committee submitted a report pronouncedly in favour of the establishment of a gold standard in India. They recommended that the Indian mints should be thrown open to the coinage of gold and that the British sovereign should be adopted as the standard coin for India. The rupee was, in other words, to be reduced to the position of a token coin, related to the sovereign at the rate of 15 to 1. Progress to the standard thus chalked out became impossible partly because of the British Treasury opposition to the Indian Mint project but mainly because of the numerous restrictions placed on Indian imports of gold, and the Indian Currency System developed along lines which were never contemplated by the Committees of 1893 and 1898. Under the new system, evolved by executive action, silver continued to form as before the medium of exchange and its value remained liable to violent oscillations in terms of commodities of internal importance, though its value for foreign trade purposes was artificially established by the Government by means of reserves of gold and silver. Based on a number of administrative practices which might be

suspended at pleasure the system hardly deserved the dignified name of 'Gold Exchange Standard' conferred on it by its sponsors. The various defects of this currency system, its liability to manipulation by the Government, its want of elasticity, its tendency to inflate the price level, its complexity and its dependence on a steady price of silver, are now too well-known to need repetition. It will be sufficient to say that the Chamberlain Commission, who went into ecstasies over the suitability of the Gold Exchange Standard to countries like those of India, were constrained to recognise some of the defects of the system, e. g., sale of council bills at unduly low rates. The Babington Smith Committee, though precluded by the terms of their reference from considering alternative standards of currency, condemned artificial movements of exchange which this system involved, and the Royal Commission, after devoting full five pages to an exposition of the numerous evils of the system, have proposed to place India on a new standard.

To come now to the Gold Bullion standard which the Royal Commission have recommended for India. It is a new idea in currency evolution. 'The War', the Commission observe in their report, 'has taught Europe to do without gold coins', and modern nations have begun to understand today that a gold standard is not so much dependent on an internal circulation of gold coins as on the possession of strong and adequate reserves of gold. In consonance with this idea, the commission lay down that gold coins in circulation are not essential to the establishment of a gold standard in India; that the internal medium of circulation should consist, as at present, of the rupee and the rupee-note, and that the currency authority of the country should build up a strong gold reserve to secure the unconditional convertibility of all forms of internal currency into gold. Thus it is that though gold is neither to be minted nor to be used as currency the commission hold that 'no favourable opportunity of fortifying the gold holding in the reserve should be allowed to escape.'

The gold exchange standard was at its best one calculated to maintain the parity of the external value of the rupee, little or no attention was bestowed on stabilising the value of the rupee for purposes of internal trade. The rupee was for internal purposes an inconvertible note printed on silver. Under

the new system which the commission propose, this duality in the character of the rupee is done away with; the rupee will be convertible into gold not only for external purposes but also for internal purposes. The imposition, for this purpose, of a statutory obligation on the currency authority to buy and sell gold at rates determined with reference to a fixed gold parity of the rupee is perhaps the most fundamental of all the changes which the commission have proposed. Other changes of a far-reaching character have indeed been proposed, but they are without exception such as to render the assumption of the new responsibility a practical proposition.

In the first place, to overcome the threat to the currency system inherent in the possibility of a rise in the price of silver the commission recommend that the paper currency should cease to be convertible by law into silver coin, and that the

'Currency authority should be free to determine the form of legal tender money to be supplied, though all reasonable demands of the public for metallic currency should in practice be met' (paras 69-73).

Secondly, they lay down that

'The coinage of silver rupees should be stopped for a long time to come, until the amount of silver rupees in circulation is reduced to the amount required for small change; and thirdly, they propose that the currency authority should reintroduce one-rupee notes, which should be unlimited legal tender, but which should not be convertible by law into silver rupees.'

With these changes, the way will be clear, as the commission point out, for the much-needed unification of the Paper Currency and the Gold Standard Reserves. The functions of these two reserves have never been clearly demarcated. Nor has any attempt ever been made to establish a definite relation between the total volume of internal currency and the amount of the reserves. There is, in consequence, a great lack of elasticity in the Indian system of note-issue. The Commissioners therefore propose that the two reserves should be united and that the proportions and composition of the combined reserve should be fixed by statute. Finally, attention must be drawn to the fact that the commissioners have with great ability visualised the need for the establishment of a Central Bank in India to co-ordinate her currency and credit operations. The obligation on the Central Bank to maintain the value of the internal currency makes it necessary, as the Report

indicates, that the Central Bank should also be entrusted with the remittance operations of the Government.

No useful purpose will be served by denying that the Gold Bullion Standard thus outlined is a decided improvement on the apology for a standard that India had up to 1917. An adoption of the system will place India on an automatic currency system free from the manipulations of the Government, it would enable her to acquire gold freely to serve as the basis of her monetary system, and finally it holds out the hope, dim though it may be, that India may one day by means of her Central Bank even obtain a hand in the co-ordination of world financial policy.

So far then all is well. Let us turn next to "practical politics," and see whether the proposed Gold Bullion Standard offers any certain prospect of guiding our monetary course in future.

It may be true, as has been suggested, that a real gold standard with a gold currency is unattainable for the present, and that a sudden dethronement of the rupee, apart from being a menace to the monetary reconstruction of Europe, may not be desirable even from the standpoint of India's own interests; but it is difficult to understand why the adoption of the proposed standard needs to be postponed for another five years. For five long years the Indian Currency authority may, according to the Time Table in the Report, continue to sell either gold or gold exchange in return for internal currency, and there can be little doubt that full advantage will be taken of the option thus left to sell not gold but gold exchange. The past currency history of the country inclines people in India to think that non-interference with the free inflow of gold into India, a condition of cardinal importance for the establishment of the proposed standard may not be fulfilled. It is important to remember further, as Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas hints, that with exchange fixed at the comparatively high level of 1s. 6d., one or two lean years in the course of the coming five might so deplete the gold resources of the Government as to make the appointment of a fresh commission desirable. All the valuable recommendations of the Royal Commission may thus come to naught.

An excessive degree of attention seems to have been bestowed upon the need for the 'monetary reconstruction of Europe.' One

is naturally inclined to ask, has Europe any legitimate claims on India's magnanimity? Did European countries consider for a moment the adverse effect on India of demonetisation of silver by them? Everyone knows that India was left to shift for herself as best as she could. And are European countries now so weak as to be unable to look to their own currency interests if they are adversely affected? Have they arrived at any agreement for a fair and equitable distribution of the world's gold supplies? Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas's remarks on this subject are singularly apposite. He observes:—

'If at any stage an international agreement should be framed for the economical distribution of the world's gold supplies,.....India would be prepared to exercise self-denial in her gold requirements in proportion to that of other countries whose currency reserves were parallel to those of our own.'

He adds that

'The co-operation of these other countries, either with each other or with India, is however, neither assured nor within sight :...each pursuing its own individualistic policy.'

It will be clear, from what has been said that an amount of self-sacrifice in the matter of gold absorption is being demanded of India which no other country in the world is doing.

It must be observed, in the next place, that it is extremely doubtful if we can force India's pace in the domain of her currency system. The Gold Bullion Standard, implying as it does a lavish use of paper currency, is likely to create grave suspicions in the minds of the public. If civilised countries with experience of gold coins in circulation and with confidence in the stability of their currency systems have not yet been so far able to get rid of their attachment for gold as to adopt the ideal standard, namely, paper backed by gold, it is idle to expect that India with a population of whom 93% are illiterate, and with banking still in its infancy, would be suddenly so far revolutionised as to be ready for this step without passing through the intermediate stage of gold coins in circulation.

It is difficult further to hold with the Commission the view that while the Gold Exchange Standard was unintelligible this new standard will be simple and attractive to the people, and that 'it will give the people confidence in the stability of their currency'. The Gold Bullion Standard is a gold standard so concealed and carefully circumscribed that the change under the new

system in the character of the rupee will be little, if at all, understood by the mass of the people. To understand this one has only to remember that it is a system which makes the convertibility of the rupee depend on the demand for gold bars of the weight of 400 ounces.

Whatever the value of the recommendations of the Report, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that success depends on the adoption of the Report as a whole. Piecemeal action upon isolated recommendations has rendered many a valuable currency commission report infructuous in India. It remains to be seen how far a different procedure is adopted in the present case, but it may be observed that the recent attempt to single out one solitary recommendation for legislative recognition is not one calculated to raise high hopes in the country.

To turn now to the important question of the probable reactions of the proposed 1 s. 6d. rate on India's best interests. The central fact of cardinal importance with regard to this problem is the finding out of the point where prices and wages are in adjustment. The search for this point is bound to be largely illusory in a country like India where sufficient statistical material for such a study is not available. The proof of adjustment based on index numbers, speaking of which the Finance Member said in his evidence that he was not sure what value was to be attached to them, can hardly be regarded as conclusive. The Indian Chambers of Commerce are of opinion that prices and wages are still adjusted in a preponderant degree to the 1s. 4d. rate. If this assumption is correct, all the disadvantages enumerated by Mr. Birla must be held to be substantially true. The adoption of the 1 s. 6 d. rate will, in other words, involve: concealed increase of taxation, unnecessary and unwarranted increase in the remuneration of highly paid Government officials, the payment of a bounty to the foreign manufacturer, the infliction of a heavy burden on the agriculturist due to heavier incidence of land revenue and enhancement of the load at least of his long-term debts and a serious set-back to the cause of the much-needed development of Indian industries. If, on the other hand, prices and wages are adjusted, as the protagonists of the sixteen pence rupee allege, to 1 s. 6 d. rate, the evil effects of any attempt to alter the ratio must be, as Sir Basil

Blackett points out, an era of fluctuating exchanges, increased taxation, higher prices, rising railway rates, continuance of the system of provincial contributions and an undesirable and artificial reduction in the wages of labour. The lack of clear and definite proofs of adjustment makes it impossible to arrive at any definite estimate of the losses or gains involved.

We cannot however afford to lose sight of certain fundamental principles which are apt to be forgotten in the heat of the controversy. The first of these is that the 1s. 6 d. rate has now been in existence for about two years and it cannot in any circumstance be now urged that there has been no adjustment of prices and wages to this rate. The second is that there is danger at present of the phrase "12½%, etc., passing into a "catchword." Adjustment is continuous, and neither the gains of the importer nor the losses of the exporter can for long be as high as 12½%. Thirdly, it has to be observed that agricultural prices are undoubtedly even today much higher than what they used to be in pre-war days, and the existing rate of exchange cannot be regarded as having inflicted intolerable burdens on the agricultural community. Fourthly, it deserves to be made clear that rising prices are a doubtful boon to the bulk of the agriculturists in India. India is primarily a land of small agriculturists, millions of them serve as day-labourers to eke out their means of livelihood, they do not have any surpluses to sell and are none the better for a rise in prices. Indeed, it has often been held that the middleman and the foreign exporter are the only two classes who derive considerable advantage from a rise in prices. The large class of people who make their living by serving as field labourers, farm servants and growers of commercial crops lose heavily when prices rise. Fifthly, it must be noted that while no rate can be of permanent advantage or disadvantage to India,

the process of adjustment, however rapid, must be very painful for the Indian industries; for it is a widely admitted fact that wages in India do not fall with a fall in prices. Low priced imports may, in the period of transition, seriously damage Indian industries. The effect on cotton manufactures, one of India's greatest industries, may in particular be serious.

The main lesson that emerges from a study of the history of Indian currency and exchange is that the fixing of the rate of exchange at a particular point is not of overwhelming importance for India. Ours is a country whose internal trade is many times greater in value than her external trade. Stability of internal prices is, therefore, more important for us than stability in exchange. A moderate degree of fluctuation in rates of exchange is beneficial to India in so far as it mitigates the range of variations in internal prices. Too much should not, therefore, be made of India's need of stability in exchange. When other countries are trying to bring back their exchanges to the pre-war ratio, there should have been no undue hurry on the part of the Government of this country to stabilise her currency by artificial methods at a point higher than the pre-war level.

To bring our survey to a close now. To me it appears that attainment of a real gold standard in the domain of economics must be as slow as the other, namely, progress to Self-Government in the sphere of politics. We need not, however, be unduly pessimistic: there is a silver lining behind the darkest cloud. European countries are slowly waking up to the potentialities of a regenerated India—they are realising that a prosperous India will offer for them one of the best markets, and the day may not be distant when they will themselves agitate for an assimilation of the Indian Currency System to that of theirs.

MYSTERY

God shaped a flower through
centuries of plan
And ages of long labour—

And broke it goldly through
the earth for man,
His very ancient neighbour.

Through centuries of pain He
made a flower
With so much wonder in it;
But with it he gave man
the mournful power
Of murdering that flower
within a minute.

HARINDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

I

THE GROWTH OF MEMORY

IT is impossible to fix definitely the age from which memory has a continuous and connected growth. It must necessarily differ among individuals just as the faculty of memory varies greatly in keenness between individuals. I have seen a child of a little over three years of age talking quite coherently and reminiscently of incidents that he had noticed six months or even a year ago. That boy may or may not turn out to be a prodigy. Probably the average age to which the memory can turn back is five years and beyond that is the blur of early infancy. It has also occurred to me that the average child has a keen sense of the ludicrous and the earliest recollection sometimes is of ludicrous incidents.

THE MEMORY OF DREAMS

Dreams, however vivid, are usually forgotten, but it is a curious fact that some dreams are always remembered. I remember three dreams that I had, the first at the age of six, the second at the age of eight and the third at the age of thirteen. Every detail of these three dreams is as fresh as an occurrence of yesterday. I state the bare fact, but I cannot suggest any explanation of this freak of memory.

DINABANDHU MITRA

My father Mathuranath Gupta was a member of the Bengal Provincial Judicial Service and as such was transferred from one district to another periodically. The greater portion of his service was spent in Behar. Between 1872 and 1874 we were living at Arrah. Dinabandhu Mitra, the well-known Bengali dramatist, who was a Superintendent of Post Offices, came to Arrah on a tour of inspection. He called on my father one morning and was invited to dinner the same evening. Dinabandhu Mitra was a slender, alert-looking man, wearing a *chapkan* and trousers, and a gold braided cap,

set jauntily at an angle on the head. The dinner was in English style and though we children were not admitted either into the drawing or the dining room, we kept hanging round, peeping in occasionally when we could do so undetected. Much of the conversation, which was practically monopolised by Dinabandhu Mitra, was over our heads; but the distinguished writer kept the other guests in roars of laughter by his sallies of wit and his mimicry of Oriya speech.

SWAMI DAYANANDA SARASWATI

It was also at Arrah that I saw Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the renowned Sanscrit scholar and reformer, and founder of the Arya Samaj. He was staying at the garden house of the Maharaja of Dumraon. I knew very little about the Swami, but prompted by boyish curiosity went one afternoon, accompanied by a peon, to the Dumraon garden house. Swami Dayananda was standing in the verandah. He was wearing only a loin cloth and had just finished his daily exercise. Two Indian clubs, which he had evidently been using, stood in a corner. The Swami did not then speak Hindi fluently—formerly he spoke only Sanscrit—but he put some questions to the peon, asked me one or two, and patted me on the head. He was a stout, well-built man of medium height, with a big head and a round face shaved clean. There was a lecture by the Swami the same evening in the hall in our school. As the hall was quite full, a number of little boys, including myself, waited outside watching the people coming in. Presently Swami Dayananda came in, wearing white clothes and a white turban and escorted by a number of people. We looked at the crowd a little while longer and then quietly went home. Later on in life I have seen the splendid work done by Swami Dayananda Saraswati in the Punjab. In Bengal the Brahmo Samaj movement arrested the wholesale conversion of Bengalis to Christianity at a time when orthodox Hinduism was losing its hold on young Bengalis educated in

schools and colleges conducted by Christian missionaries. Similarly in the Punjab Swami Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj at a critical time when educated Punjabis were embracing the Christian faith in constantly increasing numbers. I shall have a great deal more to say on this subject in another place.

TALES OF THE MUTINY

The house in which we lived at Arrah originally belonged to Babu Kumar Singh, the well-known leader of the Indian Mutiny in Behar. He was a big zemindar of Jagadispur in the Arrah district and was an old man over seventy years of age when the Mutiny broke out. Behar was so far away from the real storm centre of the mutiny that there was no likelihood of Babu Kumar Singh joining it if he had not been embittered by a personal grievance against the Bengal Government. It was in a fit of exasperation that he cast his lot with the mutineers and raised the standard of revolt at Arrah. Babu Kumar Singh was heavily indebted and applied to the Government for a loan to pay off his debts. The Government could have easily accommodated him and realised the amount with interest from the large revenue of the landed property of Babu Kumar Singh. The Collector of Shahabad, the district of which Arrah is the headquarters, recommended the loan but the Board of Revenue refused to help Babu Kumar Singh, who was then approached by an emissary of the rebels and was easily won over by them. So astonishing were the energy and vigour displayed by this aged Rajput in spite of his weight of years that Lord Canning declared that it was lucky for the Government that Kumar Singh was not younger by thirty or forty years when he joined the Mutiny. When we were at Arrah barely fourteen years had passed after the Mutiny and the memory of those stormy days was fresh. I was quite familiar with the quaint Bhojpuri dialect spoken in the districts of Shahabad, Saran and Gorakhpur, and I was never tired of listening to the stirring tales of the Mutiny from the servants and the bazar people. The two-storeyed house in which a few Europeans had defended themselves with the devoted help of a handful of Sikhs was just across the road behind our house. We were shown the ditch in which the mutineers lay in ambush for the relieving detachment of

troops from Dinapur under Captain Dunbar and slaughtered the troops almost to the last man. One of our servants, who was a lad of about twenty when the Mutiny broke out at Arrah, was actually caught in mistake for a mutineer and was about to be hung on the nearest tree when there was a sudden alarm of an attack by the mutineers and in the confusion the lad escaped. Snatches of songs heard in the days of the Mutiny were still sung. There was one inspired by intense local patriotism beginning *Jagat mein Jagadishpur Sahar mein Sasseram re* (there is no place in the world like Jagadispur and no town like Sasseram). The *mahalla* in which Kumar Singh's house was situated was called Babubazar after him, and there was a song about the street-fighting in front of the house: *ham na jainhon Babubaxaria tegoan ki ghansam re* (I shall not go to Babubazar because the swords there are as thick as the clouds). Most enthusiastic were the stories about Amar Singh, a young brother of Babu Kumar Singh. The people of Arrah spoke of Amar Singh as another Bayard of chivalry, *sans peur et sans reproche*. He was in the habit of neglecting his position and family, and wandering about in the company of Sadhus. But the Mutiny made him a hero and his dash and elan in every fight were recounted with epic fervour. According to every account that I heard Amar Singh performed prodigies of valour, and escaped to Nepal when the Mutiny was over. The exploits of Amar Singh so impressed my youthful imagination that several years later I wrote a story in Bengali of the Mutiny bearing his name. This book was translated in Hindi at Patna.

SYED AMIR ALI

A few months before we left Arrah Syed Amir Ali, who had just been called to the Bar, came to Arrah in connection with some property belonging to his deceased brother, who was a Deputy Magistrate. Mr. Amir Ali was a frequent visitor at our house and often came in to dinner. I became his favourite and he told us many stories about the English and French people. I remember in particular how horrified I was when Mr. Amir Ali told me that the French ate cutlets made from the legs of frogs and deemed them a great delicacy. He spoke mostly in English but when we could not follow him he would explain in Hindustani.

He usually wore a Turkish fez at that time. Mr. Amir Ali afterwards became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and is at present a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. I saw him once more, at Karachi where he came to conduct an important case. I saw him in court and intended to call on him afterwards. But when I heard him addressing the Judge in halting language with a queer enunciation, waiting a minute or half a minute after every sentence or part of a sentence as if he expected the Judge to take down every word that he spoke, I was altogether disenchanted and did not go to see him.

SYED WAHIDUDDIN

In 1874 my father was transferred to Bhagalpur and was relieved at Arrah by Syed Wahiduddin, who was my father's senior by several years and was nearing the end of his service. Syed Wahiduddin was over fifty years of age at this time, short, with large bright eyes, and brisk and alert in manner. He did not know English and wrote his judgments in Hindustani. But he was an able officer and had a high reputation for probity and integrity of character. My father was a fine Urdu and Persian scholar and had many Mussalman friends, Syed Wahiduddin being one of the most intimate among them. After his retirement Syed Wahiduddin spent a great deal of his time at Patna, his native village being a few miles away. Towards the latter end of his service my father was stationed at Patna, where he settled after retirement. Syed Wahiduddin, who lived to a great age, often came in a *palki* to see my father. His son Nawab Imdad Imam, who was for some time Chairman of the Patna Municipality, used, I believe, to call my father 'uncle.' Syed Wahiduddin's grandsons, Sir Ali Imam and Hassan Imam, are well aware of the cordial relations between their grand-father and my father. No one then dreamed of communalism and Hindus and Mahomedans everywhere were on the friendliest terms.

THE SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

At Bhagalpur there are two old caves close to the southern bank of the Ganges at some distance to the east of the town. One of these is shallow but the other is rather deep and at the time we were at Bhagalpur, was difficult of exploration. People generally

contented themselves with a peep at the mouth of the cave. Some said it was excavated by some hermits, others thought it was the secret lair of robbers. Anyhow I was filled with the spirit of adventure, and secretly prevailed upon some of my class-fellows at school to join me in exploring the cave. The expedition was kept a close secret. I carried a fully loaded six chambered Colt's revolver belonging to my father, some candles and a box of matches. On arrival at the entrance to the cave the courage of some of my companions began to ooze out, but they were shamed by the rest. There was a sheer drop of a few feet at the mouth of the cave. We jumped lightly in and discovered that the cave ramified in three directions. While we were lighting the candles one of the boys, who was bigger and older than myself, nearly fainted and had to be helped out of the cave. We then proceeded with our investigations. The longest way was towards the north and at the end we found the marks of claws on the damp wall and a heap of bones on the ground. Perhaps the scratches had been made by the claws of a jackal or wolf, but we proudly fancied it must have been nothing less than a tiger. When the Ganges was in flood wild boar and even tigers were known to swim across the river, and a large leopard and a boar were actually killed in the town while we were at Bhagalpur. We returned home in high feather, but the only recognition that we got for our notable daring-do, which could not be kept secret, was a severe reprimand for our foolhardiness.

THE HUMBLING OF A CAPTAIN

One evening my father was out driving in a Victoria phaeton and I was in the carriage with him. The road was barely wide enough for two carriages to pass with some care. As we were passing through the town we saw a trap resembling a tonga coming towards us, driven by a European at a furious pace. We had a quiet old mare and the coachman drew to the left as far as he safely could, but the European, ignoring the rule of the road, came thundering on occupying the middle of the road and pulled up just in time to avert a serious collision. His horse reared up and came down upon its haunches, while our groom quieted the frightened mare with some difficulty. We got down from the carriage and

so did the European. My father was naturally very angry, and striding up to the European said, "I shall prosecute you for rash driving if you are not more careful." Now, my father was a man with a magnificent physique, tall, with a great breadth of shoulders, and possessed of immense muscular strength, while the European was a slight, undersized man. The latter flushed, grew red in the face, looked at my father's athletic figure, and then drove away without a word. It was afterwards ascertained that the European was Captain Douglas, attached to a regiment stationed at Champanagar, some miles to the west of Bhagalpur.

BHUDEVA CHANDRA MUKERJI

Bhudeva Chandra Mukerji was Inspector of Schools, Behar Circle, at this time and he called on my father while he was at Bhagalpur. A fairly tall man, erect, with hair and mustache perfectly white, Bhudeva Chandra Mukerji struck even my immature intelligence as a man different from and superior to the people I was accustomed to see. He was distinctly intellectual-looking but there was also an atmosphere of purity and cleanliness of mind about him. He had a grave and thoughtful look, well becoming the writer of *Parivarik Pravandha*, one of the most thoughtful books in Bengali. When he came out of the room where he was sitting he called me; put me a few questions in a gentle voice, and then put his hand on my head and blessed me.

RAMTANU LAHIRI

It was at Bhagalpur that I first saw Ramtanu Lahiri. He had then retired from his appointment as a Head Master on a small pension. He was at that time a little over sixty years of age, still fairly active, though already venerable-looking. His eldest son Navakumar, a brilliant medical student, was attacked by pulmonary tuberculosis while preparing for his final examination and he came to Bhagalpur for a change. His father and the other members of the family followed soon after. They had taken a house on the bank of the Ganges very near our house, and were soon on very friendly terms with our family. Sarat Kumar, Ramtanu Babu's second son, who afterwards became a well known and leading publisher and bookseller in Calcutta, was of my age and we became

great chums. Ramtanu Babu's second daughter, Indumati, had received an excellent education, and was now in constant attendance on her ailing brother. The eldest daughter, Lilavati, was a young widow and had a little son. Ramtanu Babu's wife was a lady of the old school, gentle and sweet-tempered. There were two other boys, younger than Sarat. Ramtanu Babu was treated with marked respect by my father, who sometimes took him out for a drive. We youngsters were always anxious to serve Ramtanu Babu, but the only service that he ever required of us was to bring his tea, which he sipped slowly with a pleasure that it was a delight to watch. When he travelled several bottles of tea had to be carried for him, and when there was no hot tea to be had he drank cold tea with equal relish. His face beamed with benevolence and I have never seen a more winning and seraphic smile than that of Ramtanu Babu. Not only was he incapable of using a harsh word, but he never spoke ill of any man. He had many sorrows and bore them with calm resignation and with unflinching faith in a merciful and beneficent Providence. Due most probably to nursing her brother, Navakumar, Indumati contracted galloping consumption and died in the course of a few months. Navakumar died shortly afterwards. The youngest son also died but Ramtanu Babu never broke down and his faith never wavered for a moment. In 1878 when Keshub Chander Sen's eldest daughter was married to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar I was in Calcutta and I went to pay my respects almost every day to Ramtanu Babu, who treated me like a son. He did not approve of the Kuch Behar marriage, but no word of bitterness ever escaped his lips. He once said that he could not trust himself to go and see Keshub, whose charm of manner and persuasiveness of reasoning were irresistible, and Ramtanu Babu did not wish to discuss the marriage with him. Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara was a particular friend of Ramtanu Babu. At Bhagalpur Ramtanu Babu used to let me read letters received from Pandit Iswara Chandra. They were not ordinary letters and were full of a deep earnestness. Sometime Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara quoted some famous English writer in support of his views, and I noted that his English handwriting was excellent. Another friend with whom Ramtanu Babu sometimes stayed in Calcutta was Kali Charan Ghose, a very

able Deputy Collector who was appointed special Collector for acquiring house property in connection with the construction of Harrison Road in Calcutta. Ramtanu Babu often spoke of Ram Gopal Ghose, whom he considered the greatest orator of Bengal. Choosing his words carefully he would say in English in his slow, deliberate way, "Ram Gopal Ghose thundered as it were". After I had left Calcutta in 1884 I did not see Ramtanu Babu for about two years but I saw him again in 1886 and also later. He had grown somewhat infirm and stooped a little, but age had not dimmed his intellect and memory, and the wonderful beauty and sweetness of his nature had mellowed with the years. Sarat had greatly prospered in business. He built a fairly large house on Harrison Road where Ramtanu Babu passed his remaining days, surrounded with every comfort and cheered by the loving service of his surviving children and the reverence and solicitude of all who had the privilege of knowing him.

A GERMAN BEGGAR

The only German beggar I ever saw was at Bhagalpur. He was a blind man, old but quite hale, with the typical German blond hair turning gray. I cannot remember how he happened to have found his way to Bhagalpur, but evidently he was being helped by charitable people as he did not seem to be in distress. He was very gentle, and kept repeating from time to time "Gott is goot, Gott is goot!"

BUILDING A MAUSOLEUM

At some distance from the town of Bhagalpur, on the southern side of the railway line, there was a large tank with high banks and surrounded by trees. It is a very peaceful and sylvan spot. A Mahomedan gentleman, who had recently retired from the service of Government, was building a small mausoleum at the north-western corner of the tank for himself. He was a devout and pious Mussalman and I used to watch him supervising the building of the tomb. I was greatly impressed and used to think that people usually build houses to live in, but here was a man who was placidly anticipating his own death and was building a place where he was to be laid at rest after death. And his resting place was well chosen, for all the surroundings were suggestive of the peace that comes after death.

SOME NOTABILITIES

The leading lawyers at Bhagalpur were Bengalis and some of them had large incomes. Foremost among them was Surya Narain Singh. Atul Chandra Mullick, the father of Dr. Sarat Kumar Mullick and Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, had the next largest practice. Shiva Chandra Banerji, who was afterwards made a Raja, was a rising young lawyer, while Sashi Bhusan Mukerji, brother-in-law of W. C. Bonnerjee, was Government Pleader. The most successful Behari pleader was Babu Tarini Prasad. Tej Narain Singh was the son of a wealthy banker. He was a public-spirited young man, and founded a College which is named after him.

A THEISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY

BY PROF. ABHOYKUMAR MAZUMDER M. A.

INTERNAL EVIDENCES

DOES the Sankhya System admit the existence of God? This is the most important question which we have to determine here, seeing that there is a wide-spread impression that the Sankhya teaches *atheism*; that it does not, not only offer any positive proof of, but positively denies,

the existence of God. This impression is directly based upon some aphorisms which appear, on superficial view, to positively declare the non-existence of God; and this impression becomes confirmed when it is found that no attempt has been made in the whole System to explain and prove any of its themes by reference to the Godhead. But such an impression seems to me

to be entirely false and based upon the misinterpretation of those aphorisms, and on a right interpretation the System appears to be as *theistic* as the Vedānta.

The non-theistic character of the Sankhya is made to rest on two series of aphorisms--the first series consisting of the aphs. 92-99 in chap. I, of the Sankhya Pravachana Sūtram, and the second series, aphs. 2-12 in chap. V, *Ibid.* We propose to examine these aphorisms one by one in order to see whether they, or at least some of them, support the impression that the Sankhya denies existence to God, or whether they confirm the opposite view.

A. (1). "On account of the non-proof of Isvara or Lord", or more fully, "(it is no fault in the definition of perception that it does not extend to the perception of Isvara), because Isvara is not a subject of proof". This is perhaps the most important of all the aphorisms on which much stress has been laid by the upholders of the theory that the Sankhya teaches the non-existence of Isvara or God, or that, at least, there is no proof of the existence of Isvara or God. For instance, Bijanā Bhikṣu interprets it in this way: "On account of the absence of proof in regard to Isvara, it is no fault, the last four words following from the 90th aphorism (as the complement of the present one)". And he adds: "This negation of Isvara is, as has been already established, only in accordance with the bold assertion made by certain partisans in order to shut up the mouth of the opponents. For if it were not so, the aphorism would have been worded thus: on account of the *non-existence* (and not, on account of the non-existence of proof of Isvara, as we have it)." Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa gives a similar interpretation. He holds: "If there were evidence or proof to establish (the existence of) Isvara, then the consideration of the perception of Him would properly arise. But no such proof exists." Both of these commentators, therefore, maintain that there is no proof of the existence of Isvara, though they do not deny positively His existence. So that, according to them, though the aphorism do not positively affirm *atheism*, it, at least, affirms *agnosticism*. But it is curious that they do not expressly say what sort of proof of the existence of God the aphorism denies. The Sankhya admits three kinds of proof, of which *Testimony* or *Authoritative Statement* (Aptavachanam) is one; and it asserts that whatever cannot be proved by perception and inference may be proved by Testimony. (Vide Sankhya Karika, ver. 6). It is well known that the testimony of the Śruti proves the existence of Isvara. So that when the Sankhya says that there is no proof of His existence, it must mean some other proof. What is, then, that proof? If we carefully examine the context of the aphorism we find that it has been introduced only to show that by *sense-perception* (prataṅkṣhya) God's existence cannot be proved. Bijanā Bhikṣu himself says that this aphorism is introduced as a reply to the contention: "But, still, (an opponent may say) the definition does not extend to the perception of Isvara by Yogins, devotees, etc., because, being eternal, the perception of Him is not produced through contact". From this it is evident that, not proof in general, but proof by *sense-perception* only, is denied of the existence of God. And it is undoubtedly true that Isvara or God, who is

eternal and infinite, cannot be perceived by the organs of senses. Thus, the *true* interpretation of the aphorism is, "there being no proof by sense-perception of the existence of Isvara". Although Bijanā Bhikṣu has tried to obviate the inconsequence of his erroneous interpretation by adding that the aphorism affirms, not the *non-existence* of God, but the *non-existence of the proof* of the existence of God, these two interpretations come practically to the same thing, or at best, as I have said, lead to *agnosticism*, though not to positive atheism.

That Bijanā Bhikṣu's interpretation is mistaken may be shown more clearly, if we compare it with two other aphorisms, viz., (a) "the purposive creativeness of Prakṛiti is through proximity to Isvara, as is the case of a loadstone"; and (b) "(actual) creativeness is of the Antaḥkarana, because it is lighted up by Isvara, as is the case with the iron". In both of these aphorisms we meet with the word 'tat'; what does it really mean? Both Aniruddha and Bijanā maintain that it refers to puruṣa or the finite soul. But if we examine it more closely we find that it really refers to Isvara, not to the puruṣa at all. The aphorist first speaks of Isvara in aphorism 93, and all the subsequent aphorisms seem to have evident bearing on the same theme, having regard to the fact that in no one of them he speaks of puruṣa, i. e. the finite self. So that, if we read each of them with the rest it evidently follows that the word 'tat' in aphs. 96 and 99, like the word 'tat' occurring in aph. 93, must indicate Isvara, occurring in aph. 92. Moreover, this interpretation is confirmed, when compared with the interpretation of the Sankhya Philosophy as given in the Santiparva of the Mahābhārata in connexion with the conversation between Vasistha and Janaka, and between Yajñavalkya and Janaka.

(2) "As we do not know any other Puruṣa by sense-perception except the released and the confined, the existence of Isvara, who is above sense-perception, is not proven." Bijanā has explained it differently; he maintains that as Isvara can be neither released from afflictions nor bound by them, nor anything of a different character, there is no proof of His existence. Aniruddha also offers a similar explanation. But what do they mean by the expression, "Isvara cannot be anything of a different character"? Is He not eternally free and therefore something of a different character? The real meaning is, that there is something of a different character which can be known by sense-perception, because every *perceivable puruṣa* is either released or confined. Hence what the aphorism really means to prove is that the existence of Isvara cannot be proved by sense-perception. And this explanation only is consistent with that given to the preceding aphorism. This aphorism, therefore, confirms our previous conclusion.

(3) "As every perceptible embodied puruṣa is either released or confined, Isvara is above the proof of sense-perception." This aphorism evidently bears the same meaning as the preceding one. According to Bijanā the word "asatkaratvam," occurring in this aphorism, means "akṣamatvam," i. e. incapacity to effect anything. But it is difficult to understand how this meaning arises. It should mean 'asiddhatvam,' i. e. absence of proof, and this meaning only is consistent with that of the preceding aphorism.

ism. Here no query arises with regard to creation because that will make it quite unconnected with the preceding one, and will raise a new problem all on a sudden. Aniruddha also says that this aphorism explains the very same position as the preceding one.

(4) "The sacred texts which speak of Isvara, are) either glorification of the free Self, or homages paid to the perfect Ones, (Bijnana); or glorifications either of the free-like Self, or of one made perfect by yoga." This aphorism is introduced as a reply to such queries as these: In numerous texts in the Sruti, the Smriti, and the Puranas there are stories to the effect that the devotees and yogins saw Isvara, uttered words in His praise and adored Him; and also of the worship of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara and all the incarnations regarded as Isvara: if He is really imperceptible, how were these possible? The reply does not mean to say that there is no Isvara but simply that 'Isvara' there means the liberated souls or the souls made perfect by yoga, because they, having attained exaltation and perfection, may be regarded as Isvara. There are, the aphorism clearly implies that those facts do not stand in the way of the theory that the existence of Isvara cannot be proved by sense-perception. But it should be very carefully remembered here that this aphorism does not deny the truth of those texts of the Sruti, etc., where the real Isvara is mentioned.

(5) "The purposive creativeness of Prakriti is due to her proximity to Isvara, as is the case of a gem or loadstone." This aphorism is an answer to the question. How is Isvara imperceptible, if He is always present in Prakriti and guides her in her evolution? And it means to say that as a piece of iron acquires the power of attracting another iron by virtue of its proximity to a loadstone which itself remains inactive, so Prakriti acquires the power of evolution by virtue of her proximity to Isvara who Himself remains inactive. Here we should carefully remember the real meaning of the word 'tat.' I need not repeat what I have said before in this connexion. (See above (1)).

(6) "In the case of all particular effects the creativeness is of the Jivas." This aphorism clears up the meaning of the preceding one; it means to say that the jivas i.e. the finite purusas, are the direct creators of all particular effects, Isvara having nothing to do with them, at least, directly. But it may be objected that if that is so, why has Sruti made such false declaration that Isvara has voluntarily created the world. The answer is given below.

(7) "Those teachings of the Vedas were meant for those who were perfect and of exceptional intellectual power, and who were therefore perfectly competent to understand their true meaning; and those teachings conveyed to them exactly what they meant."

Now, another objection may be raised: If Isvara be entirely unqualified and above all attachment to Prakriti, how can Prakriti acquire the power of creation by coming into contact with Him? The answer is given below.

(8) "(Actual) creativeness is of the Antah-karana, because it is lighted up by Isvara, as is the case with iron." Or, more fully, as iron acquires the power of heating and burning other

things by virtue of its proximity to fire, so Antah karana acquires the power of creation by virtue of its proximity to Isvara. Here too, the real meaning of the word 'tat.' should be carefully ascertained. Aniruddha and Bijnana both understand by it, purusa or the finite soul. But it appears, after careful examination, to mean Isvara. The reasons are these: the argument begins with the aphorism 92 which denies the proof of the existence of Isvara by sense-perception, and all the succeeding aphorisms are introduced to confirm the conclusion by the refutation of all possible objections. Therefore, the whole argument, of which all the aphorisms hitherto considered are mere parts, is directly concerned with Isvara, not at all with the finite purusa: that is to say, Isvara not the finite purusa, is the direct and main subject of the whole argument. Of course, in aph. 97, it speaks of Jivas, but of that incidentally only. So that it is more reasonable to understand by 'tat' Isvara, not the finite purusa, inasmuch as only that will keep the continuity of the whole argument.

B. Let us now come to the consideration of the second series. Of these aphorisms at least two to wit, the 16th, and the 17th, are usually quoted as though they deny the existence of Isvara or God. We should, therefore, examine them carefully. Bijnana Bhikshu supposes that these aphorisms are meant to refute the contention of the opponents that there are other proofs of the existence of Isvara. Aniruddha Bhatta remarks: "The non-existence of Isvara has been established before. The author now states the argument." Vedantin Mahadeva makes a similar supposition. But it is very difficult to see how such a supposition arises at all. The closer examination of the aphorisms conclusively shows that they are meant for quite different things. In this instance the whole argument is intended to establish not that Isvara does not exist, but that He does not exist as the designer, creator and governor of the world at least directly, as some people say; and begins with the aphorism.

(9) "Not because (the cause is) directed by Isvara (that there is) the resulting of fruits, (but) because the production thereof (takes place) by means of karma". Bijnan comments: "When the cause is superintended by Isvara, there is the resulting of the transformation in the shape of the fruit of acts,—this is not proper because of the possibility of the resulting of fruits by means alone of the necessary Karma. Such is the meaning." Aniruddha maintains: "Were Isvara an independent creator, He could create without (the aid of) Karma, (but that is not so). If you say that He creates, having Karma as an auxiliary, then let Karma itself be (the cause), what need of Isvara? Nor can an auxiliary obstruct the power of the principal agent, since, in that case, there would be a contradiction of its independence. Moreover, activity is seen to proceed from egoistic and altruistic motives. Neither can any egoistic motive belong to Isvara. And were His motives altruistic, then, He being compassionate, there would be no justification for a creation which is full of pain. Nor is there any activity which is purely altruistic, because such activity proceeds from a desire for selfish gain even by means of doing good to others, etc. Therefore, let Karma alone be the cause of the world".

Vedantin Mahadeva also comments in a similar strain.

The above comments, it is evident, only show that what is denied is not the existence of Isvara, but His causality as the giver of the fruits of actions. That the actions produce their own consequences *naturally*; that, therefore, there is no need of Isvara for that purpose; and that the activities on the part of Isvara involve contradiction—these are what the aphorism purports to assert.

10. "Because of his own benefit, (Isvara's) causality (will be) like that of man". As every man does an act for the sake of his own benefit, so Isvara's act of creation will be for His own benefit,—which is absurd, because, being perfect, He cannot want any benefit for Himself. Therefore, He is not the real giver of the fruits of actions. Remember that this aphorism does not mean to say that Isvara is non-existent.

11. "Otherwise (Isvara will be) like the human lord". If Isvara is supposed to do acts for His own benefit, He will be no better than a human lord. Therefore, also, he cannot be regarded as the giver of the fruits of actions. This aphorism, too, does not mean to assert that He is non-existent.

12. If, still, such a human lord be regarded Isvara, He is so in name only, i. e. there is no difference between him and a man. This aphorism too, says nothing against the existence of God.

13. "Without Raga or passion, causality is not established, because Raga is the invariable and unconditional cause in all activity". This aphorism means to assert that, if Isvara be regarded as an agent, passion must exist in Him. But—

14. "On (the admission), again, of connexion with Raga (He will) not (be) eternally free". This aphorism together with the preceding proves that Isvara cannot be the creator, because if He be so, He will possess passion, which will be inconsistent with His eternally free nature. These two aphorisms, therefore, simply deny His creativeness or agency, not His existence.

15. "If you say that His passion arises out of His connexion with the powers of Prakriti, then there will be the implication of His attachment". This aphorism means to say that Isvara is *unattached* as He is said to be in the Sruti. He, therefore, cannot have passion arising out of His connexion with Prakriti.

16. If it be said that Isvara may be regarded as the governor or creator of the world, simply by reason of His mere existence, although He does not actually do anything, then everything may be called Isvara, because the term 'Isvara' will have then no meaning. Aniruddha and Bijanana understand by *satta* the existence of Prakriti, and consequently interpret the aphorism in different ways. But the result is the same, namely, the causality of Isvara is not proven. It should be noticed here that if their interpretation were true, the proper wording would have been, 'if, by reason of the existence of Pradhana or Prakriti'. The word '*satta*' should therefore mean the existence of Isvara, not of prakriti.

The three following aphorisms (aphs. 17-19) are introduced to show that by neither of the three kinds of proof as recognised by the Samkhya System, at least the *direct causality* of an eternal Isvara can be proved. But they are usually quoted as the evidence against His existence. So they should be very carefully examined.

17. "On account of the absence of proof there is no evidence of the *causality* of an eternal Isvara." But Aniruddha, Mahadeva, and Bijanana all explain this aphorism as meaning that there is no perceptual evidence for the *existence* of an eternal Isvara. Aniruddha explains the aphorism thus: "On account of the non-existence of perceptual proof, or of the evidence by sense-perception, the *existence* of an eternal Isvara is not proven. Mahadeva comments thus: "the proof of the *existence* of Isvara. Because the non-existence of the evidence by sense-perception is well-known". Bijanana annotates thus: "The establishment of an eternal Isvara. In respect of Isvara, to be sure, there is no evidence of sense-perception. Hence Inference and Testimony must be intended to be the proofs supposed here, and they are not possible. Such is the meaning". The last part of the above annotation is explicitly stated in the 18th and 19th, aphorisms respectively. It should be noticed here that the word '*tat*' is understood by them to mean the *existence* of an eternal Isvara. But this certainly is not its real meaning. All the preceding aphorisms have been so long concerned with refuting the arguments offered for proving the *causality* of Isvara: nowhere, as we have already shown, there has been any attempt to disprove His existence: then there is no reason why the aphorist suddenly introduces such an aphorism as this in order to disprove that. This not only breaks the *continuity* of the whole argument, which begins with aphorism 9 and ends with aphorism 19, suddenly at the middle, but is positively inconsistent with the last aphorism (i.e. the 19th) which, as we shall show, explicitly states that according to the Sruti, Prakriti is the cause of the world, not the eternal Isvara; that is to say, what the Sruti *denies* is the *causality* of Isvara *not His existence*. But, in fact, neither the existence nor the causality of Isvara can be proved or disproved by sense-perception; for Isvara, who is infinite and eternal, cannot be perceived by the sense-organs, so that the evidence of sense perception is, by itself, incompetent to prove or disprove the *existence* of such an Isvara. But it may still be contended that, like the existence of Isvara, His *causality* also cannot be proved or disproved by sense-perception; for how can we know by our sense-organs that Isvara is or is not the cause of the world? If he is eternal and infinite, and thus beyond the reach of our sense-organs, how can anything positive or negative be asserted with regard to even His causality? Thus the aphorism itself is meaningless and therefore out of place or inappropriate. In short, it has no bearing on the argument introduced by the aphorist for disproving the causality or the agency of Isvara as the giver of the fruits of actions, &c. For this reason, I think, its true meaning is that in it the aphorist states in a *general* way that there is no proof whatever of the causality or agency of Isvara, and then proceeds to state, more explicitly, in the following aphorisms the absence of the only two other proofs, to wit, Inference and Testimony, that are properly applicable in this instance. The next two aphorisms have real bearing upon the argument. The aphorist then proceeds to state them.

18. "On account of the non-existence of any connexion or relation (of Isvara with Prakriti), there is no inference, too, (about His causality or

agency) ; By the term 'sambandha' all the three commentators, namely, Aniruddha, Mahadeva and Bijjana, understand 'vyapti' i. e. pervasion which means *universal connexion or going together* of two things, and is the essential condition of an inference. Aniruddha comments thus : "Since the pervasion or the universal going together (of two things) must be based upon previous perception ; in the absence thereof, how can there be the apprehension of such 'universal relation' ? Nor can there be the apprehension of such universal relation in the case of one which is wholly unconnected or above all relation." Mahadeva annotates thus : "On account of the absence of *vyapti* i. e. pervasion (there is no inference also of Isvara)." Bijjana explains thus : '*Sambandha* = *vyapti* pervasion or universal connexion ; *abhava* = absence. Thus in the Syllogism---

1. Whatever is an effect, has Isvara as its cause.

2. Consciousness and the rest are effects (which are pervaded by a cause).

3. Therefore, they must have Isvara as their cause : there can be no such inference in respect of Isvara, since there is no observed pervasion or universal connexion between Him and any effect (such as Consciousness etc., for instance). Such is the meaning.

Thus the gist of all the above commentaries is that there being no pervasion or universal connexion between Isvara and any of the effects in the world, that can be proved by sense-perception which ultimately supplies all the premises of an inference, no inference can be drawn in respect of Him, inasmuch as one thing can be inferred from another only when they are universally and inseparably connected with each other, but if no such connexion can be proved to exist, no inference can be drawn from one about the other. The case is exactly the same with Isvara and any of the effects, such as Consciousness, etc., found in the world : for He is *asanga* or unattached or unconnected with anything of the world. Admitting that Isvara has no attachment with the world (but really, as we shall prove, He has at least an *indirect* connexion with it), what we can at most prove is the non-existence of His *causality*, not of Himself. The gist of the inference clearly and unquestionably shows that the *causality* of Isvara can not be proved from the premises supplied by sense-perception which is, according to the Sankhya the ultimate source of all premises from which an inference can be drawn. But it does not and cannot purport to indicate anything concerning the *existence* of Isvara, for the simple reason that the disproof of His *causality* does not imply in any way the disproof of His existence : He may not be a cause, but that does not necessarily imply that He does not exist also : He may exist, though He may not be a cause : that is, He may exist in another form, for instance, as an indifferent spectator. If we deny or disprove that A is the cause of B, we do not, of course deny or disprove the existence of A, unless A's causality and existence are identical, which certainly is not true. Therefore the interpretation of this aphorism offered by the above commentators as purporting to disprove the existence of Isvara is not only erroneous but perverted. The aphorist is emphatic on this point in the next aphorism, which is---

19. "The Sruti also speaks of the world as the

product of *Pradhana* or *Prakriti*." All the commentators interpret this aphorism in their own peculiar ways. Aniruddha comments thus : "There is the Sruti 'From *Pradhana* or *Prakriti* is the world produced'. Therefore the proofs demonstrative of the *existence* of Isvara are apparent and not real". It is very difficult to see how the inference of the *non-existence* of Isvara follows from the fact of the world's being the product of *Prakriti*. The fact that the real cause of the world is *Prakriti* only proves, if it proves anything, that its real cause is not Isvara : but it does, by no means, prove that Isvara is *non-existent* : nor does it indicate or suggest any such conclusion. Whence does then Aniruddha draw such an absurd and preposterous inference ? He has certainly misunderstood the essential gist of the argument as a whole. It is certainly strange. Bijjana interprets in this way : "In respect of the web of creation, there exists Sruti or Vedic declaration of its being the product of *Prakriti*, but not of its having an intelligent being as its cause, for example : "One unborn (*Prakriti*), having the colour of red, white and black, the procreatrix of manifold progeny like unto herself". Here he plainly tells us that Sruti denies only the causality of Isvara, and not His existence. And this is confirmed by his quoting another text from Sruti to wit, 'Isvara is the witness, intelligent, alone, and devoid of the *gunas*, which implies that Isvara *exists* and possesses those attributes only and not any such attribute as that of causality, as some say. He makes another curious admission, namely, "This denial of Isvara is a mere *praudi-vada* or bold assertion made with the object of evoking dispassion in respect of the condition of being Isvara, and also with the object of demonstrating that there can be Release even without the knowledge of Isvara". This admission evidently shows that according to him the aphorism does not *really* mean to deny the existence of Isvara, but, yet, seems to deny it from some ulterior motives as stated above. This is, no doubt, a very curious and ugly way of avoiding some inconsequences which will follow from such denial, because it is palpably inconsistent with the numerous declarations, to the contrary, of the Sruti. So that it is impossible to deny the existence of Isvara, inasmuch as it is proved by the third kind of proof, to wit, the Testimony, which is *admittedly* the Testimony of the Sruti. We are, therefore, bound to reject the interpretations as offered by Aniruddha and Bijjana.

GENERAL CONCLUSION:

From this somewhat long discussion we are now in a position to gather the results we have arrived at. It is now evident that the main object of the discussions as set forth in both series of aphorisms is, by no means, to disprove the existence of Isvara, not even that there is no proof of the existence of Him. The object of the discussions as set forth in the first series aims at simply showing that sense-perception is not competent to reveal the existence of Isvara, that we cannot know Him by means of the organs of senses ; and there are two *significant* aphorisms, to wit the 5th, and the 8th which, as we have conclusively shown, *positively assert* the existence of Isvara. Whereas the object of the discussions set forth in the second

series, is of a quite different nature. It aims at simply showing that the *direct cause* of the world is really Prakriti, and not Isvara who is only *indirectly* associated with her, and that, as even the Sruti says that the *direct cause* of the world is Prakriti, there is neither scriptural nor any other authoritative evidence to prove that Isvara is the *direct cause* of the world. Of course, Isvara may be called the *indirect cause*, for Prakriti has acquired the power of causality by virtue of her proximity to Him, but in Himself Isvara is beyond all attachment and eternally free. This is, in fact, all that the Sankhya has to teach in those aphorisms. It is therefore, not strange and inexplicable that such able commentators as Aniruddha, Mahadeva and Bijan have been so misled as to extract from them a theory which is not only astounding but also absolutely inconsistent with the teachings of the Sankhya Philosophy as expounded by other and far more authentic treatises, and what is more even with Bijan's own assertion that "the Lord in the person of Kapila, taught by this Viveka-Sastra, Lessons on Discrimination between the Self and the Not-Self, consisting of six books, valid arguments, not conflicting with the Veda". (Preface to the Commentary by Bijana Bhikshu on the

Sankhya Philosophy). Again, "Now, in order to teach a complete system of valid arguments for the purpose of Manana, intellection, that is assimilation, differentiation and elaboration, in thought, of the truth, thus heard, i. e. learnt, from the Veda, there appeared on earth Narayana, in the person of Kapila, as the author of the Sankhya System of Thought, for the purpose of annihilation of the infinite sufferings of all jivas or embodied selves: I bow down to Him." (Vide, the Preface). Many other similar texts may be quoted from the preface, but they are sufficient for our present purpose. We should notice two things in the above quotations; First, if the Lord in the person of Kapila, taught the Sankhya Philosophy, how could He teach a doctrine palpably inconsistent with the Veda which undoubtedly declares the existence of Isvara in numerous texts? It should be remembered also that in the Tattwa-Samaso, Panchacikha-Sutram and Sankhya Karika, there is absolutely nothing which purports to say that Isvara does not exist or there is no evidence of His existence; and moreover, we shall presently see that there are *positive* evidences of the existence of Isvara, not only in them but also in the Sankhya-Pravachana-Sutram itself.

THE DISABILITIES OF INDIANS ABROAD

By R. DAYAL, I.C.S.

Communicated by the President of the Indian Unity League, Cambridge.

TO understand the problem of the social and political equality of the Indians in other parts of the British Empire, it is essential to know the distribution of the Indians in the respective parts; for their disabilities increase with the increase in the number of Indians domiciled in a dominion. The total number of Indians in the empire outside India is a little over 2 millions. South Africa has 150,000 of which 135,500 or 90 per cent, are in Natal, 11,000 in the Transvaal and 7,000 in the Cape. East Africa has 47,000 of which 23,000 are in Kenya. British Guiana and Trinidad have 130,000 each and Fiji has 60,000. Canada has 5,000, Australia 4,000 and New Zealand 500. The position in various parts is as follows:—

NEW ZEALAND

The Government treats Indians on a footing of equality. Indians can live there as fellow citizens in honour. They enjoy

the franchise in common with all British subjects and are excluded from the benefits of the Old-Age Pensions. The New Zealand government has promised to give sympathetic consideration to this grievance when the Act comes up for revision. But in practice, little hardship is likely to be felt, as it is unlikely that any Indian will fulfil the conditions regarding the age required by the Act for some years to come. It is to be noted that the number of Indians in New Zealand is only 500.

AUSTRALIA

Out of a population of 5 millions, only 4,000 are Indians. The disabilities which the Indians suffer from are comparatively small. The Indians do not possess the dominion franchise, neither have they got the State franchise in Queensland and Western Australia. As a result of Mr. Sastri's visit, the respective governments have promised

sympathetic consideration; and this was reaffirmed by Mr. Bruce at the last but one Imperial Conference as well. Indians cannot be employed in industries that receive bounties from the government; and in some instances are debarred from employment by industrial awards. These industrial conditions do not operate in many cases, as Indians generally become small independent traders. The government agreed to remove some of the disabilities under certain Acts. An assurance was also given that steps would be taken so that Indians get equal benefits of Old Age Pensions.

It is gratifying to learn of the decision of the Australian High Court *re* the legality of the Commonwealth government's denial of franchise to Indians resident in Australia. In this particular case it has been decided that the withholding of the suffrage from the Indians is contrary to the law and the court has therefore ordered the individuals concerned to be placed on the register. The letter giving this information adds that another preliminary step must be taken before the franchise can be said to have been secured for the Indian community, but no difficulty about it is anticipated.

CANADA

There are about 5,000 Indians in Canada and most of them are in British Columbia, which has among its population many Chinese and Japanese as well. The economic rivalry between the white and non-white races in British Columbia accounts for the refusal of the municipal and provincial franchise in British Columbia. Mr. Sastri's appeal, based on the Imperial Conference resolution, convinced many people of the justification of the rights, but the difficulties are twofold. Firstly, any such scheme to give franchise to the Indians will be much resented by the people, and secondly, the franchise must also be extended to the Chinese and the Japanese, who are in the same position as the Indians, but whose immigration is not completely stopped and therefore franchise cannot be given to them in fear lest the Asiatics get the majority over the British Columbians. The question is so complex that, notwithstanding the sympathies of the statesmen, to put it in practice defies action. The federal franchise is enjoyed by Indians of provinces other than British Columbia where they do not have the provincial franchise. Thus it

is in British Columbia only where Indians have political disabilities. Sympathetic consideration was shown to the grievances about education. The Canadian government turned down the proposal to confer Dominion suffrage on Indians settled in British Columbia.

SOUTH AFRICA

The real crux of the Indian problem lies in South Africa. When the South African war broke out one of the chief causes was stated to be the ill-treatment of Indians under the regime of President Kruger. Lord Lansdowne then expressed the view that the treatment of the Indians was the worst of the crimes of the Transvaal Republic. The war was over, the Republics became part of the British Empire and the condition of the Indians became even worse than before, and in the words of Mr. Sastri, it was admitted by the Imperial Government that they were less susceptible of a suitable remedy in self-governing Dominions than under foreign rule.

The grievances of Indians settled in South Africa became more and more acute and were the subject of endless correspondence between the Government of the Dominion on the one hand and the Government of India and the Imperial Government on the other. Mr. Gandhi organised the Passive Resistance Movement for the purpose of getting these grievances removed. They consisted of the payment of the poll-tax, the marriage question already dealt with; the immigration acts; and the deprivation of existing rights. The Smuts-Gandhi agreement closed the struggle in 1914. The Government promised to apply existing laws affecting Indians "in a just manner with due regard to vested rights." Mr. Gandhi accepted the concessions with the remark that "complete satisfaction could not be expected until full civic rights had been conceded to the resident Indian population." Mr. Gandhi defined vested rights as follows: "By vested right I mean the right of an Indian, and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township".

A controversy relating to the rights of trade, residence and ownership of land in the Transvaal sprang up in 1919,—matters not settled in 1914. The Indian is generally a

trader and wherever he desires to reside or to own land, it is for the purpose of trading. The question resolves itself into "On what terms is the Indian to trade in the Transvaal"?

Both Indians and Europeans require licence to trade in Transvaal. Licences are of two kinds general and special. The general licence to be a dealer cannot be refused, but the special one to be a grocer, a pedlar, a hawker, etc., is granted by the Municipal Council and could be refused on the ground that "the applicant is not a desirable person to hold such a licence." An appeal can be made to a magistrate. Appeals in 1918 in Krugersdorp Township were successful. Again, the Republican Law of 1888 prohibits the ownership of fixed property by Asiatics in the Transvaal and indicates bazaars and locations as their proper abode. This was observed more in its breach than in its observance. Indians evaded it by holding land in the name of companies. Courts have held that companies cannot be Asiatic and so could hold land. The Gold Law of 1908 prohibited a coloured person from residing on or occupying any stand on proclaimed ground except as a bona fide servant. This for sometime was not enforced. Early in 1919, the Municipal Council of Krugersdorp obtained injunction under the Gold Law restraining a European owner of property on proclaimed ground for leasing it to an Indian. This success led to a general filing of applications for eviction of Indians who petitioned Parliament for redress. The Parliament appointed a Committee. The European witnesses referred to the loss of business due to Indian competition in their midst and the depreciation of their property. They felt it an economic necessity to restrict Indian trading. Indians based their claims on status and vested rights. They had rights to trade and the Government was to safeguard it. But the Select Committee and the Parliament enacted the Asiatics Trading and Land Act. It provides that

i. No new trading licenses were to be issued to Indians after May 1919 except in respect to a business for which a licence was held by an Indian prior to that date.

ii. In non-mining areas in the Transvaal an Indian applying for a new trading licence will be on the same position as before, and

iii. An Indian cannot own fixed property in the Transvaal, either by forming a limited company or by becoming the mortgagee of a nominal European owner.

This led to agitation and the Asiatic Enquiry Commission was appointed in 1920 and its report was published in 1921. It recommended the retention of the law prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics but declined to recommend compulsory segregation. In Natal, it agreed to confine to the coast belt the right of Indians to acquire and own land. The Government of India protested against it, and this has been abandoned by the Union Government. The Commission also recommended voluntary repatriation. Some 54000 have been freely repatriated. No other action has been taken on these recommendations.

In the meanwhile the anti-Asiatic party was busy in creating and initiating social disabilities such as railway regulations debaring Indians from travelling in any other carriages except those reserved for them and similar rules restricting the use of tram-cars at Durban and excluding them from race courses and betting club rooms. The Durban Land Alienation Ordinance enables municipalities in selling land to assign it for particular communities and to that extent to secure segregation on condition that Asiatics are given reasonable opportunity for acquiring adequate residential sites.

Regarding the franchise Indians are helpless. Except in the Cape they have no franchise. In the Cape, the principle of racial equality is still adhered to and the franchise is colour-blind. There are alternative property and wage-earning qualifications together with an educational test. In order to pass the test the applicant for a vote has to sign his name and write down his address and occupation. In the other three provinces the franchise laws are based on frank recognition of racial inequality. The Natal law which prescribes alternative property and wage-earning qualifications without an educational test, excludes from the franchise natives and coloured persons unless in addition to fulfilling various other requirements they can obtain certificates from the Governor General in Council, the grant of which is discretionary, and there is a bar against admission to the franchise of natives or descendants in the male line and natives of countries which have not prior to 1896 formed elective institutions founded on the parliamentary franchise. This barrier effectively excludes the British Indians. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State there is no property or wage-

earning qualification, but the franchise is confined to white persons only; all white male adults who are British subjects have the vote provided they have the qualification of six months' residence in the Union. The South Africa Act of 1909 makes a special provision for safeguarding the continuance of the existing franchise in the Cape by providing that any alteration of the Franchise Law which disqualifies a person from registration as a voter on the ground of race or colour shall require $\frac{2}{3}$ majority of both houses of parliament sitting together. But while the franchise law of the Cape is thus safeguarded, the Act in other respects makes a serious infringement on the principle of racial equality as hitherto in force in that province. It provides that only persons of European descent shall be qualified to sit in that parliament. This involved a decided check on the application of the principle of racial equality in the sphere of politics and there is not the slightest chance of this principle receiving recognition in the Franchise Laws of Natal, Transvaal and O. F. State. The removal of property and wage-earning qualifications from the Transvaal and O. F. S. Laws and prescribing 6 months' residence qualification has introduced an extra difficulty against the admission to the Franchise of non-Europeans.

Now, what are the exceptional circumstances of the Union of South Africa that its representatives dissented from the Imperial Conference Resolution of 1921. They can be well understood from the following figures:

Population figures for 1921.

	1 White	2 Coloured	3 Asiatics
Cape	650,000	2,000,000	8,000
Natal	140,000	1,250,000	140,000
Transvaal	550,000	1,500,000	15,000
O. F. S.	190,000	440,000	220

Voters.

	White	Natives	Indians
Cape	156,500	14,282	2429
Natal	34,041	2	45
Transvaal	140,589		
O. F. S.	49,000		

We find a million and a half Europeans settled in the midst of 9 million coloured people, of whom 160,000 are Indians: and of the voters nearly all belong to the European class. The Europeans argue in support of their position that they have settled there as

pioneers of European civilisation and they regard anything which menaces it as a very serious matter. The effect of giving the vote to the Indians will be to give it to the natives also, and as there is adult suffrage, so the Indians will swamp the Europeans in Natal and the blacks will swamp them in the whole of South Africa, and this is the position they do not consider to be desirable for the stability of their civilisation and their institutions. General Smuts saw that for India, it might be a question of honour but for Europeans it was one of existence. Not a word is said about the capacity of the Indians or of the natives. The Imperial Conference resolutions does not speak of it, but deals with the question as one of expediency when regarded from the point of view of its likely effects on the solidarity of the Commonwealth. Whatever may be said by the Europeans, there is little doubt that the real difficulty is the racial prejudice. It might be due to the fact that the European regards every Indian there as a coolie because mostly all Indians went there as such and the masterly attitude persists still. He is not prepared to share power with those who were once his employees. The Boer sentiment of exclusiveness also accounts for it. The racial prejudice does not manifest itself only in the inequality of political rights but in that of the economic and social rights as well. The latest development is the Class Areas bill introduced in the Union Parliament last February. It prohibits Indians to acquire or lease or renew a lease of immovable property in areas allocated to the Europeans, and also lays down that no licences or permits to trade within the class area will be granted. It enables the Government to segregate all the domiciled Indians and other Asiatics alike for residence and trade. This segregation means the setting apart of areas, and generally such locations will be far apart from the towns, where few buyers can go, and these mean ruin to many an Indian and lead to compulsory repatriation. Mr. Duncan in his speech said that "the Bill was due to the pressure of the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. The menace of competition of the Indians in South Africa did not now arise out of the influx of Indians but is due to their gradual rise in the scale of civilisation, efficiency and education." Another reason advanced was that wherever an Indian holds property, other property gets depreciated in value, for few desire to go and reside there.

Sanitary regulations can well meet this difficulty. The Indians are to be insulted and deprived of their rights because they are rising in the scale of civilisation, efficiency and education and because the Europeans cannot beat them in open and fair competition! And the Europeans are to guide the barbarous blacks of Africa to civilisation! Mr. Creswell very candidly confessed that as no suitable locations for decent living could be found, the only alternative is repatriation. He expressed his disgust at the increasing wealth and number of traders among the Indian community. The truth is, as some witnesses stated, that "they had no objection to the presence of the Indian so long as he remains a labourer and does not embark on commercial and other pursuits, because he would beat the western labourer every time due to low wages." No doubt the last census report of South Africa is disconcerting to the whites over there, as the increase of the blacks and Indians is proportionately more than that of the whites. There is some white unemployment there as well. But the remedy is not to get rid of the other residents by sending them to their countries. Will England be justified in turning out all aliens because there is such a great unemployment here? The European in South Africa arrogantly looks to his own comfort and position and resents any rival, however capable, in the coloured ranks. How far this policy of racial intolerance will conduce to the good of South Africa or the relations of the whites and the coloured, is for the future to prove.

KENYA

Turning now to the position of Indians in the colonies, we find the situation in Kenya very unsatisfactory. It is very deplorable, as the Colony owes much to Indian labour and capital. Mr. Churchill writes in 'My African Journey':—

"It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.

"Is it possible for any government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the natives of India from regions he has established himself in under every security of good faith? Most of all, we ask, is such a policy possible to

the government which bears sway over 300 millions of our Indian Empire?"

Yes, it is possible. The immigration policy, declared in the white paper on Kenya is an effective step for keeping out the Indian from East Africa. It is of interest to note that the Charter, granted to the British East African Company by the Sultan of Zanzibar, says, "There shall be no differential treatment of the subject of any power as to trade or settlement or as to access to markets." It is now tried to take away or at any rate to restrict this ancient right. Again, of historical interest is the fact that one claim of Great Britain to the protectorate of East Africa was the presence of His Majesty's Indian subjects there before the annexation. It was to protect them that the country was placed under British rule. Similarly was this the one cause of the Boer War. It is remarkable how circumstances change the views of the governments once the objects are achieved.

Regarding the present disabilities of the Indians they come under the heads of franchise, segregation, ownership of land and immigration, which has been already dealt with.

Indians are given the communal franchise. All adult Indians, male and female, are given the vote without any special qualifications. The franchise is also extended to the members of the native states of India. The Indians claim common electoral roll. The Indians elect five members, and the Europeans eleven. The Indians thus get a smaller representation. Communal representation on the legislature has been demanded on the ground that the white is superior to the coloured. The government in granting it says that "no justification is seen for the suggestion that it is derogatory to any of the communities so represented." Some supporters of the communal system cite the Indian example and I believe Lord Hardinge was one of them. But Indians differ as to the value of that system and even granted their acceptance, in India it is based on different grounds. The Indians are not in a minority in Kenya. Why are they to have only five representatives? They outnumber the whites and make no less contribution to the resources of the state and yet they get less representation. Indians as a protest against this humiliation did not register themselves as voters and have not elected any representative to the Kenya Legislative Council.

The other grievance was about segregation.

The white paper rejects all proposals of segregation. The commercial segregation was found impracticable and the residential segregation is to be secured by building and sanitary regulations and not by the objectionable method of racial discrimination. Segregation is to be perpetuated in the Highlands. One argument in favour of segregation which is some times advanced is that there is the caste-system with its disabilities in India. General Smuts says :

"I do not see why compulsory segregation is resented by Indians. I have heard of such things as caste in India and have heard of such a thing as of one Indian entirely refusing to negotiate with another Indian and I do not see why these catchwords 'freedom' and 'equality' should be applied to Indians in Africa. It is a case of treatment on its merits. We want what is just and fair and to place the Indians where they should be."

Mr. Andrews replies: "The Indians expected something better in the British connection than a return to the evils of the caste-system from which they themselves are seeking to get free. They are not prepared to be thrust back into a new caste-system from outside just as they are trying to escape from the old."

The policy embodied in the White Paper is declared to be based on the principle of Trusteeship for the natives. How the whites treat the natives is amply evident from their policy of reserves to which the natives are confined and whose areas are gradually diminished ; from the policy of taxation to which the natives contribute £500,000 and the rich Europeans only £12,000 ; from the policy of the hut-tax which forces every native to become a labourer and from the abominable Registration of Labour Acts and master and servants Ordinance under which the natives are no better than slaves. The recent protest of the whites against the natives cultivating cotton and becoming farmers and agriculturists clearly demonstrate their desire to keep them as labourers only. The whites argue that the sudden growth of wealth in the native community if they become independent cultivators will turn their heads and thus act to their detriment ! I hope the natives duly appreciate the sympathy of the Whites. I mentioned the treatment of the natives to show that in fact there is nothing of solicitude for the welfare of the natives in the attitude of the whites ; it is a purely selfish cry to get their object. The Convention of Association which some time ago was prepared to oppose

the Imperial Government if it decided against them, has adopted the motto, "Every European and every African is an asset to Africa, every Indian is a liability." The Indians in no way desire to deprive the natives of their rights and privileges. They are more considerate towards them than the British. But the racial hatred imported into East Africa from the South is forcing the issue to its extreme. The Indian Government had simply to protest against the Kenya decision and this appeared to the noble Lord Curzon as a sin for the "subordinate dependency."

UGANDA, ETC.

The Indians in Uganda have no great disabilities. In British Guiana, as mentioned before, there are no theoretic disabilities but in practice Indians suffer from many. In Fiji they have no municipal and political franchise. Thus it is seen that wherever the Indians are appreciable in number, they are debarred from political franchise, and they suffer other disabilities as well.

U. S. A.

So much for the Indians in the British Empire. The position of Indians in the United States is quite unsatisfactory. Their admission has long been prohibited. The Indians are not well-treated socially and this is especially the case in the Southern States where the colour-prejudice is very strong. The Indians are debarred from the rights of citizenship. They cannot be naturalised. The naturalisation law passed in 1790 provided that "any alien being a free white person" might become a citizen. The same words found place in successive naturalisation laws. Indians used to get naturalised and thus enjoy the rights of citizenship. But in 1923 the Supreme Court held in Mr. Thind's case that Indians cannot be naturalised as citizens because they are not included in the term "free white aliens." This acts retrospectively and all Indians who had been already naturalised lost their citizenship. It is now attempted in California that even children of those ineligible for citizenship born in the States should be also ineligible for citizenship, though the 14th amendment of the constitution passed in 1870 says "that all persons born in the U. S. A. are citizens of the U. S. A., and the State in which they reside."

The Indians are not entitled to acquire ownership of land in some States. They cannot purchase stock or share in a company entitled to possess or acquire agricultural land. They are deprived of vested rights in land, purchased or leased. Minor American-born children are denied the right to have their own parents as guardians. An Indian was refused licence to marry an American woman on the ground that according to the Supreme Court he was ineligible to marry one who was an American citizen. (August 23, 1926).

The franchise is withheld, as we have seen, on no grounds of incapacity or lack of knowledge of the Indians to exercise it, but because they are coloured and franchise to them means the franchise for other coloured people. It is taken for granted that the other coloured people are not to be given the franchise. The motive as given out is the desire to conserve their own type of civilisation. They point out in support of this policy that no disabilities are suffered by Indians when in small numbers. Canada points to the probability under existing circumstances of its party politics that a small minority may manipulate the position in such a way as to force the hands of the government to do as they like. The fear of reprisals on the part of the coloured people in Africa is also a factor that influences the white in deciding not to give the franchise to the coloured races, who have patiently suffered a lot, so far. General Smuts expresses the whites' fear of being swamped by the coloured. Lord Olivier rightly points out that the other races have also rights to protect themselves, their own civilisation and institutions against the white. The European civilisation is not the only one to be cared for and nourished in circumstances where it cannot survive on its own merits. The principle of protection is not to be extended to only one civilisation or type of institutions. The difficult situation is solved by some by granting communal representation as is done in Kenya or by legislation like the Native Affairs Act in South Africa by which natives are given their own councils as a preliminary step to get a share at some future time in the common institutions of the Union. The principle is defended on the grounds of different civilisations and not of the superiority of one over the other or of one race over the other. In the words of Lord Selborne, "neither an Indian represents an European

community nor a European an Indian because they represent two different civilisations not inferior or superior but different. Therefore, the solution for them is the communal roll, which in any parliament or in any legislature, composed of 3 or more than 2 races, is the only method by which the real opinion of that race can be adequately and permanently protected and expressed." It may be so in theory, but in practice it has little reference to the actual world we are living in. It appears to be a scheme designed to keep non-whites in a position of subordination and subjection. Communal representation is a solution only when there is no ground to believe the existence of domination of the white race; and as the present-day conditions under which the coloured people live are, it seems to result in firmly establishing racial hatred and prejudices permanently. An equality of status in all respects will mean the gradual diminution of mutual grievances and ill-will and is expected to lead to a more harmonious and peaceful world. It is sincerely hoped that the whites will clearly realise the significance of the wedge they have driven between the races of the world, and before it is too late an amicable settlement will be found for the impending struggle of the East and the West.

But apart from the attitude of the whites towards the Indians abroad, the Indians have to improve their status at home. The fact that they are not free in their own land and are subject to many political disabilities is one of the reasons why their strong protests against the invidious treatment, their people get abroad, remain ineffective. It may be said that Japan, though independent, has not been able to get fair treatment for its nationals outside. The Japanese are as much debarred as the Indians and suffer as many disabilities. But it is a mistake to think that the Japanese have accepted their disabilities abroad as an unalterable fact;—they are only biding their time. Of course, in foreign lands, Indians also may be subject to disabilities even after they are self-governing. But it seems improbable that as a self-governing dominion in the Empire, the Indians will agree to suffer for ever from these disabilities in the other parts of the same Empire. A self-governing India will be in a strong position, to adopt retaliatory methods. Whatever may be said for the peaceful methods of settling international affairs, the British settlers in Kenya appear to believe that a *show of force*

is one of the peaceful methods to gain one's end. Retaliatory measures are not provoking measures but merely a protest against disabilities suffered abroad, and make the other people suffer the same. The last Reciprocity Bill of the Indian legislature is thus an action in the right direction.

The Indians should be careful to scrutinise every scheme for the emigration of Indian labour. The character of Indian emigration is of much importance. The mere fact that in the past mostly labourers were the immigrants in other countries accounts for the contempt with which they are regarded as a race. In any fresh scheme of emigration, it should be insisted upon that ample provision be made for the settlement of Indians as independent cultivators and planters as well as teachers and ministers of religion. Emigration of unskilled labour should be allowed only when the Indian people are satisfied that the Indians already domiciled are free from any disabilities and due arrangements for the decent living of the new immigrants are made by the government desirous of Indian immigrants. It is hoped that the Legislators will be alive

to their responsibilities in the matter and that the Government of India will not override their decision in this respect at least.

The policy of the Empire is summed up in the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, which runs as follows:—

"This Conference reaffirms that each community of the Commonwealth should enjoy complete control over the composition of its population by restricting emigration from any of the other communities, but recognises that there is incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some parts of the empire. The Conference accordingly is of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship, should be recognised".

"The representatives of South Africa regret their inability to accept this resolution in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union. The Representatives of India, while appreciating their acceptance of this resolution, nevertheless feel bound to record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa and hope that by negotiations between India and South Africa a way can be found, as soon as may be, to reach a more satisfactory position".

AN AMERICAN CRITICISM OF "THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL"

INDIA'S FREEDOM AND WORLD OPINION

By ELIZABETH S. KITE,

Author of 'Beaumarchais' and 'The War of American Independence'

MR. Edward Thompson's book, "The Other Side of the Medal" is a revelation to the outside world about the truth of the so-called *Sepoy Mutiny*. Historians like Vincent Smith and other English writers have carefully concealed British atrocities in connection with this event, because they feared that the truth, if it were known, would lessen the prestige of British rule in India, and her fame abroad as a justice-dealing, civilizing force. Concealment of the facts of the "Mutiny" story having failed in the past to save British credit in India, behold an effort to regain lost ground by a new stratagem. It has taken courage to expose British misdeeds as Mr. Thompson has done in his book, and in this he deserves our highest admiration, but it is a pity that what might have been a wholly fine action has been badly spoiled by a note of weakness that appears again and again in its pages. Indians will not be deceived

by statements such as are made for instance on page 125, indicating that the activities of certain brilliant Indians in foreign lands, especially in the United States, have robbed Indians of "a great deal of the assistance they think they ought to have received (from Britishers) in their struggle for self-government." Undoubtedly many Englishmen deeply deplored the injustice done Indians in the Punjab in 1919, but to imply that world opinion regarding Amritsar, while hardening British hearts, has actually delayed justice for India, is grotesque in its absurdity.

The truth of the matter is that world opinion helps India just as it has helped Ireland. It is everywhere admitted that the Irish would never have secured nationhood in the form of a Free State within the Empire, if they had not fought for it and if they had not been aided from without by world opinion and especially by American

opinion, which has always condemned British misrule and exploitation of Ireland and the atrocities which from time to time have been added in order to terrorize the people into subjection. In speaking thus plainly---let it be understood---there is no desire to pander to a spirit of "patriotic self-esteem" or "to stir up anti-British feeling." On the contrary, there is an earnest desire to see America desist from her own imperial policies, taking to heart the lesson to be learned from each and every nation that has trod the path of Empire. There is no desire to paint England black but only to examine facts calmly in the light of truth.

Public opinion, then, cannot harm India or hold her back from freedom. Quite the contrary. Public opinion is of the utmost importance to her if she is to rouse herself and by force of the spirit within, break the shackles that bind her. It is not enough for India to struggle within herself for Swaraj; her leaders must realize the importance of world opinion and work for her on an international scale. Isolation is impossible for India. What happens there has an intimate bearing upon every question of world politics and any change in her relations to the British Empire has a revolutionary significance reaching to the remotest outposts of the globe. If doubts have existed in any minds as to what position India actually holds in the minds of Britishers, the recent Imperial Conference has dispelled them. It is now definitely established that India is a Pariah in the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations. To acquire full status of nationhood there is no other way than for India to enlist the sympathetic encouragement of other peoples by establishing international relations of her own.

Mr. Thompson in his first *Preface* gives the adage: "Truth has an eternal title to our confession though we are sure to be the sufferers by it", as reason for his publication of the truth about the Mutiny; yet in the *Preface* to the American edition of his work he sets a limit to the beneficial effects of that truth and laments that it must be known outside the Empire. He feels keenly that Britishers must know the truth, Indians, he admits, cannot help but know it, but for the rest of the world; "it is not their business". (See note bottom page 125). The weakness of this attitude is apparent, and it makes the author unjust. At page 125 he accuses by name the "American Home Rule League for India" of spreading "an atmosphere of misrepresentation" regarding the facts of British rule. It is well known that men of the type of Lala Lajpat Rai and the Rev. Dr. Sunderland, whom Mr. Thompson all but names, are not persons to spread misinformation about India with a design to black-guard the British. Their desire has been and is exactly the same as that expressed by Mr. Thompson in his *Preface*. The futility of Mr. Thompson's "wish" made in the note already referred to (page 125.) is only equalled by its impotence. We of America are amazed that an "Englishman should have been blind to the weakness of his position which he thus unconsciously reveals".

At page 124, Mr. Thompson ridicules the idea that British influence is the principal factor in the anti-Indian legislation recently enacted in America, and indeed the general anti-Asian tendency of our

government. The facts of the case are---and it is well that the Indian public should know them---that the policy of exclusion of Indians (called Hindoos in America) originated through British initiative as early as 1907-08, when the Canadian authorities shamefully ill-treated the Indian immigrants and advocated exclusion of Indians from Canada. The present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, was the first to put forward this idea. The Canadian authorities, with the approval of the British Government in England and possibly with the full sanction of the India Office, made the proposal to the American authorities that they should exclude Indians as they excluded the Chinese. This proposition was presented demi-officially, as I was told on excellent authority, by Lord Bryce, the then English Ambassador in Washington. This proposition was made after a riot occurred in the city of Bellingham (Washington State), when several Hindu laborers, working in the saw-mills, were mobbed by Americans. These Hindu laborers once belonged to the Indian Army, and they sought assistance from the British Consul at Seattle, which was flatly refused. The British Consul even refused to see the poor sufferers.

Since 1908 the British authorities have co-operated with those of America in carrying out a plan of exclusion of Hindus. I understand that some of the American officials and legislators who advocated this plan are British subjects naturalized as Americans and are in close touch with the British Embassy in Washington, D. C. In reality there is nothing surprising about this especially when we consider Britain's attitude towards Indians in India. By Mr. Thompson's own confession, (page 118), Britons judge Indians "as slave drivers would, and assess the (ir).... virtues as a hunter assesses those of dogs." What wonder then that the Government for India dreads the consequences, should any considerable number of Indians acquire American citizenship and thereby taste the full blessings of freedom and human equality denied them in their own country? I know that in one case the British Representative twice asked that a highly educated Hindu might not be allowed to retain his American citizenship. Mr. Carnegie Ross British Consul General of San Francisco, once asked the United States Government to deport a certain number of Hindus to India. Indeed it is certain, beyond any possibility of dispute, that the exclusion of Hindus from America has been carried on with the full consent of the British India Government, which has never protested against this policy.

There are many Indians in California who by hard labour, working under a torrid sun, have reclaimed waste land and some of them thus have acquired large holdings. Through the anti-alien Land Law and the recent Supreme Court decision regarding the ineligibility of Hindus to American citizenship, these Indians have suffered a grave injustice and lost all the fruit of their labours, but the British Government has offered no protest. This is not mere indifference. It is well known that the British Government safe-guarded the rights of British subjects in Korea when Japan introduced the anti-alien Land Law there. She does not wish to see her once Indian subjects grow rich and prosperous outside her domain, lest

that prosperity render unrest in India more difficult to control.

It is a fact, also beyond dispute, that British authorities do not wish to see any large body of Indian students coming to America to attend our Universities. For this reason it is very difficult for Indian students to secure passports to come to America. We hear it said that there are secret service men stationed here whose sole business is to keep watch on the Indian students and to black-list those who may be inclined to expose the truth about British rule in India.

The most subtle anti-Asian propagandists among us are the highly placed British visitors to America and their friends, the Anglo-Americans. They preach Anglo-American friendship for World Peace and to conserve the "supremacy of the White Race" and to check the menace of the so-called "rising tide of color". Of these the most successful have been Lord Balfour, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Mr. Philip Kerr of the Rhodes Foundation, Sir Frederick White, Sir Valentine Chirol and others. It is an open secret in America that the Australian Premier Bruce wants an understanding with America so that the latter will co-operate with Great Britain when the time comes to attack Japan. For the same reason Americans are urged by Britishers like Mr. Bywater, not to relax control over the Philippines; because they hope that some day the British Navy may make use of its harbors. For the same reason Anglo-Americans support the Singapore base, because that will help Anglo-American naval cooperation in the Pacific. Only recently one of the Highest American authorities on the Philippine question said that every British official thinks that any concession accorded to the Filipinos by the American Government, is a direct menace to British rule in India, because Indians may be expected to demand similar concessions.

History demonstrates unanswerably that nations, like individuals, have a soul which is undying,

but that Empires are doomed to decay. Great Britain cannot escape her doom; it is merely a question of time. One hundred and fifty years ago the French philosopher Turgot, when asked about the expediency of the Government of Louis XVI. going to the aid of the revolted Colonies of North America, answered by announcing as an unescapable law that like ripe fruit from its stem, all Colonies will separate from the parent country and all subject peoples will emancipate themselves. This is unquestionably true but events may be hastened by wise handling, and the results, as in America in 1776, are to the advantage of all parties. Just as Ireland in 1923, the United States in 1776, so India today needs the backing of world public opinion before she can hope to rise to her true status of nationhood. The spirit of individualism which characterizes her ancient and honorable civilization and of which she is justly proud, has of late so rapidly taken on nationalistic expression that a further development in the line of international consciousness is already manifesting itself. If the leaders of India wish to see their country free, then this line of operation must not be neglected, and it is high time that steps be taken to organize her people for action on an international scale. No true friend of India can object to see her working along every line that will aid her in the attainment of freedom.

Let India not forget that America looms large in world politics today and that Great Britain depends upon America for support. With her broken prestige as revealed in *THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL* it becomes absolutely certain that in order to maintain a grip upon her Empire in Asia the approbation of America must be with her, something more powerful than battle-ships. If to gain this support thousands of Britishers come over to cultivate American public opinion, then India must realize that she cannot ignore America.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
December, 1926

GLEANINGS

The Painter of Children

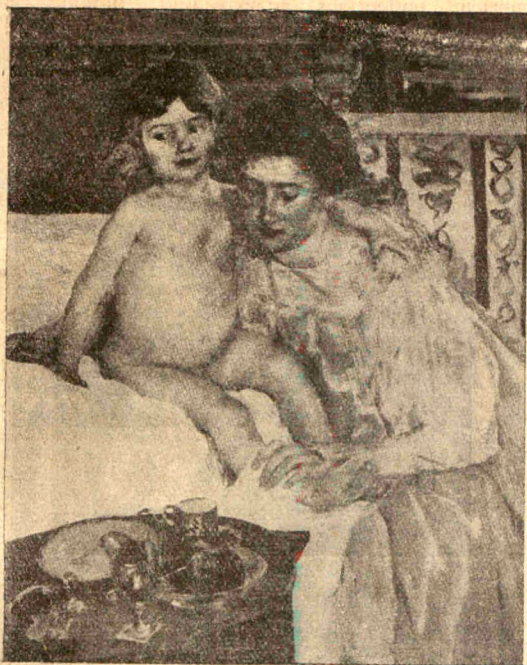
Death occurred to Mary Cassatt on June 15 at the age of eighty-three. Pittsburgh was her birth-place, and Philadelphia gave her the rudiments of her art; but she had lived so long in Europe and become so identified with French art, that nothing now labeled "American" can seem to be applied to her. Her recent utterance that "no distinctive school of American art exists" seems to absolve her from any personal claim to alliance. Yet her fame, which has existed since the days of the great impressionists, Degas, Manet, Renoir, Berthe Morisot, is too much for the American to surrender to any foreign ownership.

Mary Cassatt will be remembered as the painter

of children. "She has the eyes of a painter and in a measure the mind of a sister of charity," wrote Achille Segard, the great French critic. Also, she is "devoted to her art as if it were a religion." On this theme he makes a further observation:

"Her conception of life and art is profound and touching. One perceives that she has a strong feeling that the place of the child in human life is of limitless importance, hence he represents at one time both the present and the future, is the gage of immortality, the necessary medium for the continuation of the race and its perpetuation."

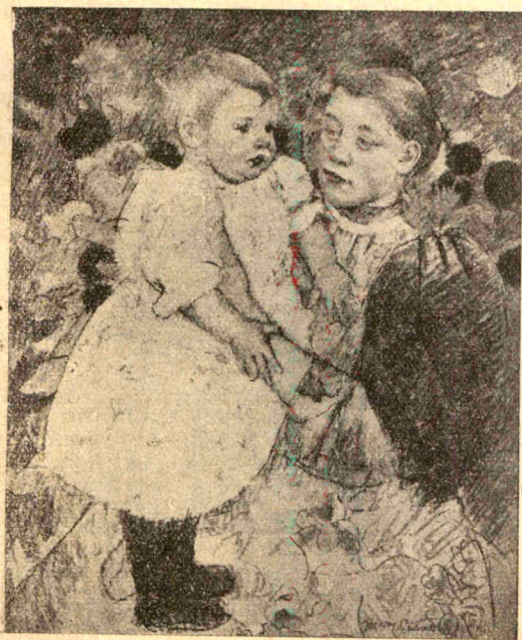
When, in 1874, Degas saw a canvas by her in the Salon and remarked: "that is genuine. There is one who does as I do,"—it was perhaps the beginning of that association in art that links her name with the impressionists. In *The Herald*



One of Mary Cassatt's portraits of a child
Her feeling was that "the place of the child in
human life is of limitless importance".



Degas's portrait of Miss Cassatt
"I recognized my true masters," she said to her
biographer, Segard. "I admired Manet,
Courbet and Degas".



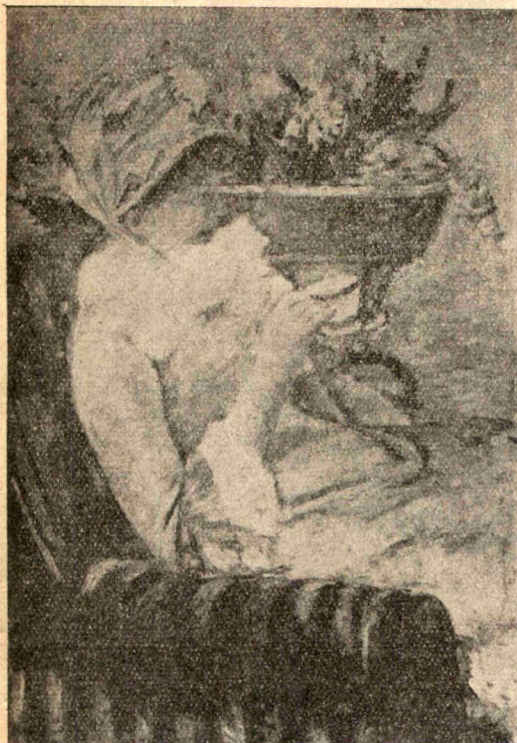
"IN THE GARDEN"
From a pastel by Miss Cassatt, a medium she
worked as well as paint.

Tribune is a forceful editorial that may be safely credited to the distinguished critic, Mr. Royal Cortissoz :

"Mary Cassatt was a remarkable woman, the comrade of those painters who under the banner of Impressionism achieved something like a revolution in modern art. The *mot* of Degas makes perhaps the best epitaph upon her whole career—'That is genuine.' At the close of the famous exhibition of 1879 in which she and the others affirmed their independence there was a surplus in the treasury. With her share of it Miss Cassatt bought pictures by Degas and Manet. That, too, was like her. She lived utterly for art.

"She had the gift, the *flair*, but it took time before she found herself. Going abroad while she was still a young girl to be a painter, she strayed momentarily into the studio of Charles Chaplin, a graceful Salonniere. Against his routine habit she promptly rebelled and sought instead the inspiration of the old masters. Rather oddly she found it first at Parma. This keen observer, this practitioner of an essentially French and modern directness, whose tenderness never lured her away from the exact statement of fact, actually began her apprenticeship by long saturation in the melting Correggiosity of Correggio. After Italy came Spain, but with a susceptibility to Rubens rather than to Velasquez in the stimulating pageant of the Prado, a susceptibility so ardent that it ultimately carried her to Antwerp and intense

devotion to the works of the great Fleming. Yet these initiations were but preliminaries to the decisive development of her talent. That ensued in Paris.



LADY AT TEA

The influence of the impressionists, her always admired masters is well illustrated in this canvas by Miss Cassatt.

"The truth was her goal, and the newer French exemplars of it were her predestined counsellors. She once told M. Segard, her biographer, what they meant to her. 'I recognized my true masters,' she said. 'I admired Manet, Courbet and Degas. I hated conventional art. Now I began to live.' The important point about this period in her life, too, is that she 'began to live' as an individuality. Her associations never submerged her originality. There was an organic energy in her art. Even on what was in a sense her real debut, in 1879, Gauguin could surely say of her: 'Miss Cassatt has much charm, but she has more force.' That force lifted her to high rank. It was as an equal that she foregathered with the Impressionist group. She and Degas were colleagues.

"It is an amusing paradox in her history that her force, her penetrating vision, her technical clarity were wreaked largely upon the most fragile of themes. She excelled in pictures of children and their mothers. But her sentiment couldn't have drifted into sentimentality. She had too live a mind. She had too much taste. Apropos of her taste, it should be added that she was a most judicious connoisseur and had to do with the

entrance of numerous fine pictures into diverse American collections, private and public. Her judgment on a work of art was impeccable."

—*Literary Digest.*

Cuff Link Watch—the Latest Style in Timepieces

This latest mode of wearing the watch has been introduced in Germany as a substitute for the wrist watch. It is a cuff link time-piece, and fairly accurate in spite of its diminutive size, it is claimed. One advantage it has over the wrist watch is that the shirt sleeve doesn't have to be

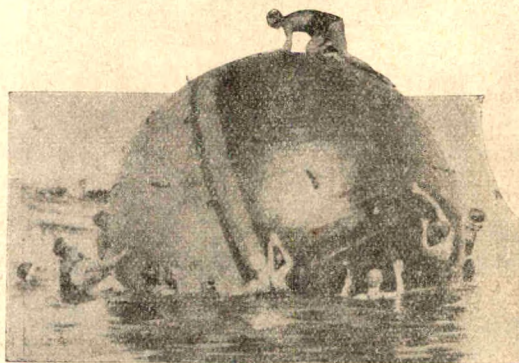


Cuff Link Watch

drawn up part way to the elbow in order to see where the hands are pointing. The link on the other side is hinged, and folds flat against the connecting bar, to permit easy insertion through the button-holes.

New Thrills are Found in Giant Water Ball

A giant water ball, fourteen feet in diameter, built by the chief of police at Avalon, a Catalina island resort, off the California coast, provides a thrilling water game for swimmers. Half of the



Water Ball Game in Which Duckings Are Frequent! Sides Are of Different Colors and Teams Try to Get their Shade Out of the Water

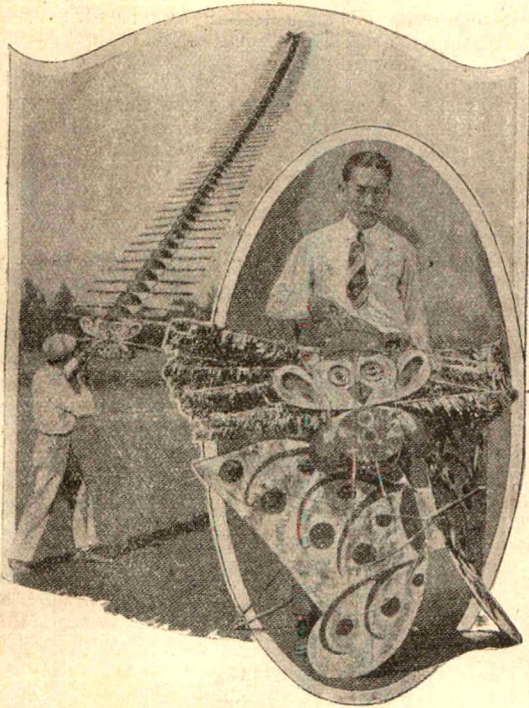
ball is painted red and the other half green, and the object of the two contesting teams is to keep the color they have selected for their own above

water. The ball is studded with short ropes by which it can be manœuvered.

—*Popular Mechanic*

Eighty-Five-Foot Kite Has Blinking Eyes

Lee Shaw, sixteen-year-old Japanese school boy of Los Angeles, has won considerable notice for the marvelous kites he constructs. The one he considers his masterpiece is in the form of a huge dragon, eighty-five feet long and brilliantly coloured. It flies with the head toward the ground, the flapping tail extending up-



Young Shaw Flying Kite, and Close View of Its Head with Butterfly "Messenger" at Bottom

ward, the reversal of procedure in ordinary kites. A feature of the design is the arrangement of the eyes, which have movable centers that give the effect of winking. Another innovation is a butterfly figure, four feet across, that can be made to soar on the string as though attacking the dragon.

Wizard of the Forge

Working in an ordinary blacksmith shop, with rude tools, James Cran of Plainfield, N. J. has attracted wide attention by reproducing the beauty of flowers in metal. The only tools used were cross-peen hammer, tongs of various sizes, and one or two other simple implements, all of which were made by the smith himself. Mr. Cran works entirely from memory, using no model. He studies his object closely, fixes it



Mr. Crad and Samples of Artistic Pieces He Forged in Iron

firmly in his mind and then starts to work at the forge.

—*Popular Mechanic*

Portraits drawn on Typewriter

Some time ago we invited the attention of our readers to a picture drawn on a portable typewriter by a Bengali gentleman named Babu Gopinath Ghose.



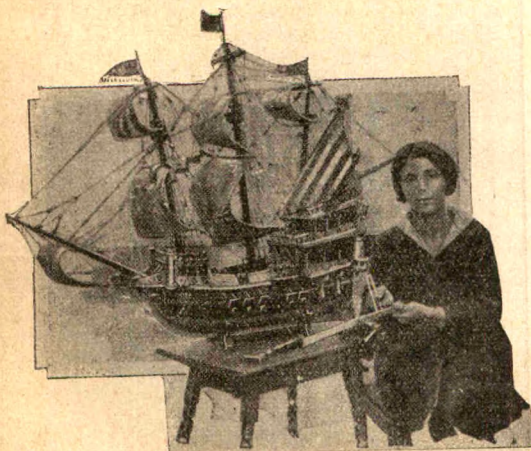
Lokamanya Tilak



Rabindranath Tagore

We are glad to reproduce here portraits of Late Lokananya Balgangaahar Tilak and Sj. Rabindranath Tagore very nicely executed on a typewriter by Mr. M. V. Subbarao, Commercial Instructor of the Municipal High School at Vizianagram (South India).

Woman Carves Ship Model With Few Tools

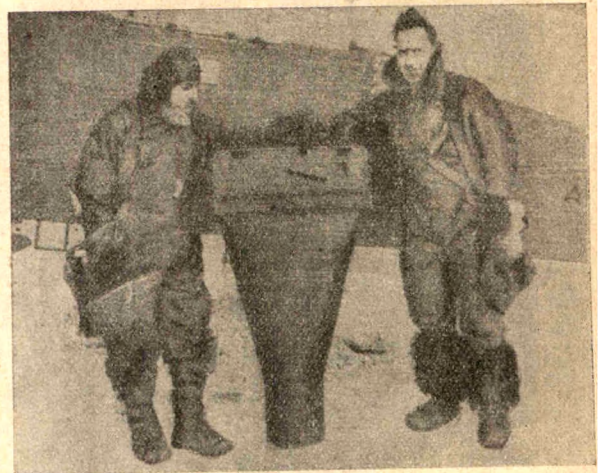


Mrs. Frances Black and Model of a
Galleon She Carved—Her first

Working with only a few tools available in her home, a Los Angeles woman has completed a model of an ancient Spanish galleon, complete from keel to masthead. Her model is forty-eight inches long from bowsprit tip to stern and stands thirty-six inches high. All the material that went into it cost less than five dollars.

Giant Camera Snaps a Whole City at once

Designed for army Air Service work, this huge aerial camera is being tested by Lieut. George W. Goddard at Dayton, Ohio. The lower end shown in the illustration houses the largest photographic lens of the high speed, anastigmatic type that has ever been ground. The image recorded on the film is nine inches square.



Lieut. G. W. Goddard and W. Oswald with the
huge camera

At an altitude of 35,000 feet, the lens would produce an image showing a city the size of Detroit to be about three and one half inches long.

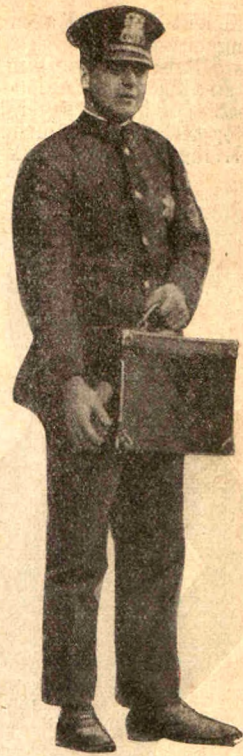
—*Popular Science*

Gigantic Figure of Buddha Disclosed by Cave-in

Partial collapse of a grotto among the mountains of western Tibet brought to light the gigantic figure of a Buddha that had been carved from the rock. The idol had been placed as though guarding the sanctuary. Its form and the finish of the carvings behind it showed that the makers were craftsmen of no mean skill.



Gigantic Figure of Buddha, Carved from Living Rock, Which Was Accidentally Revealed When a Mountain Cave-in Opened the Shrine to Light



Suitcase Tear-Gas Riot Gun and a Suitcase Handle Concealing a Gas Bomb Which Is Discharged if Pressure on the Trigger Relaxes

The New War on Crime

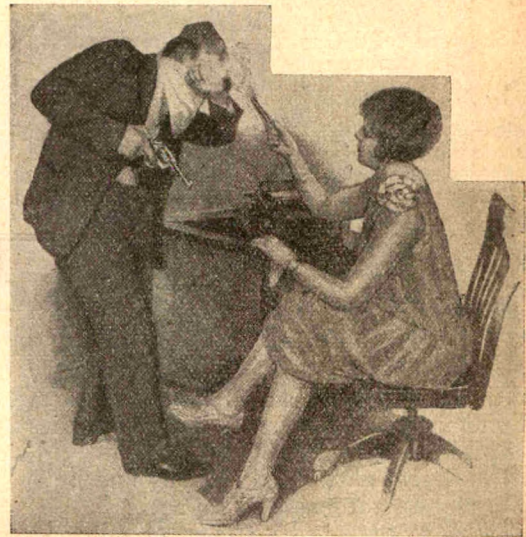
The old-fashioned policeman, who relied chiefly on a locust night stick to maintain



Police Chief Testing a Bullet-Proof Vest by Firing Point Blank at the Inventor, Who Wears the Vest and a Smile

peace and order on his beat, would have been dazed if he had seen the exhibits at the recent convention of American police chiefs.

There was an affair that looked like a small suitcase, but turned out to be a new kind of



The Latest Thing for Personal Protection Is an Oversize Fountain Pen That Is Really a Gas Gun in Disguise

riot gun, loaded with tear gas under 1,800 pounds pressure, sufficient to send a mob of 2000 men home, weeping bitterly.

There was a light machine gun with a demountable stock, so that it could be turned into a revolver, capable of firing several hundred shots in a minute, or throwing an incendiary bullet that would explode the gasoline tank of a bandit car



Short-Barreled Gun Top. Can Be Fired through the Pocket

and send it up in flames almost before the occupants could tumble out.

There was a new model revolver, designed at the request of Chicago's police chief, for special

use of plain-clothes men. It was a 38-caliber gun, firing 200 grains of lead, but with a barrel so short that it slips into the coat pocket and can be fired through the coat without stopping to draw it.

There were tear-gas cartridges for revolvers—one of them stopped 150 angry gamblers in a single raid one night—bullet-proof vests that enable a man to walk right up to a spitting revolver; hand grenades in different colors, four of them, each color signifying the contents, which ranges from a mild little sneezing gas for mixed mobs containing women and children, to the strongest of tear gases for barricaded desperadoes. There were motorcycles with armored shields and bullet-proof glass windows, their sidecars equipped with machine guns and sawed-off riot guns.

There was a suitcase handle for bank messengers' bags, harmless so long as the owner holds it but throwing out clouds of tear gas if any unlucky bandit should force the messenger to drop the bag, and a briefcase for bond messengers that worked the same way.

A pretty little desk ornament, sometimes in the form of a lizard or modeled after a racing greyhound, turned out to be a gas bomb. Connected to a radio C-battery, with wires and switches at each door and window, it is designed to protect your house from burglars, or, placed on the cashier's counter, with a foot button on the floor it will guard against holdup men.

Two neat little nickelplated devices, which might be mistaken for some new kind of automobile ventilator, were screwed on a car in place of the cowl lights. A button on the floor connects them to a tank of gas and when pressed distributes blinding tears among all within a twenty-foot range on either side of the automobile.

The exhibits of devices for fighting crime were many and varied, but even more space was devoted to traffic-control equipment—something the old-fashioned policeman with his locust stick never heard of. There were automatic lights of a dozen varied kinds; metal markers that can be driven into the pavement and will last for years; new kinds of paints for traffic signs, guaranteed to stand up for weeks under constant heavy traffic and signs that come stuck together like fly paper and are unrolled, slapped down, and left for the passing auto tires to iron into place.

IN AN INDIAN GARDEN

By E. E. SPEIGHT

Cities and palaces arise
From the golden sea as the daywind dies;
Shadows lengthen, flowers lose,
In twilight calm, their lustrous hues;
The thirsty gardens breathe again
As though they had a dream of rain,
And through the floating fragrance pass
Tawny figures, treading the grass

Naked and noiseless, as they bear
The boon of water everywhere.—
Earthen jars of gourd-like mould
Devised in the deep days of old.
On herb and root they deftly fling
The gleaming gift of life they bring,
All unaware of wanderers' eyes
And their delight, as the daywind dies.

THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

THERE have been many great empires in the world, but sooner or later they have all perished. The Roman empire lasted long because it was the rule, not of a family but of a whole nation. Such also is the modern British empire in India; it has been created and maintained by the genius, energy and perseverance of the British race. Therefore, the fate of this empire naturally depends upon the intellect and character of the Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen who come out to rule India as civil servants and military officers.

The British Indian empire was not, in its origin, a deliberately planned thing. It grew up almost accidentally without any far-sighted preparations at first. But after its establishment, as soon as the neighbouring Powers had been curbed (by Clive), a new administrative system had been set up (by Warren Hastings), and the vexatious question of land revenue settled permanently (by Cornwallis), a great genius and true imperialist came to govern India. He was the Marquis of Wellesley. On the one hand, he greatly expanded the boundaries of the East India Company's dominions and made the British Power paramount over almost all the Indian princes. And on the other hand, he carefully planned to give permanence to that empire by improving the efficiency of the English administrators and thereby enlisting the interest and affection of the people on the side of their foreign rulers. A trading company had suddenly become the ruler of millions of men and thousands of square miles, but its servants were still chosen for the purposes of trade and not trained for the work of government. Wellesley saw this weak point in the British imperialism of his day and set himself to remedy the evil with his characteristic energy. He tried to make the raw young civil and military officers of the Company fit for their task, by first teaching them the laws and languages of the people thoroughly and also improving their general education, in a college directly under his control.

The internal decay of the Mughal empire and the corruption of the old civilization and government of the country, which reached their climax about the middle of the 18th century, had first tempted the E. I. Company's chiefs in Bengal and Madras to throw away the pen for the sword and to embark on a policy of empire-making which promised to be at once easy and profitable. But this same moral decay of the country threw a heavier burden upon the English administrators who replaced our native rulers. As the authorities in England were slow in directing their agents in India to undertake the open and full government of Bengal, and, the Company's factors and clerks were unfit to act as magistrates, judges and ambassadors,—the newly conquered provinces of Bengal and Madras had to pass through the terrible misery of a period when the English in India enjoyed "power without responsibility." For the good of the people as well as for the permanence of British rule in India, it was imperatively necessary that India's new masters should be properly educated. Wellesley's statesmanship lay in seeing this need clearly and carrying out the necessary reform without waiting for the Directors' sanction.

FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

Lord Wellesley came to Bengal in May 1798 as the arbiter of the destinies of millions of people of various languages, manners, usages and religions. The British possessions in India then formed one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world and included Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Benares, the Company's jagir in the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, the Baramahal and other districts ceded by Tipu at the peace of Seringapatam in 1792. These most opulent and flourishing parts of India were under the more immediate and direct administration of the European civil servants of the East India Company.

But the qualifications of the civil servants in Bengal—and still more in Madras and Bombay seemed to His Excellency very

unsatisfactory, and his immediate attention was drawn to their improvement. He felt that the evil arose principally from a defect at the source and fountain-head of the service, *viz.*, the education and habits of the junior civil servants sent to this country. The age at which they usually arrived in India was between 16 and 18 years, and the education received by them at Home was confined to commercial and mercantile studies, so that their ignorance of the languages, laws, usages and customs of the people whom they had to govern was lamentable.

As a remedy for these defects Wellesley realized that, in order to qualify for the discharge of their duties, which were of a mixed and complicated nature and involved the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government,—the education of the junior civil servants must be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, but the superstructure must be systematically completed in India.

The following remarks of the Governor-General on the magnitude and importance of the duties of the European civil servants are still of interest to us :—

"...The duty and policy of the British Government in India require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government to Europeans, educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects.....The civil servants of the English East India Company can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces...Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, by foreign language, by the peculiar usages and laws of India, and by the manners of its inhabitants..... Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India, with the Muhammadan and Hindu codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which

constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic difference of the several codes of law administered within the British Empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India.....nor should any precaution be relaxed in India, which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the State with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this Government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient."

The importance of the mastery of Indian languages by the European civil servants was recognized by Wellesley so early that a few months after his arrival in this country he had issued a notification (21st December 1798) directing that from and after the 1st January 1801, no civil servant would be deemed eligible to any of the following offices unless he had passed an examination in the laws and regulations enacted by the Governor-General and in the languages, a knowledge of which was declared to be an indispensable qualification for them :—

Persian and Hindustani for the office of Judge or Register (*sic*) of any Court of Justice.

Bengali for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Salt Agent in the provinces of Bengal or Orissa.

Hindustani for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Agent for the provision of opium in the province of Bihar or Benares.

The College of Fort William was founded by Wellesley in 1800. He was so eager to see the College at work that he opened it and appointed the teachers without waiting for the sanction of the Court of Directors

at Home. The actual opening of the college dates from the 24th November 1800, on which date lectures commenced in the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani languages.

THE COLLEGE STARTED

The Governor-General was to be the Patron and Visitor of the college. The members of the Supreme Council and the Judges of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats were to be its Governors. The posts of Provost and Vice-Provost were conferred on the Revd. David Brown, and Revd. Claudius Buchanan, A. B.

The primary duties of the Provost were to superintend and regulate the general morals and conduct of the junior civil servants.

The following were the first Professors appointed to the college :—

For teaching the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council etc., for the civil government of the British territories in India G. H. Barlow

(John Herbert Harington succeeded Barlow in 1801)

Hindu Law and Sanskrit	H. T. Colebrooke
Hindustani	John Gilchrist
Persian Language and Literature	{ N. B. Edmonstone Francis Gladwin
Arabic and Persian languages and Muhammadan Law	Lt. John Baillie
Greek and Latin Classics	Revd. Claudius Buchanan
Bengali and Sanskrit	Revd. William Carey 1st May, 1801.
Tamil	Revd. J. Poezold
Natural Philosophy	Dr. James Dinwiddie 4 March, 1801.
Modern Languages	Monsr. Duplessis 5 March 1802.

(Matthew Lumsden appointed assistant to Lt. Baillie as Examiner in Persian 11 May, 1801).

The establishment of maulavis and pandits was on a very liberal scale. The Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali Departments had each a Chief Munshi on a salary of Rs. 200 a month, and a Second Munshi on Rs. 100 a month. There were besides 50 subordinate munshis :—20 for the Persian Department, 12 for the Hindustani, 6 for the Bengali at Rs. 40 each, and 4 for the Arabic Department.

The teachership of the Braja-bhasha was offered to Lallu Lal Kavi in February 1802, and that of the Marathi language to Vaidyanath—a Marathi Pandit, in February 1804, under the superintendence of W. Carey. For some important stations in the diplomatic service of the Company, proficiency in Marathi was considered an essential qualification.

The Bengali and Sanskrit Department was placed under the following heads :—

Professor	Revd. William Carey, D.D.
Chief Pandit	Mrittunjoy Vidyalankar
Second Pandit	Ramnath Bachaspati
Subordinate Pandits :	Sripati Mukherji Ananda Chandra Rajib-lochan Kashinath Padmalochan Churamani Ram-ram Bose,

It may interest the reader to know that Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was appointed Sherishtadar of the Bengali Department of this college on 29th December 1841. This was the starting-point in the public career of the greatest educationist of modern Bengal. *

The Provost, Vice-Provost and all the Professors, after completing 7 years' service in the college, were entitled to pensions, the amount of which should in no case be less than one-third of their salary, for the rest of their lives.

WHO WERE TO BE TAUGHT

The benefits of the institution were primarily extended to all junior civil servants newly appointed for the Presidency of Bengal, and to all those on the Bengal Establishment who were of less than three years' standing. They were to spend a term of three years at the college, during which their sole public duty was to undergo the prescribed studies. Similar privileges were given to the junior civil servants of Madras and Bombay as, from considerations of both expense and uniformity, it was thought undesirable to establish similar colleges at Madras and Bombay. Provision was also made for the newly arrived military cadets of the Company to be admitted to the College of Fort William. This was the first step towards the regular instruction in Hindustani of the officers belonging to the native corps.

* College of Fort William Proceedings.—*Home Dent. Miscellaneous No. 574. pp. 22-23.*

Every student in the college of less than three years' standing used to receive a fixed allowance of Rs.300 a month, with free quarters and board.

The college year was divided into four terms of two months each, with four vacations of one month each. The following list shows the number of students attending lectures in the different subjects in the third term of 1801 :—

Persian language	36
Arabic	8
Hindustani	32
Bengali	6
Modern languages	6
	88

The older civilians and military officers who had mastered the laws and languages of this country were to be selected for diplomatic and judicial appointments.

PROMOTION OF LEARNING

It was Wellesley's intention to make the study of Oriental literature and law the principal aim of the College of Fort William. In order to facilitate the acquisition of the different Indian vernaculars by the students, text-books in these languages were composed and a number of useful Oriental works were published by the college staff, either at the expense of the Government or with the help of subscriptions from it. Learned Indians received money rewards from the College Council for producing useful literary works.

A copious library, it was thought, would be of material help to the Professors and students alike in promoting the study of the languages. The College collected many valuable printed books in Oriental languages and rare Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit MSS. The downfall of the Mughal empire had led to the masterpieces of eastern learning being dispersed over India and exposed to the ravages of time, accident and neglect. They were now recovered and carefully preserved in the library of the college, where expert orientologists soon undertook to edit and print many of them. In this way the college benefited the scholarly world in general, in addition to preparing the Company's officers for their duties. The splendid manuscript collection of Tipu Sultan was originally deposited in the college library, but with the solitary exception of one MS., all the others were afterwards withdrawn from it

and transferred to the Libraries of the India Office, London, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In its early days the college used to lend books out, but in consequence of the loss of many volumes the practice was discouraged and on 1st August 1807 a resolution was passed by the College Council imposing restrictions on the borrowers. Such learned natives as had occasion to consult books, or to make extracts, were required to visit the college for that purpose. No book was to be taken away from the library by any native, excepting such works as he might be employed by order of the College Council to translate, and even in that case a special order from the College Council under the signature of the Secretary was required before any book could be issued. In 1835 the number of European printed books was about 5,224, Oriental printed books about 11,718, and Oriental manuscripts—some of which were highly illuminated and of great rarity—4,225. *

ITS ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS

It may interest the reader to know that Bengali prose began long before Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. To satisfy the curious reader I give below particulars of some of the Bengali books which were published under the patronage of this College :—

1. *Pratapaditya-charitra*. History of Rajah Pratapaditya from the beginning of the reign of Akbar to the end of that of Jahangir, by Ram-ram Bose (1801). The author, who was a subordinate pandit in the Bengali Department of the college, received a reward of Rs. 300 for its composition from the College Council. He also published in 1802 *Lipimala*, an original composition in Bengali prose in the epistolary form.

2. *Rajah Krishnachandra-charitra*. The History of Rajah Krishnachandra Roy of Krishnagar, containing the correspondence between the Rajah and the English in the early period of their intercourse with Bengal, published by the Serampur Mission Press in 1805. The author, Rajib-lochan, was a subordinate pandit in the Bengali Department of the college and was himself a descendant of the Rajah's family.

3. *Batrish-singhasan* translated from the original Sanskrit by Mr. Ritunjoy Vidyalkar, the

* In 1836 the Oriental MSS. were transferred to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Society undertaking their upkeep and allowing the public to consult them. At the same time the European printed books belonging to the college were made over to the newly constituted Public Library on certain conditions.

Chief Pandit in the Bengali Department of the college (Serampur 1808).

4. *Rajavali*, or a history of the Kings of Delhi, and a *General History of the Hindus* were also composed by Mr. Ttunjoy Vidyalankar.

5. *Purusha-Pariksha*, or the Test of Man, a work containing the moral doctrines of the Hindus, translated from the Sanskrit by Haraprasad Rai, a pandit attached to the College (1815).

6. *Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali language* (1801), and a *Dictionary of the Bengali Language* (1815) were published by the Revd. William Carey in 1815.

Apart from the grammars, books of fables, ethics, etc., which were specially composed as class-books, other works of great utility and merit in the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Marathi and other languages were published, and the public are indebted to this institution for much addition to the general stock of knowledge. Many improvements were introduced in the various branches of Oriental printing, such as, the casting of a new and improved fount of Devnagari type for the Sanskrit books under the superintendence of Carey. It is with satisfaction that we find among the literary notices of the college, under date 26 July 1805, that the Asiatic Society of Bengal went into half shares with the college in granting an annual stipend of £450 to the Protestant Missionaries of Serampur, towards defraying the expenses of publishing the original texts of some of the most ancient and authentic Sanskrit works with English translations. The *Ramayana* was the first book to be published under this scheme.

CONVOCATION

On the convocation day, which generally fell in the month of February, disputations in the Oriental languages were held by the students appointed by the College Council. There were one respondent and two opponents. The respondent defended a position asserted by himself in the course of a short thesis, while the chief opponent advanced four arguments and the second brought two against the respondent's proposition. Each opponent, after he had finished his arguments, had to read a short thesis stating his own opinion on the subject. A professor or examiner was appointed as moderator whose duty it was to stand by the respondent, to regulate the discussion in order that it might be conducted with becoming propriety and to confine the parties to the question. It is interesting to note that this was similar

to the practice which is still followed by indigenous pandits all over India, and which also used to prevail in the Universities of mediaeval Europe.

The subjects of these disputations were very interesting, such as :—

BENGALI

The distribution of Hindus into castes retards their progress in improvement (1803).

The translation of the best works extant in the Sanskrit into the popular languages of India, would promote the extension of science and civilization (1804).

A knowledge of the Bengali language is of great importance for the transaction of public business in Bengal (1807).

HINDUSTANI

The suicide of Hindu widows by burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands is a practice repugnant to the natural feelings and inconsistent with moral duty (1803).

The Hindustani language is the most generally useful in India (1802).

PERSIAN

An academical institution in India is advantageous to the natives, and to the British Nation (1802).

The Persian language is of more utility in the general administration of the British Empire in India than the Hindustani (1805).

Essays* or declamations were also pronounced on the Convocation day in Marathi, Sanskrit, etc. In 1806 and 1808 the subjects of the declamations in Marathi were *Fall of the Maratha Empire*, and *The Utility of the study of the Maratha Language* respectively.

When the disputations ended, His Excellency the Visitor awarded to the students who had completed their three years' course of study, the Honorary Diploma inscribed on vellum in the Oriental character, purporting that the students had acquired such Proficiency in certain of the Oriental languages as entitled them to a Degree of Honour in the same. In addition to a Certificate of Proficiency and conduct, which every student received from the College Council, Degrees of Honour were considered requisite qualifications for certain high offices. Attested copies of such certificates were required to be submitted to the Visitor to be entered on the public records of Government.

After the distribution of prizes and diplomas, the Visitor generally delivered a

* Every student was required to compose one essay or declamation in English during the course of each term, the subject of such essays being proposed by the College Council. The first three essays of each term and the theses pronounced at the public disputations in the Oriental languages were printed in Calcutta for the years 1802-4.

speech. Wellesley had the satisfaction of being present, as Visitor of the College, at three annual convocations, when he listened to the public disputations and delivered his own addresses, from which the following interesting extracts are quoted :

WELLESLEY'S IDEA ABOUT THE COLLEGE AND ITS FUNCTIONS (AS SET FORTH IN HIS SPEECHES).

"In the difficulties and dangers of successive wars, in the most critical juncture of arduous negotiations, in the settlement of Conquered and Ceded Provinces, in the time of returning peace, attended by the extension of our trade, by the augmentation of our revenue, and by the restoration of public credit, I have contemplated this institution with conscious satisfaction and with confident hope. Observing your auspicious progress under the salutary operation of the Statutes and Rules of the College, I have anticipated the stability of all our acquisitions, and the security and improvement of every advantage which we possess.

From this source, the service may now derive an abundant and regular supply of public officers, duly qualified to become the successful instruments of administering this Government in all its extensive and complicated branches; of promoting its energy in war; of cultivating and enlarging its resources in peace; of maintaining in honour and respect its external relations with the Native Powers; and of establishing (under a just and benignant system of internal administration) the prosperity of our finances and commerce, on the solid foundations of the affluence, happiness, and confidence of a contented and grateful people.....

The necessity of providing such a system of education was not diminished by the numerous instances existing in the Company's service of eminent Oriental learning, and of high qualification for public duty. A wise and provident Government will not rest the public security for the due administration of affairs, on the merits of any number or description of its public officers at any period of time. It is the duty of Government to endeavour to perpetuate the prosperity of the State by an uniform system of public institution; and by permanent and established law, to transmit to future times, whatever benefits can be derived from present example, of wisdom, virtue and learning.....

It has been a principal object of my attention to consolidate the interests and resources of the three presidencies; to promote in each of them, a common spirit of attachment to their mutual prosperity and honour; to assimilate their principles, views, and systems of Government; and to unite the co-operation of their respective powers in the common cause, by such means, as might facilitate the administration of this extensive Empire in the hands of the Supreme Government.....

The Professors and Teachers of the Persian, Arabic, Hindustani, Bengali, Sanskrit, and Tamil languages, are now diligently employed in composing grammars and dictionaries, and in preparing translations and compilations for the use of the students in their respective departments. The operation of these useful labours, will not be confined to the limits of this institution, or of this Empire. Such works tend to promote the general

diffusion of Oriental literature and knowledge in every quarter of the globe. (*March, 1803*). *

Considerable exertions have been employed during the last year in publishing elementary work of general utility in the Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindu stani, Arabic and Persian languages. A grammar of the Tamil language has also been composed in this college...Great improvements have been introduced in the art of printing the Oriental characters by native artists; and several of the learned natives are employed in publishing various works of Oriental literature, under the aid derived from the improved art of printing.....

The intention of the Statutes is not only to provide instruction in the Oriental languages, and in the several branches of study immediately connected with the performance of official functions but to prescribe habits of regularity and good order. My principal purpose in founding this institution was, to secure the junior servants of the Company from all undue influence in the discharge of their official functions and to introduce them into the public service in perfect freedom and independence, exempt from every restraint excepting the high and sacred obligations of their civil, moral, and religious duty.

With this salutary view, the Statutes furnish the means and enforce the necessity of acquiring that knowledge, without which, every public officer must become dependant upon the influence of those whom he is appointed to control.....

The high character of the East India Company the fame and glory of our country in this remote region, demand from you a correct observance of all those rules which have been framed for the purpose of securing you against the evils of ignorance, indolence, and extravagance, and of qualifying you in knowledge, in freedom, in virtue, and honour, to administer to these populous and opulent provinces the blessings of a just, an honest, a British Government. (*September, 1804*). *

The study of the Muhammadan and Hindu codes of law will be facilitated by the works extant on those subjects, to which the attention of the students should be carefully directed. In the course of the present year, I trust, that a considerable progress may be made with the aid of the learning and skill of the principal judicial officers of this Government, in establishing a regular course of study in the Muhammadan and Hindu codes of law.

But the accurate study of the regulations, and laws of this Government, under the guidance of the respectable and learned Professor in that department, will afford ample opportunity of advantage and distinction to those students, who shall pursue such a course with diligence and attention.....

The due administration of just laws within these flourishing and populous provinces, is not only the foundation of the happiness of millions of people but the main pillar of the vast fabric of the British Empire in Asia: the mainspring of our Empire is situated here; and it is supplied and guarded by the laws and regulations of this Government. From the prosperity of these provinces are derived all the sources of our revenue and commerce, and public credit; and the origin and stability of that prosperity are to be found in

the code of laws which you are now directed to study, and hereafter destined to administer, to expound, and to amend. (*February, 1805*).

THE FATE OF THE COLLEGE

The Court of Directors had not Wellesley's statesmanship or foresight; moreover, their one anxiety was to maintain the financial solvency of British India. They could not fully realize the usefulness and importance of an institution like the College of Fort William which had been founded by Wellesley without any previous reference to them. In their Public letter, dated 27th January 1802, they directed the immediate abolition of the college and the re-establishment, on an enlarged scale, of Mr. Gilchrist's seminary which, it appears, was in existence in 1799. The Court's letter was written under an apprehension of a considerable embarrassment in the Company's finances, although Wellesley assured the Court in his letter of 30th July 1801 that he had actually provided for the current expenses of the college (estimated at 4 lakhs per annum) by new resources altogether, *viz.*, by the revival of town duties and Government customs. The Court's orders were received by Wellesley with the deepest regret, but he was a strong man and stoutly defended his case in a lengthy letter to the Court, dated 5th August 1802, which he hoped would induce his masters to let the college continue as he had designed it.

The Court, however, modified their decision to some extent and on 2nd September 1803 directed the continuance of the college until further orders, the Madras and Bombay writers being excluded from it.

According to this reduced scale, which came into force from January 1807, the offices of the Provost and Vice-Provost were deemed unnecessary; "all requisite superintendence might be found in the Professors or in occasional visitations of the Governor-General or the Members of the Council." The number of pandits and munshis was curtailed, and the European establishment of the college henceforth stood as follows :

Capt. Baillie, Professor of Persian and Arabic	Rs. 1,500
Capt. Mouat, Professor of Hindustani	1,000
Mr. W. Carey, Professor of Bengali, Sanskrit and Marathi	1,000
Dr. W. Hunter, Secretary and Librarian	1,000
Mr. Matthew Lumsden, Examiner	500
Lt. Macdougall, Examiner	500
The Court of Directors, in their Public	

letter dated 21 May 1806, declared their intention to found a college at Haileybury near Hertford upon an enlarged scale, where the writers, destined for public service in India, would not only receive instructions in all the most useful branches of European learning, but would also be enabled to acquire a competent knowledge of Oriental languages. But as it might not be practicable for the students at Haileybury to attain as perfect a knowledge in Oriental languages as could be wished for, their education was left to be completed in India, for which purpose the College of Fort William was ordered to be run on a moderate scale of expense. The Directors thought that the writers, after they had gone through a course of education at Haileybury, would be able to complete their studies in the Oriental branches in one year at the College of Fort William, provided they devoted their time and attention exclusively to this object.

In accordance with the Court's instructions Mir Abdul Ali and Mirza Khalil were appointed in 1807 on a yearly salary of £600 and a passage to England to teach Persian and Hindustani at the Haileybury College which continued for nearly half a century.

Still further reductions of establishment were in store for the College of Fort William. Lord William Bentinck, acting upon the suggestions of the Civil Finance Committee, made a radical change in the system of the college. From 1st June 1830 the establishment of the college was confined for the future to a Secretary and three Examiners (Capt. Price, Lt. Ouseley and Lt. Todd) with the requisite number of pandits and munshis under the Secretary for the instruction of the students. Lectures to the students were discontinued, and the offices of the three Professors, together with the munshis and pandits attached to them respectively, were abolished, Carey receiving a pension of Rs. 500 per mensem. Finally, in January 1854, the college was merged in the Board of Examiners. *

* For a detailed history of the College of Fort William, see Proceedings of the College of Fort William.—*Home Dept. Miscellaneous Nos. 559-77* (some of the proceedings volumes are missing, but the information contained therein can be supplemented from the proceedings of the General Department now in the Bengal Government's Record Office); Capt. Roebuck's *Annals of the College of Fort William*, Calcutta 1819; *Rules and Regulations of the College of Fort William*, 1841;

Martin's *Wellesley Despatches*: Lt.-Col. Ranking's "History of the College of Fort William" in Bengal: *Past & Present*, vii. (1911), pp. 1-29; xxi (1920), pp. 160-200; xxii (1921), 120-158; xxiii (1921), 1-27, 84-153; xxiv (1922), 112-138. "The College of Fort William"—*Calcutta Review*, v. 86-123.

THE HISTORIAN RAJWADE

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

THOUGH he had been dead to history for the last eight years and had made philology and sectarian theology the sole pursuits of the evening of his life,—the news of the actual passing away of Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade on the 31st of December, 1926, has come as a painful shock to all who really know and care for Indian historical studies. The greatest discoverer, the life-long searcher, the exclusive devotee without a second love, the most fruitful collector of the raw materials of Maratha history,—and at the same time their most painstaking (if occasionally inexact or perverse) editor and their most speedy and prolific publisher,—has been lost to us for ever. Time may bring forth others to carry on his work; but they will be mere Epigoni,—a tamer race of the after-born, scanty gleaners after his copious harvest; not one of them will devote,—as Rajwade devoted—all thoughts, all passions all interests of a long mateless professionless life to the ceaseless touring of all possible and impossible "find-spots" of historical records, amidst hopeless lack of transport, discomfort, privation and friendlessness; in the teeth of ignorant hostility and suspicion, neglect and inertia from a local public whom he had to humour, coax, educate, and when necessary delude.

Rajwade was a penniless collector,—slighted by the rich whose scorn he flung back in double measure in the spirit of a Diogenes,—suspected and (as he fancied) hampered by the instruments of law and order against whom he railed without bound, without season, like one possessed. But his actual performance, in spite of the severe handicaps of his fortune temper and environment, was wonderful. He was our pioneer *par excellence*. He not only blazed the trail for us, but he was also the most daring, the most indefatigable, the most

extensive and continuous digger in our historical "realms of gold."

True, K. N. Sane had got possession of a bundle of Marathi historical letters and V. V. Khare had set himself to examine the old Patwardhan sardars' archives earlier and had actually begun the publication of their records some years before Rajwade sent his first of volume State papers to the press. But the former two had found their materials ready to hand and could do their copying and editing comfortably at home. Rajwade, unlike these, was the adventurous explorer. He was the true "wandering scholar," the typical Brahman mendicant-pilgrim (vowed, however, solely to Saraswati) roaming all over the land year after year in quest of every obscure shrine and sanctuary of his adored Goddess of History. Every scrap of old paper he found was a sacred relic to him in his careful handling and meticulous annotation of it.

II

In his passion to save and publish the raw materials of his country's history, he disregarded the laws of ownership—the unnatural ownership of the ignorant and the unworthy. He carried on his own shoulders the bundles of historical papers that he could beg borrow or steal, (or more correctly wheedle out of ignorant villagers),—and deposited them in secret refuges selected by him. These places were never made known to the public, and they cannot be learnt from his friends,—because that eager, uncomprising, solitary spirit had no friend, at least not for long. He had, after a time, parted company with every body who had befriended him; his collaboration with other Marathi historical workers had been broken off by his acrid criticism of them in public. But no such devoted explorer, collector and editor of MSS., has been known since the days of the

Renaissance in Europe. His finds were, no doubt, more modern, their world-value far less ; but the difficulties he had to surmount were infinitely greater.

III

Vishwanath, the son of Kashinath Rajwade, was born at Vadgaon (some miles north-west of Puna) on 12th July 1864. He has given a graphic account of his school-life with a rather lurid picture of the condition of private schools in Puna in those days in an autobiographical paper of his *Sankirna Lekh Sangraha*. At the age of twelve (1876) he began to learn English, but left school after only four years, and finally returned to his village home, whence he passed the Matriculation examination (January 1882) as a private candidate. His college career was equally interrupted and unduly prolonged, not for any intellectual deficiency but for his financial difficulties and wayward and reckless temperament. In January 1891 he took his B. A. degree, thus spending nine years in finishing a course that normally requires three years only. But the time was not misspent. He read extensively and attentively in the Deccan College (Puna) library, and in addition studied Botany at Bhawe's school for a year and a variety of additional subjects which were not strictly required for securing the B. A. degree.

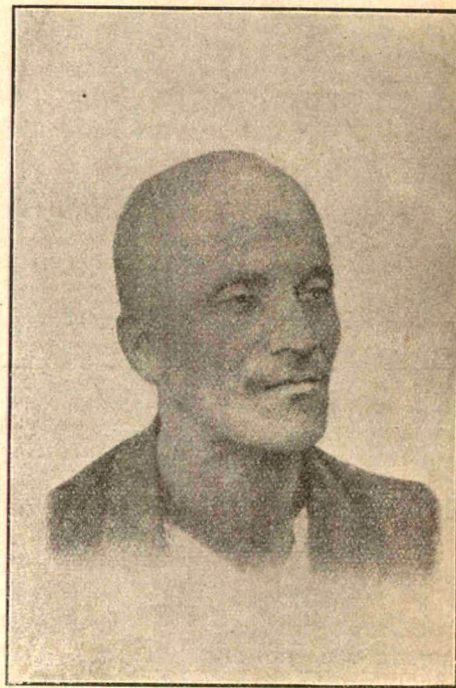
At College he shunned delights and lived laborious days. He used to row five to seven miles on the river every evening, and by plain living and gymnastics acquired excellent health and staying power. "In the seven years from 1884 to 1890, I was not ill for a single day."

At College, though he neglected to prepare for his examinations, his favourite studies embraced practically every branch of knowledge on which books were available there,—European history, economics, ethics, politics, theology, logic, mental philosophy, all old and new, original and translated works. In addition he acquired an elementary knowledge of Persian and French.

Rajwade had been married young, but he lost his wife just after graduation, and never married again, though a year before his death he vainly searched for a new helpmate to smooth the last days of his life.

At first he took to teachership as a profession, but it was for three years only. Next he started with a friend a monthly magazine named

Bhashantar ('Translation')¹ in 1895, in which he began to publish his Marathi rendering of Plato's *Republic* and Montesquieu's *Eprit de Lois*. The venture perished in a short time in a fire which destroyed the press and all its materials. Freed from worldly ties by his wife's death, freed from business concerns by the fire in the press, Rajwade now devoted himself, in the spirit of a true *sannyasi*, to his life's work, the reconstruction of his race's history on an enduring basis. As early as 1888 he had first conceived the idea of correcting the "thousands of errors" in Captain Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* by research among original materials. To this task he was inspired by reading the original historical letters printed in the series called *Kavy-etihās-Sangraha*, and to this task he consecrated his remaining days.



Vishwanath K. Rajwade, B. A. 1864-1926

IV

The older generation of Maratha scholars had put their faith in unauthentic chronicles, formal histories, and later narratives. Rajwade, with an impatience and contempt which he cared not to conceal—pointed out that original contemporary documents, or state papers proper, were the only reliable materials of

history. Even before the close of the 19th century he had been seized with the passion for *documents inédites* which began to rage in France and England only a decade later. His college life, ill-spent from the point of view of the ordinary degree-seeking student, had admirably equipped him for this task both in body and mind.

He constantly travelled throughout India from Rawal Pindi to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Benares. In Maharashtra he visited almost every village, walking on foot,



Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade. Aged 61 years

—partly from poverty and partly from an obstinate desire not to enrich the British by patronising their railways! He was not troubled by the need of carrying any baggage or even cash or credit money. At College he used to enjoy a sound sleep on two tables placed together with only a horse blanket thrown over them; and during his village tours he received free meals as a poor Brahman pilgrim. Indeed with a grim humour, he once entered his profession in the Census return as "mendicancy"!

V

His quest yielded immediate and striking results. His first volume of historical

letters, published in 1898, with its long careful complete and learned introduction, at once established his fame as the foremost historical worker in Maharashtra. This volume started the series of *Original Materials for the History of the Marathas* (*Marathanchi Itihasanche Sadhanen*) of which there were to come forth twenty-one more before his death. It contained 304 historical letters, ranging in date from 1750 to November 1761, or eight months after Panipat, and is an invaluable source for the history of that fatal battle and the events leading up to it, as seen from the Maratha camps and courts.

Rajwade had rescued a bundle of waste paper from a dry grocer's shop at Paithan; it yielded 23 of these precious letters (in the original), 25 more were supplied by Vashudev Vaman Khare, a poor school-master of Miraj, 75 by Govind Rao Bhanu of Wai, and 182 by Mr. Yerande, whose ancestor had served in Bundelkhand and the Doab in the Panipat period. These last, along with 518 other papers, had been kept in a cane basketbox in the lumber room of their family mansion at Wai in peace and neglect for nearly a century and a half, till April 1897, when Rajwade opened them.

The introduction to the volume covers 127 printed pages, and is full of varied information, restrained in tone, and free from verbosity. It strikes me as the best introduction he ever wrote, as it avoids the irrelevant prolixity which became a besetting sin with him in his old age, when his introductions exceeded his texts in length and dealt with every conceivable subject under the moon.

But neither this volume nor any of its successors was a financial success. On the first volume he incurred a debt of Rs. 1,400 (a part of which was due to a fire). Friends of learning like the Chiefs of Miraj and Inchal-Karanji, gave some help. Prof. Bijapurkar printed five of the volumes at his own expense at a cost of Rs. 2,100, and gave the author 50 copies of each, on the sale of which Rajwade lived! Thus, he got only Rs. 600 out of these books, as he tells us in the preface to his sixth volume. During his travels in search of historical papers up to 1905 Rajwade piled up a debt of Rs. 500, though he lived like a hermit. But the work went on. It is the most glorious example in our own days of the triumph of the human spirit and true devotion over every

obstacle on earth. The sannyasi's *sadhana* has won for him the realisation of his soul's quest, in spite of the world the devil and the flesh!

Rajwade's literary output forms 22 volumes of materials (*sadhanen*), six volumes of other historical works, and six volumes of miscellaneous papers. There is hardly an issue of the annual *Compte Rendu* and *Conference Report* of the Puna Itihas Mandal that is not enriched with his learned and informing papers.

Later in life, Rajwade left the Puna Itihas Mandal—he could not long agree with anybody—and joined the Ramdasi sect at Dhulia. His later writings and discoveries mostly appeared in the two monthlies *Itihas ani Aitihasik* and *Ramdasi*. His latest undertaking, left incomplete at his death, was a gigantic dictionary of the verb-roots in the Marathi language of which he collected about 20,000 examples. We pass over his philological studies and excursions into the history of ancient Aryan culture colonisation and ethnology as whimsical or hypercritical, like Tilak's ventures into the same field.

VI

In politics, Rajwade was typical of a certain section of the Chitpavan or Puna Brahmins. As his friend and admirer, Dr. S. V. Ketkar writes:—

"Mr. Rajwade believed in the racial superiority of the Chitpavans (his own community) and thus indulged in many controversies.... He once told me that...he had taken the count of the first-rate men in India during the 19th century and mentioned among them the names of Nana Saheb [of Bithur] and Tatya Tope of the famous Indian Mutiny of 1857....He disbelieved that it is ever possible for Englishmen to do justice to India. The political duty of India is no other than to kick the British out of the land".

But there was a slight difficulty in carrying out this agreeable operation. The English are not only not very kickable, but also very scientific. Rajwade had after all realised that "until the Indians became a *highly* scientific people they will *ever* remain slaves and subjects....The whole phenomenon of the disappearance of the Maratha Empire was simply the result of inferior science. European nations with their superior science were bound to capture India".

This view is easily understandable. But the ignoring of the moral factor in history that immediately follows this declaration, is pathetic in its simplicity when we remember Rajwade's age and antecedents. He continues: "During the times of the last two Peshwas British India was regarded as more safe and therefore all the Maratha gold had already gone and settled in British territory prior to the Fourth Maratha War (1817); and the gold had gone there because the Englishmen had a gun with a longer range and a more systematic judicial system....The Maratha Government...failed also in giving to its subjects the sufficient sense of protection by a systematic judicial system, the lack of which shows inferior *science*".

Rajwade, with an insane hatred of modern Europe, could not realise, in spite of his omnivorous reading in libraries, that behind a modern European army there are years of self-control, hard training, exact co-ordination of individual effort, and the brain power of the General Staff,—that discipline is a moral product and not a matter of long-range guns,—that an honest law court implies something different from physical science or even knowledge of jurisprudence. To the gross venality of the Peshwas' officers, the debasing vices of the Peshwas' family, the selfish dissensions of their highest nobles and their lack of public spirit (not merely in the days of the last two Peshwas but even in Shivaji's time), the peculiar mentality of Rajwade made him blind.

The wide syntactic power, the passionless superiority to time and place, the Olympic calm, the supreme common sense and the select and well-digested reading—I shall not say of Gibbon,—but even of a second-rate European historian, were denied to Rajwade. And hence he lived and died a collector and could not contribute a single history worthy of the name. His racial prepossessions, his fiery temperament, his lack of balanced judgment and sanity, and his indiscriminate uncritical reading robbed him of intellectual honesty, and he was denied the historian's supreme achievement of visualising the *truth* of the past, though he gained the applause of a certain class of narrow provincial (or rather caste) chauvinists, with whom past history is only the bondmaid of current politics of the stump orator brand. But, rest perturbed spirit! rest. Others will reap where you merely sowed.

IS INDIA ADVANCING INDUSTRIALLY?

By S. G. WARTY, M. A.

I propose in this article to examine the trade figures of recent years to see if they indicate any progress of India as a manufacturing country. My study is by no means comprehensive. For such a study, not a short paper like this, but a bulky volume would be necessary. My object is to bring out prominently so far as I can, certain indications and signs, and not necessarily proofs and demonstrations. I should be content if what I have tried to bring out herein would provide food for thought and matter for detailed investigation to more adventurous inquirers.

To arrive at correct results in such a study, statistics of industrial production are necessary. For the present, however, they are not available except in the case of cotton mills. When "Statistics Bills" of the kind recently proposed for Bombay will be passed into law all over the country and details of production in all the manufacturing industries will thus be made available on a reliable basis, India may be in a position of correctly gauging her industrial progress from time to time. So far, therefore, as it is possible to undertake such a study under present limitations, there is no course but to proceed on the basis of trade figures, supplemented, wherever suitable, by available figures of production. I, therefore, desire to proceed on this basis in my study and see what results it yields.

I have stated that I wish to confine my study to "recent years". By "recent years" I mean the period between 1908-09 and 1924-25, a period of 17 years. It may be necessary to explain briefly why this particular period has appealed to me. Those who have been in touch with Indian economic literature since the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji first published his estimate of the average Indian income per head, would remember that in 1893 the late Mr. Justice Ranade read a highly instructive address on the growth of Indian industries during the period from 1878-79 to 1892-93, wherein by proceeding on the basis of trade returns, he

considerable progress in manufactures. Then in 1910, Prof. V. G. Kale of the Ferguson College proceeded on the same basis and carried the study up to the year 1907-08 and found further improvement in the process, though the rate of progress during the latter period, i.e., from 1893-94 to 1907-08, did not prove to be as satisfactory as in the first period. Since then no further inquiries in this respect have been made, and that is the reason why I have taken the particular period from 1908-09 to 1924-25 for my purpose. It is plain that I wish to bring the inquiry up-to-date. I cannot but think that it would have served our purpose better if we were able to mark certain periods in Indian industrial development on a somewhat scientific basis. But for this purpose an exhaustive examination of figures from year to year may have to be independently undertaken since 1878-79, which, at least for the present, I have not found practicable. I have therefore confined myself to the period from 1908-09 to 1924-25 as a matter of mere convenience, and would complete the structure begun by the late Mr. Justice Ranade and partially built by Prof. Kale. In India's transition from a purely agricultural into a partly manufacturing and trading country, it is highly useful, if not necessary, to note from time to time whether India is making progress at all and if so, "whether the direction of the movement is correct and its velocity satisfactory".

One of the first results of India's being brought into the whirl of world commerce was the collapse of Indian domestic industries and the gradual rustication of the chief occupations. Up to 1875, things were as bad as they could be. Then, however, the tide turned and, about the year 1878-79, signs of a revival began to be visible. This revival continued with more or less velocity but in the right direction until 1907-08 and we shall now see whether in the examination of the figures since then the process has continued at all and if so what rate of progress. Mr. Ranade applied five different tests, which may form the chief general basis

tures of industrial revival and growth. The first test was the increase in the exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods. During the period from 1878-79 to 1892-93, the period which Mr. Ranade examined, the annual increase of manufactured exports was 15 per cent., but during the latter period, *i.e.*, from 1893-94 to 1907-08 examined by Prof. Kale the annual increase was only 9 per cent. In the third period now under examination, the manufactured exports increased from 39 crores in 1907-08 to 84 crores in 1924-25 *i.e.* by 215 per cent. This means an annual increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as against 9 per cent. in the previous period. From this, it may at first sight appear that our rate of progress has increased, whereas it is not necessarily the case. The prices of manufactured goods have gone up abnormally during recent years, especially since the declaration of war, on which account the value of the manufactured goods appears to be swelled. It should not also be forgotten that this after all is one of the five tests and its indications may prove incorrect when other tests are applied.

The second test applied by Mr. Ranade was the percentage of the increase in the exports of raw produce. If this percentage happened to be less than the percentage of increase in the exports of manufactured goods, there was reason to think that India was advancing as a manufacturing country. In the period from 1907-08 to 1924-25, the absolute rise in the exports of raw produce was from 134 crores to 297 crores, *i.e.*, 221 per cent; in other words the annual rise was 13 per cent. This, compared with the annual rise of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the exports of manufactured goods, does not speak well for India's industrial progress. In the period from 1878-79 to 1892-93, which was examined by Mr. Ranade, the annual percentage of increase in the exports of raw produce was 3 as against the percentage of 12 in the case of manufactured exports, which was a clear sign of industrial progress, that is to say, of a greater utilization of the raw products for industrial use in the country itself. In the second period also, *i.e.*, from 1893-94 to 1907-08, the annual percentage of increase in raw exports was only 4 as against 9 in the case of manufactured exports, which was also an indication of progress. Only in the period now examined herein, *i.e.* from 1908-09 to 1924-25, the annual percentage of increase in raw exports, far from being less

than the percentage of increase in manufactured exports was actually a little more than the latter. Further, this position would appear to be still more serious when it is considered that the increase in the price of raw produce during the period was not so high as in the case of manufactured goods. Roughly, while the price of manufactured goods is now about 150 per cent. higher than in 1913-14, the pre-war year, the price of raw produce has risen only by about 30 to 40 percent, which means that if it were possible to compare these percentages quantitatively by reducing the various kinds of goods to one uniform standard as is possible in the case of values, there would be found to be a very serious disproportion between the percentage of increase in raw exports and the percentage of increase in manufactured exports; showing the latter in an exceedingly unfavourable relief.

Thus the first two tests have not given us satisfactory results as to the state of industrial progress in India, so far at least as trade figures can interpret it. Let us see if the third test applied by Mr. Ranade gives any indication of progress in manufactures. This third test is the percentage of increase in the imports of manufactured goods, which if found to be less than the percentage of increase in the exports of manufactured goods, may be taken as an indication of progress in indigenous manufacture. In the first period examined by Mr. Ranade, the annual percentage of increase in the imports of manufactured goods into India was 2.8 only as against 15 in the exports of manufactured goods. In the second period, this percentage worked out to 6.2 as against 9 in the case of manufactured exports. But in the third period now under examination, the imports of manufactures rose absolutely by 264 per cent, during the period, or by an annual percentage of $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while the percentage of the increase in the exports of manufactured goods was only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. How can this be explained unless by supposing that India has in fact suffered a set-back in her industrial advance during the period? There is no question here of the differing increases in the level of prices, since it may be taken for granted that the comparison being between manufactured goods on both sides, the prices were almost the same in both cases. One explanation of this increase in the imports of manufactured goods is surely to be found in the fact that the

standard of living in India has increased in recent years very considerably, that is to say, the average Indian to-day is consuming more goods than he used to do formerly. This does not necessarily mean that he has grown richer, but it certainly means that he has become a seeker after modern comforts and it is possible his standard of decency has in recent years increased in a larger proportion than his earning capacity. It may also be that a larger proportion of Indian manufactured goods is being consumed in the country, leaving a comparatively small surplus for exports. It deserves to be mentioned in this connection that it was during this period from 1908-09 to 1924-25 that the Swadeshi movement was in energetic operation. And besides, India being a very extensive country, with a wide market of her own, the increase or decrease in the exports of manufactured goods does not apply to her as a test of her industrial progress to the same extent that it may apply to another country which has largely to depend upon foreign markets for the manufactured goods. Therefore, the larger percentage of increase in the imports of manufactured goods, as compared with the percentage of increase in the exports of manufactured goods can be explained to some extent by other hypotheses than a mere set-back in the industrial progress. Nevertheless on the basis of the figures, the set-back theory would still seem to hold good.

As if to corroborate this theory, the fourth test applied by Mr. Ranade points to the same conclusion. The imports of raw produce into a country may form a test of its industrial progress, especially in the case of a country situated as India is, *i. e.*, where food stuffs are ample and therefore the raw produce imported would be as a rule of the kind necessary for industrial production. The imports of raw produce in India in the period examined by Mr. Ranade increased by 6 per cent. annually, and in the second period also increased by $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. annually, but in the third period herein examined, not only did they not increase, but absolutely declined by 5 per cent., or say by an annual percentage of 0.3. Thus this test provides further indication of a decline in industrial activity.

There remains now the fifth test, which we shall now apply. This test consists in the first place in the proportion which manufactured imports bear to the total imports and secondly in the proportion which manufactured exports bear to the total exports.

Mr. Ranade, during the period which he examined, found that in 1878-79 manufactured articles formed 65 per cent. of the total imports, but in 1892-93, they formed only 57 per cent. of the total imports, showing a proportional decline in manufactured imports or an indication of a proportional increase in indigenous manufactures. This satisfactory state of things, so far as was apparent from the interpretation of trade figures, continued to exist in the second period also, though the process seemed to be slower; for while the manufactured imports formed 57 per cent. of the import trade in 1892-93 they formed only 53 per cent. of the total imports in 1907-08. In the period under review, however, *i. e.*, in the third period from 1908-09 to 1924-25, manufactured articles formed 75 per cent. of the total imports. Thus the process visible in the former two periods, of a steady decline in the proportion of manufactured articles to the total imports, completely disappeared, and on the other hand things seemed to be pushed back to what they were even before 1878-79. However, if we take into consideration the fact that there has been a high disproportion between the rise in the prices of manufactures and the rise in the prices of raw produce, the former having risen to about 150 per cent. above the pre-war year, and the latter to only about 40 per cent., the rise in the proportion of manufactured articles to the total import trade may not prove to be as great as at first sight it appears to be. This much, however, we can say with certainty that the encouraging process visible in the previous two periods, which we regard as an indication of industrial progress, has not continued and that if anything there has been a set-back.

That the process has come to a stand-still during the period under examination, is further evidenced by the fact that the proportion of the manufactured exports to the total exports has also not shown any improvement during the period. During the first period manufactured goods forming 8 per cent. of the export trade in the beginning, reached a percentage of 16 in 1892-93; in the latter period, this percentage still further improved to 22. But in the period from 1908-09 to 1924-25, in spite of the extraordinarily high rise in the prices of manufactured goods as compared with raw produce, the percentage did not improve but stood at 22 only.

Thus after applying all the five tests which Mr. Ranade himself used, we come to the painful conclusion that while the first period (1878-79 to 1892-93) examined by Mr. Ranade disclosed extremely satisfactory progress, and the second period (1893-94 to 1907-08) examined by Prof Kale also showed continuation of the same process, though at a slower pace, the third period, which has now been examined herein, does not yield results which we can by any means call satisfactory. On the other hand there is every indication of a set-back in progress. We shall, however, sum up the results of our examination in a tabular form before discussing them at length. The tables would appear as follows:—

TABLE I

	1907-08-1924-25		Percentage of increase Total Annual	
	Rs. crores	Rs. crores		
Manufactured exports	39	84	215	12½
Raw exports	134	297	221	13
Manufactured imports	70	185	264	15½
Raw imports	60	57	Decreased	5 p. c.

TABLE No. II

Percentage of the annual increase.

	First period 1878-79 to 1892-93	Second period 1893-94 to 1907-08	Third period 1908-09 to 1924-25
Manufactured exports	15	19.2	12½
Raw exports.....	3	4	13
Manufactured imports	2.8	6.2	15½
Raw imports	6½	8½	Decreased by about 0.3 p. c.

TABLE No. III

Proportion of manu-
factured imports to
total imports.

Proportion of manu-
factured exports
to total exports.

1878-79	65	8
1892-93	57	16
1907-08	53	22
1924-25	75	22

The tables above show clearly, so far as trade figures are capable of showing, that during the last 17 years from 1907-08 to 1924-25, India has not shown any progress as a manufacturing country, and if anything, there has been a set-back. This result, which

our examination has yielded, is rather astounding, because it was unexpected. For it was during this period that we expected considerable progress. The Swadeshi movement was particularly active. The war has given a material impetus to industrial enterprise. Enquiries into industrial matters were undertaken and Government showed special anxiety for the development of Indian industries. Industries Departments were created in most of the provinces, and the reasoned impression came to exist that a new industrial era was at hand. How then are things to be explained?

In the first place, we have to note that the method of our examination does not give unfailing results and does not necessarily lead to unchallengeable conclusions. Trade figures can only give us indications and do not necessarily form proofs and demonstrations, especially when they are handled to interpret the manufacturing progress of a country. To arrive even at an approximately correct conclusion, statistics of production would seem to be necessary and these in present circumstances do not exist. Therefore, though the trade statistics give us results pointing to a decline in Indian manufactures, the results may not necessarily be correct. Next, we have to remember that a considerable part of the imports of manufactured goods consists of machinery, which in itself is a sign of industrial growth in a country. These imports of machinery have been on an increasing scale in recent years, and therefore there is reason to think that India is being steadily industrialised. As regards the imports of electrical goods and motor cars and omnibuses, it will be a long time before India will be able to manufacture these kinds of goods. The most important imports are textile manufactures and iron and steel goods. The imports of the latter have indeed increased considerably during the period, but this is to be explained by the fact that large development works were undertaken in India, and the Indian demand for steel and iron increased somewhat abnormally. As regards textile manufactures, their imports to-day are certainly much less than what they were in the pre-war period. On all these grounds, the results arrived at in our examination can only be accepted with substantial qualifications.

With regard to the textile and iron industries, which are to-day beyond doubt our great national industries, something more

may be said here ; for these industries have given definite proofs of material advance during the period. Let us take the cotton mill industry, of which statistics of production are available. It has been calculated that the average pre-war consumption of cloth (excluding hand-loom production) in India was 11'6 yards per head, which declined to 8'6 yards in war years but improved to 11'1 yards in 1924-25. Of the pre-war consumption of 11'6 yards, 3.4 yards per head were supplied by Indian production. In 1924-25, out of an average consumption of 11'1 yards per head, 5.6 yards were of Indian production. Thus within the course of about a decade, from meeting rather less than one-third of her requirements with her own mills, India now meets more than half. That is surely solid progress, of which we may well be proud. And this dispels to some extent the pessimism created by the results that we obtained in our examination of Indian industrial progress as reflected in trade figures. We feel somewhat heartened by the trembling hope that those results may not be correct.

Further, we have not taken into our calculation the hand-loom production at all ; contrary to the general impression, our hand-loom weaving industry is an important asset to India, and is by no means of less importance than the mill industry. The industry has shown considerable revival during recent years. Mr. R. D. Bell, I. C. S., who was Secretary to the Indian Industrial Commission which reported in 1910 and thereafter as the Director of Industries in Bombay, has recently prepared an exhaustive memorandum on the hand-weaving industry in India. By a careful handling of statistics, Mr. Bell shows, that the hand-weaving industry has shown steady progress in production since 1896. that it was particularly prosperous during the quinquennium 1911-12 to 1915-16, and that though during the next five years it somewhat declined owing to the effects of war, the recovery after the armistice was rapid and in 1922-23 the production reached a much higher figure than in 1915-16.

We next turn to the iron and steel industry, and we have no doubt whatsoever that during the 1907-08 to 1924-25 period there has been a very remarkable progress. It would even be more correct to say that a great industry has come into new existence. In 1907-08 Indian production of iron and steel was inconsiderable. In 1924, the year for which statistics are available in a recent publication of the Geological Survey Department, the production of pig iron altogether reached 872,500 tons, the production of steel amounted to 218,500 tons and even ferro-manganese, in the production of which India is regarded to be at a disadvantage, reached a production of well-nigh 9,000 tons. This is of course very recent progress but it controverts the indications given by the results of our previous examination that industrial progress in India in the period from 1907-08 to 1924-25 has been nil. I do not propose to examine the state of other industries for the very reason that reliable statistics regarding their production are not available. But I think I have given sufficient evidence to show that the results that we got in our examination of industrial progress as reflected in trade figures, require to be qualified a great deal.

However, after all is said and done, a solid substratum remains as food for thought. Our mind is not entirely at ease. There must be something wrong somewhere. It may be that we have progressed in some directions and lost in other directions, so that the total result is what is indicated by the examination. Though it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion, one thing at least seems to be certain, that whatever industrial progress there was in India during the period from 1907-08 to 1924-25 was much slower than what it was during the period from 1878-79 to 1892-93, the period examined by Mr. Ranade, as also in the period thereafter to 1901-08. I do not desire to put it above that and yet it would appear the position is sufficiently grave.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

DRAVIDIAN GODS IN MODERN HINDUISM—A STUDY OF THE LOCAL AND VILLAGE DEITIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA: By Wilber Theodore Elmore, Ph. D. Reprinted from the *University Studies of the University of Nebraska*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1915, and published by the *Christian Literature Society of India, Madras etc.*, pp. 163: 1925.

The interest of the work is mainly ethnological. It is one of the two convenient books on the ideas and practices of what may be called the lower religion in the Dravidian country, the other book being Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* (Oxford University Press, 1916: Bishop Whitehead wrote on the same subject in a *Madras Government Bulletin* several years earlier). Bishop Whitehead may be said to have inaugurated a systematic study of this subject in the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil lands. Dr. Elmore's own enquiries have been almost exclusively confined to the Telugu people, mostly in Nellore District. A great deal of material naturally enough is common to both these writers, but Bishop Whitehead's seems to be the more original work, wider in its scope and much better arranged, and with a title which properly indicates the subject of enquiry. The title of Dr. Elmore's book, 'Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism', it must be confessed, is a little too far-reaching, and even a trifle sensationalistic. Dr. Elmore speaks of 'the political conquest of the Dravidians' by the Aryans, in the second chapter of his book. This is somewhat problematic, if we consider the whole of India, and specially the present-day Dravidian lands of the South. He describes in some detail the typical deities of this lower religion as prevalent in the South, like the Seven Sisters, the Saktis, the Perantalu, and Kanaka Durgamma and Poshamma; and gives the legends connected with them and with other deities, as well as the ritual of worship, and practices like exorcism connected with this religion. He also discusses the general features and the fundamental conceptions of this religion, the local origin of the deities, and the inter-relation of the South Indian-village cults and those of the gods of Puranic Hinduism. The descriptive part will be useful, in so far as it supplements the work of Bishop Whitehead and others; and the chapter on 'the Fundamental Conceptions of 'Dravidian' worship' views the subject from the standpoint of primitive faith, religion and ritual, and makes some pertinent suggestions about the basic ideas underlying this

worship—e. g. the village deities which are mostly the spirits of departed people have originated from the primitive belief in ghosts; and the reason of the village deities being mostly female is also discussed, as well as the nature of the animal sacrifice. The book has partly the same value for South India as Crooke's *Religion and Folklore in Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), a much more detailed and scientifically conceived work, has for Northern India.

The use of the term *Dravidian* to mean all non-Brahmanical or non-Puranic elements in South Indian popular religion is open to question. This use is due to the old idea that the white 'Aryans' originated everything that is noble in Indian religion and culture, and all that is dark and vile, cruel and superstitious, like much that we find in the popular cults of the South (and also of the North) and even in Puranic and in Tantric Hinduism, must come from the dark-skinned aboriginal non-Aryans. We need not go into the psychology underlying this idea, whether among Europeans or among high-caste Hindus. The popular religion of the country-side in India with its crude notions and its primitive rites has been frequently contrasted with the philosophy of the Brahman and the Buddhist and with the nobler faiths of Vishnu and Siva, and compared with the beliefs and practices obtaining among the wild tribes of India. There is certainly a great deal in this comparison and contrast, but we should not yield to the temptation to theorise, by associating cults and practices with races about whose origins and early culture and thought we know nothing. Bishop Whitehead does not label the worship of the village gods of South India as specifically Dravidian, while contrasting it with that of Vishnu and Siva,—with Hinduism as a scriptural religion, in a word. But Dr. Elmore does that, and herein he is not fully warranted. He is, of course, awake of the fact that 'Hinduism' itself is a compound of the old Vedic religion and the ideas and cults of the non-Aryans—the Dravidians and others. The Aryans when they came into India brought their anthropomorphic religion, their worship of gods like Indra, Agni, Varuna, Surya, the Asvins, Ushas and the rest, and their religious ceremonials like the fire-sacrifice; and when they were settled in India, in the North Indian plains, gradually imposing their language on the original inhabitants of the land who were far superior numerically (and as recent excavations in Sindh and the Panjab have shown, were certainly not inferior in material culture either), they could not help being

influenced by the religion and the mentality—in fact by the *culture as a whole*—of these. In course of time by the fusion of the culture and religion of the Aryans and of the non-Aryans—the Kols and the Dravidians—in Northern India, a new culture and religion arose—complex in its origin but synthesised into something like a well-ordered whole through the attempts of the best intelligence of India for over a thousand years; and this new culture and religion we call 'Hindu.' If the ritual of the *pūja*, a beautiful and bloodless rite with a deep philosophy behind it, in which flowers and libations of water or milk and incense and the produce of the earth—fruits and leaves and gram—feature as offerings, and in which music plays its part, is really Dravidian in origin, and is to be contrasted with the Aryan rite of *homa* with its animal slaughter and burnt offering and its butter and *soma* libations into the fire (vide M. Collins in *Madras University Dravidic Studies No. III*, 1919, pp. 59-61); if the conception of Siva and Vishnu and of the Great Mother as cosmic powers which also have a personal relationship with the worshipper as a deities of grace and mercy, is also originally Dravidian, as it is conjectured by many, in contrast to the nature gods of the Veda with much more limited powers and grandeur; if, in fact, the fervour of the Tamil devotional poetry as in Manikka-Vasakar and in the Sittar and the Azhvars is characteristic of the Dravidian temperament—and in all likelihood it is essentially of the South, since the North Indian *bhakti* and *sant-marga* poetry has a distinct type of glow or fragrance of its own; if the basis of the transmigration and *karma* speculations is non-Aryan (Dravidian or Kol) animism, and not the vague belief in a dark abode of the dead which is Indo-European and Aryan; if in all the above points Hinduism is indebted to the non-Aryan, at least as much as to the Aryan; then one would be hardly justified in labelling categorically as *Dravidian*, all the religious superstition and the silly and often cruel rites originating in the fear of ghosts which obtain in the South as well as in the North. The history of Indian Culture, of the development of Hinduism, is not the simple matter it has seemed: it is not exactly a case of black savages conquered and civilised by an enlightened white race which itself succumbed to the influence of environment, and of a fusion of cults and culture resulting from an inevitable mixture in which all the better elements were contributed by the white race and the bad things are due to the mentality of the black barbarian which could not be suppressed. It is in fact far more complex. The pre-Aryan peoples of India were no savages, but, as the recent Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa excavations have shown, were a highly cultured people, at least in some tracts, possessing well-built cities, long before the wandering Aryans came; a great many of the characteristic Hindu or Brahmanical beliefs and cults were pre-Aryan, probably Dravidian; probably also Kol; and the Aryans themselves after all were a barbarian people when we first find them emerging into History,—barbarian but virile, and well-organised under their military aristocracies; and although culturally on a far lower level than the civilised peoples of the Near East with whom they first came in touch, they were able to subjugate some of these latter by their drive and their discipline, and by their possessing the horse. So

that the Aryan's advent into India did not mean the bringing in of a higher type of culture or religion. The Aryan religion which is best-preserved in the Vedic Samhitas cannot be said to be superior as a repository of high culture and philosophy and faith to the later, Puranic Hinduism which is the obvious result of a contamination with the religious world of the non-Aryan the Dravidian and the Kol. The possibility of survivals from the pre-Dravidian and pre-Kol negroids of Southern India—the Nagas of Old Tamil literature (vide Kanakasabhai Pillai's *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*)—of their animistic cults and their rites, is not precluded. We should take into consideration the fact that the Dravidians are not an aboriginal people of India, but, according to some recent opinions, have their affinities with peoples elsewhere outside India,—the Eastern Mediterranean tracts, for instance.

From the above point of view, the second title of Dr. Elmore's book, *A Study of the Local and Village Deities of Southern India*, would suit it far better than the other one, and the remarks about 'Dravidian' gods and 'Dravidian' religion should consequently be modified. With these reservations, Dr. Elmore's book gives a good survey of the animistic and fetishistic cults which are still living things in Southern India, and, as mentioned above, forms, with Bishop Whitehead's work, a valuable contribution to the study of popular religion, folk-lore and ethnology of the Dravidian country.

NANNERIYAN.

SWINBURNE: By Harold Nicolson (*English Men of Letters Series*); MacMillan; 5s.

For this generation of students of English literature there have been no hand-books more helpful than the works in the famous series edited by John Morley and it was a happy idea on the part of the publishers to continue the series by adding volumes on authors who had not previously been included. Yet on going through the four new volumes,—on Melville, Meredith, Swinburne and Whitman—one has a feeling that the application of the old name is perhaps a misnomer. Ideals of literature and literary criticism are never static and in 1926 they are materially different from what they were in 1887 when the first volumes of Morley's series were published. The aim of those earlier volumes was to subordinate literary criticism to biography, proper and details of the author's life occupied the greater portion of the works. Now one feels that while the materials of the lives of our authors have been investigated with thoroughness by one official biographer or other, there is ample room for a new interpretation of the author's genius, an interpretation based on what we consider the sane and balanced canons of literary criticism, devoid of all suspicion of bardolatry.

So Mr. Nicolson with all his experience of biographical work as evidenced in his volumes on Tennyson, Verlaine and Byron does not want to supply a rival to or an understudy of the official Life of Swinburne by Edmund Gosse whose intimate friendship with the poet undoubtedly equipped him for the task. The main details of Swinburne's life must be enumerated and Mr. Nicolson hurries over them as quickly as he can, busying himself more with a truer understanding of the

author's work. He has to offer an explanation for the disfavour into which Swinburne has fallen, for the fact that Swinburne "who to his contemporaries was the most exciting thing that ever happened appears to our later generations as almost unutterably dull." It may even be said that the poet fell into disfavour long before he died. The older critics of the present-day recall the excitement of their undergraduate days on the publication of the "Poems and Ballads" or "Héptalogia" and how "almost suddenly all this enthusiasm died down; and while Swinburne went on writing, writing of stars and love, and waves and flames that were deathless, or breathless, or battered, or shattered, none of them mattered, none of them contained any longer any hope; all were galvanic—reflex action of genius after death."

Mr. Nicolson finds an explanation for this attitude towards Swinburne's work in "the narcotic effects of his melody," "the lack of co-ordinated meaning in his images" and "the absence in his poetry of any wide basis of common experience." But to Mr. Nicolson the examination of Swinburne's unreality is far less interesting than that of his essential reality, the discovery of what constituted his "internal centre." This "internal centre," he is convinced, was "composed of two dominant and conflicting impulses, namely, the impulse towards revolt and the impulse towards submission." The essence of his genius as seen in his best works is his exquisite adjustment to the tension between these two impulses, between "the instinct of self-assertion" and "the instinct of self-abasement." This is the main thesis of Mr. Nicolson's study and it is fully developed in the four important chapters of his book,—those on "Atalanta," the "Poems and Ballads, first series," "Songs before Sunrise" and "Poems and Ballads, second series." The examination of the classicism of "Atalanta" brings out the success of Swinburne's attempt to "reproduce for English readers the likeness of a great tragedy, with something more of true poetic life and charm" than what is found in "Catactacus" or "Merope." The Phidian symmetry of the scheme as also the melody of the lyrical passages are properly praised and Mr. Nicolson finds here a solution of an almost intolerable problem of emotional adjustment bringing intense emotional relief, an attitude of liberation, an attitude of acquired balance.

In the "Poems and Ballads" of 1866 John Morley found only "the feverish carnality of a school-boy over the dirtiest passages in Lempriere" the carnality of "the libidinous laureate of a pack of satyrs." The present-day critic does not base his objections to the seventeen poems of passion in the volume on any excessive prudery but rather on intellectual considerations. As subjective lyrical poems their fault is that they are based on an experience which is neither permanent nor general. "The supreme crises of physical sensation are too fugitive to provoke more than a superficial and temporary response." The experience is generally blurred and "its subsequent evocation can produce no fine emotional vibration and no permanent appeal." The interest of the volume is however in the "savour of a tideless sea," in the sense of utter weariness as brought out in "the Garden of Preserpine," in the note of wounded dignity, of sorrowful forgiveness, of stoical reserve in "The Triumph of Time" and "A Leave-taking."

The "Song Before Sunrise" bring out Swinburne's Passion for Liberty, to him "the symbol of youth and health and light," and the Thesis is most explicit in "Genesis," "the Hymn of Man" and "Hertha," the last-named being perhaps the "best organised" of Swinburne's poems. In the "Poems and Ballads" of 1878 one finds a "certain tremulous lethargy, a certain frightened wistfulness," the most noteworthy compositions being "A vision of spring in winter," "Ex-voto," "A Forsaken Garden" and "Ave atque vale." The last thirty years of the poet's life occupy but two short chapters and however interesting they might have been to Watts-Dunton or Mr. Gosse, Mr. Nicolson and ourselves are inclined to slur over them. One may come across delightful pieces like "Thalassius" or "Pan and Thalassius," one may like to pause for a while over "Tristram of Lyonesse," but Mr. Nicolson has brought out the salient points of Swinburne's genius in the preceding four chapters and this is only an epilogue.

If the task of the literary critic is to point out to us beauties that we could not have discovered for ourselves, to enable us to appreciate an author more truly than before, then Mr. Nicolson has succeeded as few critics can and we leave the book convinced that all students of literature in general and or Swinburne in particular will regard it as one of the greatest achievements of recent literary criticism.

N. K. SIDDHANTA

RURAL ECONOMY OF INDIA: BY Radhakamal Mukerjee M. A., Ph. D. Longmans Green & Co. Ltd. 1926, pp. 249 cr. octavo. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a remarkable publication, the right thing at the right time. We are glad to find Dr Mukerjee again in the realm of realistic study of India. The humble "Palli-Sevak" has presented the various facts about Indian village life and agriculture with great ability and in a style at once attractive and thorough. Agriculture in India ranges from burning or brand cultivation to the elaborate system of rotation of crops and garden-cultivation and consequently the physical and social back-grounds of rural life are highly varying. Dr. Mukerjee has dealt with types of village organization as diverse as the compact villages of the Indo-gangetic plain or the scattered hamlets of the Central Provinces or the terraced settlements of the mountain regions. Some of the chapters are mere reprints from the same author's book on "Ground Work of Economics," yet every page of it is full of information. Although we have not always seen eye to eye with the author throughout the book and particularly when he draws up the Balance sheet of the Bengal Economic holding, yet we are entirely at one with him when he says that "the problem of population-growth is the problem of the use of land and the organisation of agriculture," and the solution of the agricultural problem can be provided chiefly by the combination of scientific peasant-farming and the spread of agricultural co-operation. "The form of land tenure and the law of inheritance require also to be modified and above all there is need of comprehensive policy of education."

The study of Indian Economics at our colleges or in the University will be incomplete without a knowledge of the contents of this instructive little book.

N. S.

KEATS : By H. W. Garrod, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. 157. 5s.

This new presentation of Keats' poetic life and genius is one more valuable addition to a number of excellent studies on the same subject that have appeared one after another during a comparatively short period of time. Prof. Garrod, the author of the present volume, is an eminent scholar and a keen student of English poetry; his reputation as a critic has been already established by his book on Wordsworth. In this book on Keats, he has brought a ripe scholarship vitalised by a fine affectivity to bear upon the achievements of one of the greatest of English Romantics. The task the author has set himself in this study is, it would seem, to extricate Keats's personality and poetry from all doubts and misconceptions regarding his place among the great poets and the exact value of his poetic gift; particularly from that over-emphasis, to which some of his critics have been too much prone, on his being next only to Shakespeare, by reason not only of what he had achieved but what he would have achieved in the maturity of his genius. Prof. Garrod dissociates himself from this view, and what, with a masterly sifting of evidence both internal and external, he appears to have been able to establish in this: that 'the real effectiveness of Keats lies in the exercise of the five senses' and that though *par excellence* the poet of exquisite sense impressions, he is never at peace with himself, being continually tormented by shadows of thought, scheming himself out of his world of sheer poetry into that of unrealisable ideas. This vacillation between sense and thought, a divorce between imagination and experience, is the source of his weakness and makes him the pure Romantic poet that he is. He lacks that robustness of conception and serenity of vision without which no poetry can satisfy the demands of a complete humanity. His genius has found its fullest blossoming in the Odes, and nowhere else in his poetry has he attained that perfect poise of expression and mastery of form which is exclusively his own. In the course of his study the author has also furnished a very lucid exposition of the process by which Keats evolved the structure of his Odes out of the sonnet forms. Though it is difficult, perhaps, not to agree with some of his conclusions (for the critical apparatus employed is as delicate as it is firm) yet, in confining Keats's gift to a mere luxury of sensuous impression, the author betrays, in spite of himself, a certain intellectual bias in his appreciation of poetry. For, who will deny to the sensuousness of Keats that miraculous faculty of perception, where thought and sense are one, and which in a poem like the Ode on a Grecian Urn seizes on the Immutable amid the flux of forms, making the 'Cold Pastoral' bloom like a flower on the loftiest peak of the mind? Still we are grateful to the author for this little, but not slight, book on Keats: in it he has fully demonstrated what he said in the beginning, that, to read poetry with full pleasure and profit one should come to it after "a spiritual preparation and with a method of scholarship somewhat more rigorous, perhaps than custom prescribes."

M. M.

ABOUT SHAKESPEARE AND HIS PLAYS : By G. F. Bradby. London. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1926. Pp. 92. 2s. 6d.

We Bengalees have an age of Shakespeare as well as the English. It was when Derozio and Colonel Richardson lectured in the Hindu College. Every man who called himself educated knew his Shakespeare intimately if not by heart. To-day things are not what they were. I believe not or among the innumerable graduates who are compelled to read Shakespeare at College, reads him again for pleasure. The loss, of course, is their I think no one will seriously argue that translation of Scandinavian fiction is quite an adequate substitute for England's finest contribution to human civilisation.

Here is a small and inexpensive book which will rekindle the interest of the man whose knowledge of Shakespeare has grown rusty. It is an epitome of Shakespeare criticism. In the short compass of ninety pages the author manages to touch upon all the important aspects of Shakespeare's life and works. The appendix gives chronological tables of events and the plays, some very interesting contemporary references to Shakespeare, and a short bibliography. It will be of great use to students as an introduction to more profound study of Shakespeare, being more manageable than Raleigh's book and more up-to-date than Dowden's Primer.

N. C. C.

HINDI

KAMALA KUSUM : By the late Girijadev. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala office, Lucknow. 1925. Pp. 152.

A domestic novel with quite a simple plot. There are a few illustrations.

LAKSHMI : By Mr. Girijakumar Ghosh. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala office, Lucknow. Pp. 76.

A social novel written for instructing young girls. There are several coloured pictures.

MAHILA-MOTHA : By Pundit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala office, Lucknow. 1925. Pp. 67.

Some important topics in connection with feminine life are touched upon in this work.

AROGYA-PRADIPA : Translated by Mr. Gul Chand Jain. Published by the Rastrya Hindu Mandir, Jubbulpur. 1925. Pp. 307.

The interesting subject of nature cure is dealt with in this work which is translated from a Marathi book compiled from various sources. From very simple facts of health and hygiene the subject matter is elaborated up to Auto-suggestion and suggestive Therapeutics.

MANGAL PRABHAT : By Mr. Chandi Prasad 'Hridayas,' B. A., Editor. The "Chand," Allahabad. 1925. Pp. 724.

This original social fiction will be hailed by the lovers of creative literature which is so rare in Hindi. The vast panorama of incidents, the variety of characters, and the style of the work will commend themselves to the readers. Catering to the Indian taste, the author, like other Hin-

writers, prefers 'comedy' to tragedy, and so the motto is 'All's well that ends well.'

MANORANJAK KAHANIYAN : By Professor Zahir Bakhsh. Published by the 'Chand' office, Allahabad, 1925. Pp. 208.

These charming tales are intended for the boys and girls and are written in a very simple style.

MANOHAR AITIHASIK KAHANIYAN : By Professor Zahir Bakhsh. Published by the 'Chand' office, Allahabad, 1925. Pp. 235.

These interesting historical tales from the various parts of the world numbering 107 are sure to catch the imagination of the juvenile readers. We strongly recommend this book which is calculated to acquaint our boys and girls with what is good and beautiful in other nations of the world.

RAMES BASU.

URDU

1. TARIKH INGLISHTAN : By Mr. Gopi Nath Singh Varma, B. A. L. T. Pp. 344. Price Re. 1-8. Publishers—The author, Mohalla Qanimgoyan, Barielly. (U. P.)

A students' hand book of the English history, concise, yet it omits no essential details ; written in a simple and popular language. Though not thoroughly nationalistic in term, yet much better than the average textbook written by foreigners. Also contains some maps and charts. Get-up poor.

2. BUDH AUR US KA MAT : By Mr. Shiva Narain Shamra. Parts I and II. Pp. 234. Publisher : The author, Lahore.

Mr. Strass an American Buddhist recently wrote an interesting and comprehensive treatise on Buddha and his teachings. This is a free Urdu translation of that English treatise. The translator seems to be an ardent Buddhist himself, so his work has been a labour of love and in sublime disregard of filthy lucre he distributes his valuable book gratis. The only recompense he asks for from the readers of his book is its careful perusal. To the book proper the translator adds a very interesting introduction of his own. The style is throughout charming. The book contains almost all that is worth knowing in respect of the history of Buddha and Buddhism.

3. SHAHAN-E-MALWA : By Maulvi Amir Ahmed Alavi. Pp. 159. Price Re 1. Publisher Mohammad Ihsan. Anwar-ul-Mataba, Victoria Street, Lucknow.

A short narrative of the rulers of Malwa and Gujerat for the period between 804 A. D. and 968 A. D. written in a most attractive style. A model of clear exposition and beautiful language.

4. SALOME : By Majnun. Pp. 83. Price 12 Annas. Publisher : The author, Kaxipur Khurd, Gorakhpur (U. P.).

Oscar Wilde's world-famous French drama *Salome* rendered into Urdu. The translator has fairly well succeeded in his double attempt to be faithful to the original and to be interesting to the Urdu-knowing public.

5. KHUTUT SHILI : Compiled by M. Mohd Amin and Syed Mahd Yusuf Qaisar. Pp. 122. Price Re 1. Publisher : Zulhis. Sultan Book Agency, Bhopal State.

A collection of Maulana Shibli's letters addressed to his two lady friends of Janjira (Bombay), with an introduction by Maulvi Abdul Huque. The late Maulana was one of the best known Urdu men of letters. This collection, though small, is from the literary point of view an acquisition to Urdu literature.

6. ISLAMI GAU RIKSHA : By Syed Nazir Ahmad Vakil. Pp. 56. Price not given. Publisher : The author Sitapur (Oudh).

A pamphlet written in the interest of cow protection by a Muslim. The author, though well meaning has defeated, or at least weakened his good cases by over-doing his propositions.

7. MIRAT-USH-SHER : By Maulvi Abdur Rahman of St. Stephen's College. Delhi. Pp. 303 Price Rs. 3. Publisher : The author.

A reprint, revised and enlarged, of the authors' lectures on Arabic poetry in the Delhi St. Stephen's College. The book is a veritable mine of information dealing not only with Arabic poetry but also with Persian poetry, Urdu poetry, and poetry in general. It includes long and learned chapters on metaphor, similes, poetical figures, rhyme, meter, criticism and many kindred subjects ; and has immense value both for the student and the lay reader. The only defect is that the style is rather pedantic and at places too heavy.

A. M.

GUJARATI

THE POEMS OF VIR-BHAKTAMAR AND NEMI BHAKTAMAR : By the two Jain poets—Upadhyay Shri. Dharma-Vardhan Gani and Shri Bhavprabha Suri with an appendix consisting of the Bhaktamar Stotra and Shri Girina—Girishwar-Kalpa with a translation into Gujarati and explanatory notes by Prof. Hiralal R. Kapadia, M. A. Printed at the Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth Cover. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 3 (1926).

These poems are written by way of Padpurti to some verses of the Bhaktamar Stotra of Shri Mantung Suri. Prof. Kapadia has collated, translated and annotated them, and produced a scholarly work. These are but two out of such six Padpurti poems.

AULIYA JOSHINO AKHADO : By Jagjivandas Trivikramji Kothari, B.A., LL.B., printed at the Sorath Printing Press, Junagadh. Thick board cover. Pp. 279. Price Rs. 2-8 (1926). (With pictures).

This is a collection of Mr. Kothari's humorous articles and skits contributed by him to various periodicals under the assumed name of Auliya Joshi (the simple-minded Astrologer). He has an established place amongst the very thin ranks of humorous writers in Gujarat and his contributions are gobbled up with avidity by the middle class reader, with whom he has become very popular.

as his skits touch their every-day life in its various phases—literary, religious, social and domestic. He hits out boldly, and his close study of our various institutions gives a spiciness to his statements, which in spite of their concealed sarcasm are uniformly relished.

LIFE OF SHRIMAD DEVCHANDRAJI : *By Shrimad Buddha Sagar Shrishwarji, printed at the Praja Hitartha Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. LXIV: 100: 51. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1926).*

Devchandraj (S. Y. 1746-1812) was a very learned Jain ascetic, responsible for many acts of charity and known as a writer. An introduction of great value by Mr. Mohanlal Desai adds to the utility of the book, which contains striking extracts from his works.

PIRANA SATPANTHA NI POL : *By Patel Naranji Ramjibhai, Contractor of Cutch. Printed at the Aditya Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 552, with photos. Price Rs. 4 (1926).*

In various parts of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawad, there are followers (mostly Kunbis) of a creed called the Pirana Panth, which in its tenets is an amalgam of Hindu and Mahomedan religions; it stands, so to speak, midway between them. As to how Hindus came to be converted to this creed and as to how strong is its hold over its followers is very interesting history. Its present tendency is to make its followers lean towards non-Hindu tendencies. This is asserted by those who have deserted it and want to save others from its influence, and for a long time a controversy has been going on between its followers and opponents. The present substantial volume is from the pen of one who has seceded. He calls it the "Pol" or Hollowness of the creed, and has marshalled in it, all facts which go to show that it is a concealed form of a non-Hindu creed. The book is written with great vigor and feeling.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

PRANAVOPASANA OR MEDITATION OF THE SUPREME BEING : *By Dr. S. M. Vaidya L. M. S., Islampur. Publisher—the author himself. Pages 120×16. Price Rs. two.*

In the minds of a vast majority of our English educated countrymen there lies a deep-rooted prejudice that Upasana is a business of those who have nothing better to do or who are idlers and the ecstatic states are only intended to impose upon a simple and gullible public. The existence of pseudo-Sadhus has undoubtedly contributed not a little to deepen this prejudice; but intellectual honesty and canons of critical scholarship require that the vast mass of Vedic literature should be carefully explored before judgment is given for or against the claim of the subject to rank as a science. Considered in this light the book under notice deserves a hearty welcome, inasmuch as it gives very briefly and concisely the main principles of this solemn subject.

The book is divided into ten chapters and the topics treated in these chapters range from the necessity for Upasana, Japa, Dhyana, the Chakras etc., to the practice of Hatha-yoga and Pranayama

etc. Manu and other law-givers have strictly enjoined upon every Dwija (or twice-born) the utterance of Gayatri mantra at least, no matter if he does not perform Sandhya. It is commonly believed by religious minded orthodox Hindus that the Gayatri mantra leads to the Turiya, or the fourth or the highest stage of the soul in which it becomes one with the Supreme Spirit, whereas other Mantras do not take us so far. The author has further mentioned some rules which have to be observed in the practice of meditation and the difficulties coming in the way. The seven Chakras or plexuses in the human body, the author confidently asserts, are not creations of imagination but are realities. The author being himself a medical man is competent to give his opinion on the subject especially when he says it from his own experience and the authority of the late Mahatma, Shri Datta Maharaj, though sceptics would like to have a fuller treatment of the subject with a corroboration from the researches of Western Scientists. Similarly while describing the several stages of Sandhya-wandan and their consequent advantages should have been scientifically demonstrated to carry conviction to lay minds. This is exactly what the author has failed to do, and has simply described the several processes of performing Upasana. This is a serious defect in the book and it considerably detracts from its value, though otherwise the book is highly valuable to those who are already initiated in the mysteries of the subject and deserves a careful study by those who desire to be enlightened on the subject of meditation, and to desire practical benefits in the realm of spiritual ecstasies.

V. G. APTE.

KANARESE

UPANISHAT-PRAKASH PART II : *with an introduction. Price annas 12. Author and publisher, R. R. Diwarkar, M. A., LL. B. Editor Karmaveer, Dharwar.*

As promised, the author has presented in pretty good time the second part of his book. This part also bears all the features of the first part and also contains a long introduction discussing the source, greatness and purpose of Hindu Philosophy.

In the introduction, the author refrains from entering into the controversial matter, regarding the stages of moksha—final liberation—and also the theory of creation and dissolution or absorption. As all systems of philosophy derive their existence and importance on the views over these topics, the author has, in spite of himself, to say something on them.

It is certain that Mr. Diwarkar's views on the Upanishadic Thought militate against every one of the existing sectarian interpretations of it; but at the same time, it must be said of them that as far as they go, they are evident and consistent. He holds that All is One; and that that All is true as the manifestation of that One, gross or subtle though they may be. He, further, explains that the good of all these manifestations is eternal bliss. Mr. Diwarkar stops at this point—as, perhaps he intended—and desists from describing the relation of the One with the All at this stage of evolution of the latter i. e. eternal bliss. Therefore,

he only defect in his attempt to give a new, coherent and consistent theory—of course, based on the Upanishads—of creation and dissolution or absorption is that he has not explained, as he ought to have done, the finale of God's work. We hope he will remove this defect in the next edition. After all, Divine knowledge is certainly so abstruse as the creation is limitless.

Except in these abstruse points which though supremely important in the development of collateral religious thoughts, are still too far above practical philosophy, the author has been eminently successful in creating interest and love for Hindu Philosophy. His style is vigorous and penetrating; none can escape its bewitching, and at times, its masterful influence. It is equally superb a respect of clarity; his thoughts are never couched in untrue verbiage. The language of his explanation of the harmony between philosophy and action, superiority of soul-happiness to worldly or object-pleasure and the true meaning of Moksha's eternal bliss is incomparably impressive. He tries to bring within easy comprehension the not very clear ideas with regard to the Source of Evil and those on the origin and nature of the Vedas and the Upanishads. He has characteristically exalted every human being into "a lover of moksha" and has shown him the way and also the nature of his moksha.

It may not be deemed a grievous offence in a Hindu by his fellow Hindus if he maintains that Upanishads lend thought to the philosophy of all time and country; if he maintains that the Vedas are the repository of all esoteric knowledge hardly realised by any in modern times and that foreign scholars hardened with a sense of the greatness of their own civilization are only content with a superficial survey of these scriptures, and if he pines that his mother-country is in a hellish condition of slavery and nescience due to our negligence of Brahma Vidya or Divine Knowledge.

There is no manner of doubt that Mr. Diwarkar's book will be welcomed by all Kanarese people as a treasure of knowledge and invaluable argument eloquently presented for the study of our sacred

books. We earnestly wish that the author should engage himself further, in similar exegetical pursuits of permanent interest and importance and give Kanatak, in his incomparable Kannada, the torch to our ancient religion.

A. S. HARNHALL.

ORISSA

The Sahitya Prachar Sangha which has been the fruit of the energy of one man Babu Laxmi Narayan Pattanayak, B.A., munsiff of Puri has during the short period of its existence of one year published several books of importance. We have received four books for review. These belong to three different series. Of the First series of the Lives of Heroes we have received the LIFE OF MAHADEV GOVINDA RANADE (5 As.) By *Sj. Alekh Prasad Das*, which is the first book of its series. The second is the LIFE OF THE LATE MOHARAJA SHRIRAMCHANDRA BHANJ DEO (6 As.) By *Srijuta Dibyasingha Panigrahi, B.L.* Both the books are well written. There is a Board of the Sangha, who examine the manuscripts presented to them for publication and they select the best of all manuscripts that may be available on any subject or if none of the manuscripts are found suitable some other fit person is entrusted with the work of writing a new manuscript and it is published.

The second is the Literature series for Boys and of it ARABYA KAHANI, containing stories of Sindbad, ALADDIN'S WONDERFUL LAMP, ALI BABA etc.: By *Prof. Janathan Mohanty, M.A.* (5 As.) is the first production.

The third is the Science Series of which KRISTI TATTVA: By *Babu Birajmohan Senapati L. Ag. of the Ravenshaw College* (Price Rs. 1-8) is the first production. This book has been written with great pains and the author has spent the best and several years of his youthful energy over it.

All these books are well-printed and fairly cheap in price. We congratulate the Sahitya Prachar Sangha of Orissa on the good work it has been doing.

A. B. C.

TOLSTOY AND THE ORIENT

By PAUL BIRUKOFF

[Mr. Paul Birukoff is one of the leading Russian biographers of Leo Tolstoy and the constant companion of the Russian sage during the last few years of his life. Like a true disciple Mr. Birukoff has dedicated his life to illumine the different chapters of Tolstoy's life by preserving and publishing letters, studies and other valuable documents which are deposited in the Tolstoy Archive and Museum of Moscow. His latest book, *Tolstoy and the Orient*, published by Rotapfel verlag, Zurich and Leipzig, shows how from his very youth Tolstoy was drawn towards the East and how he continued to adore the Orient down to the last days of his life. The following article is a translation of the foreword to this book, made with Mr. Birukoff's consent.]

AFTER finishing my extensive work, the Biography of Leo Nikolaievitch Tolstoy, which gives in outline the picture of the great man, I think, it will be proper to make exhaustive researches with reference to some particular sides of his life. Firstly I wish to confine myself only to that region on which Tolstoy has spoken with particular clearness, and which contains some of the burning questions for men of to-day.

The enormous biographical materials to the study of which I have devoted more than

twenty years of my life, will, I think, lend me ample support.

We know the charges brought against our civilisation from all sides. The accusers mostly refer to the East as a region in which the evil of civilisation has not yet developed to the full extent, which may be saved from the western pest and where might be received fresh strength for the rejuvenation of the world. And Tolstoy turned his eyes often to the East.

We hold it to be important to get a more or less complete picture of the connections of Tolstoy with the Orient by compiling original documents, letters, diaries and remarks as well as his correspondence.

Further, we also take it to be necessary to give this review a historico-biographical outline which would explain to us Tolstoy's active interest in and his predilection for the East.

Such a predilection for the East may be seen in Tolstoy even in his childhood. In the memories of his young age he speaks of how he was gripped by the fables of the Thousand and One Nights, the varied adventures of which were told by a blind man every evening in the sleeping room of his grandmother in a mysterious tone in the faint glimmer of the night-light till the old lady fell asleep. The memory of these fables left a deep impression on the soul of Tolstoy for the whole of his life and a certain horror which seized the susceptible mind of the later genial artist.

When he joined the university of Kazan, he took up, the reason of it is unknown to us, oriental language and literature as the subject of his study. But he was not successful. He changed it for jurisprudence, but here too he was unsuccessful and after two years left the university altogether.

In the first pages of his diary he speaks of how he passed a few days in the hospital of Kazan on account of a trifling illness. It was in the year 1847. In his conversations with myself Leo Nikolaievitch told me that beside him a Buryat Lama lay in that hospital, who had fallen in with a highwayman on the road and had been wounded by him. On questioning him Tolstoy learnt from him to his astonishment that as a Buddhist the Lama did not try to stand on defence against the robber but awaited his death with closed eyes and prayers. This incident left a deep impression upon the young mind of Tolstoy and produced in him

a deep regard for the wisdom of the Orientals.

After a few years of lawless life, Leo Nikolaievitch was prevailed upon by his eldest brother to go to the Caucasus. This afforded him the opportunity of frequent contact with the peoples and the culture of the East, particularly the Mohammedans.

Tolstoy was astonished at the resignation, wisdom and temperance of the religious Mohammedans. And he reproduced these impressions in artistic works such as "The Prisoner in the Caucasus," "Haji Murad" and others. After the year 1856, when he quitted his military service, he passed a few years without any connection with the Orient, but rather in constant connection with the Occidental nations, and this connection, it must be emphasized, in no wise gave him peace.

When in the year 1862 his health was shattered, he gave up his occupation with the question of schools and travelled to the Bashkirs in the steppes of Samara for the restoration of his health by *Kumys*-treatment. [*Kumys*, fermented horse milk]. There he lived in the tent with the nomads, Bashkirs, and Mohammedan Tatars, made friendship with many of them, learnt their customs and usages and represented them in numerous artistic works.

In the seventies, during the pause between the writing of the novels "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina", Tolstoy compiled a whole series of readers and put in them legends and fables of various nationalities, among them a number of Indian and Arabian legends. He must, therefore, have been familiar with the literature of the East already at that time.

In that part of his life which preceded his religious crisis, he stood in almost unbroken spiritual communication with the Orient. And this communication left its trace in the heart and world-outlook of Tolstoy.

In his "confessions" Tolstoy tells the oriental legend of the wanderer, the dragon, the tiger and the mice, to characterise human life generally and particularly his life, without guide, and without the understanding of the meaning of life. So we see him in the most important crisis of his life seeking for ideas among the orientals to illustrate the condition of his soul.

Now however he had at last found the meaning of existence and for himself a new Christian doctrine free from the prejudices of the church. With his stentorian voice he

turned upon the world and called the people to practise self-denial and was the first to set foot on the path pointed out by himself. The Christian theories did not give him enough peace and he fell to studying the religions of the Orient. In them he found new sources of strength for the perfection of mankind.

At first he occupies himself with the Chinese philosophy. He reads the "Sacred Books of the East" and writes down many remarks in his diaries in this connection. In 1884 it is once written:—

"Confucius' doctrine of the middle path—wonderful the same as in Lao-Tse: the fulfilment of the law of nature, it is,—wisdom, strength, life. And this law is fulfilled quietly, incomprehensible to the senses. It is Tao when it creeps, imperceptibly, without coercion develops itself, and then it is of powerful influence. I do not know what is still to come out of my study of the doctrine of Confucius, but already it has done me a great deal of good. Its distinguishing feature is veracity, unity, not discordance. He says, Heaven acts always with veracity."

After he had thoroughly investigated the religion of ancient China, he occupies himself with the study of Indian wisdom. He reads the works of Burnouf, Max Mueller, Rhys Davids, Subhadra Bhikshu and others and projected a sketch of the life of the Buddha, though he does not finish it being occupied with more pressing duties.

But the thought of making the wisdom of the Orient accessible to the Russian people never left him. He projects a short compendium of the most important religions and points out their essential unity. This work too he cannot finish and finally contents himself with "The Thoughts of the Sages," in which first appear the Gospel, beside the ideas of Socrates, Buddha, Krishna, Lao Tse, Pascal and others.

At that time, i.e., at the end of the former and the beginning of the present century, Tolstoy comes to be regarded as an international genius in the whole world, in all its five parts, and his personality becomes the

centre of all the exertions connected with him.

He receives the works of authors and thinkers from all sides of the earth and exchanges letters with them. Always, however, his attention is riveted on the East and the Orient receives his sympathy above all.

He reads the works of Swami Vivekananda about the philosophy of Yoga which appealed to him extraordinarily. He reads Baba Bharati's book about Krishna, the works of Shri Shankara Acharya about the philosophy of Vedanta and others.

Finally he comes into immediate epistolary communications with the Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Brahmans, Mohammedans, with revolutionists and with those who



Count Tolstoy at work in his study at Yasnaya Polyana
(From the Painting by Riepin)

condemn force of every kind. India, ancient and modern, attracts him above all. He earnestly asks these Orientals to keep before their eyes the value of their precious ancient wisdom and warns them against the dangers of the West, and points out to them what the light of Christianity might give them undisfigured by the priests whom the State has bought up.

Such communications and considerations caused Tolstoy to augment the collection of doctrines of wisdom and to edit the so-called "reading circle." He passed the last years of his life by working upon it, and gradually this collection develops into a basis of the future international human religion, without distinc-

tion of races and creeds. He died over this work, which in the meantime had sufficiently increased to be able to be published. Therewith he bequeathed his spiritual legacy, an oblation for the brotherly unification of all mankind.

He himself had peace from this work, he said: "I think that all my artistic works are unimportant and will be forgotten. This work however will remain, because it will be of service to mankind."

In the development of his religious ideas we can clearly follow his gradual liberation from all forms and outer distinctions, whereby mankind is divided in its search after the truth.

In his answer to the Synod which had excommunicated him out of the orthodox church, he speaks of these ideas very clearly in these words:—animated by egoistic impulses he had originally adopted a national faith, then however he received a singular, pure, universal truth through the cosmopolitan teachings of Christianity.

In the diary of his last year Tolstoy has written down in short that his religion is free from every kind of narrowness, as it gives expression to a universal truth and therefore must have an international character.

We hope that this collection of original documents about the connections of this great occidental thinker with the Orient would pave the way for universal peace and lay the foundation of the reign of true peace and prosperity of the earth, and bring about a synthesis of the truths prevalent in the two worlds.

The great Indian poet and thinker Tagore has said: "The great contribution of India consists in the unification of Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Buddhism and Christianity, a unity neither by coercion nor as the result of apathetic self-denial, but in the harmony of activity in co-operation."

We hope our book will contribute to the realisation of such an idea.

Another great Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, came in immediate correspondence with Tolstoy: out of the works of the Russian poet he received strength for his struggle and expressed his admiration. And Tolstoy answered him in touching and loving manner.

Yes, India in particular was that country with which Tolstoy had most in common, and to this people in suffering and to its great leader we dedicate our book.

Translated from the German by

BATA KRISHNA GHOSH

TOLSTOY—GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

[The letters given below have been translated by Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh from the same book from which the Foreword has been translated by him, with Mr. Paul Birukoff's consent. Mr. M. K. Gandhi's letter to which Count Tolstoy's first letter is a reply has been lost.]

To M. K. Gandhi, Transvaal

I have just received your highly interesting letter, which gave me great pleasure. May God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. This battle of mildness against roughness, of humility and love against arrogance and violence, is becoming more and more perceptible among us, particularly in the conflict of the religious, sense of duty with the laws of the State, in consequence of the refusal to do military service. These refusals are becoming more and more frequent.

The letter "To an Indian" I have written, and the translation has thoroughly satisfied me. The title of the book about Krishna may be communicated to you from Moscow. As regards "Rebirth", I would not omit anything for my part; for, as it appears to me, the belief in rebirth will never be able to gain so firm a footing as that the immortality of the soul and the divine truth and love. Still I give you permission to leave out the passage, if you wish it. I should be very much pleased to benefit by your publication. The translation and dissemination of my writings in Indian language can only be agreeable to me.

The question of compensation, i.e., of payment in money, should not, in my opinion, be raised in connection with a religious matter.

I greet you as a brother and am glad to come in contact with you.

LEO TOLSTOY

Johannesburg, 4. April '10.

To the Count Leo Tostoy, Yasnaya Polyana,
Russia.

Dear Sir,

You will remember that I wrote to you from London, where I was staying for a short time. As your most devoted follower, I send you along with this letter a booklet which I have written. I have translated in it my own writing from the language of Gujarat. It is remarkable that the original was confiscated by the Indian government. Therefore, I hastened to publish this translation. I am afraid of troubling you, but if your health permits and you can find time, I need not express how highly I would value your criticism. I send you along with it a few specimens of your letters to an Indian which you gave me permission to publish. It was likewise translated into an Indian dialect.

Your devoted servant

M. K. GANDHI.

[(The following note is by Mr. Birukoff.) Attached to this letter was a brochure of Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule". It made a deep impression upon Tolstoy and confirmed the fruitful relation between these two men, so different in exterior.

At once, after reading that booklet, Tolstoy wrote to Gandhi:]

To Mahatma Gandhi.

Yasnaya Polyana
8, May, 1910.

Dear friend,

I have just received your letter and your book "Indian Home Rule".

I have read your book with great interest; for I think, the question, which you have dealt with in it, passive resistance, is a question of great importance, not only for India but for all mankind.

I cannot find your first letter, but searching after it I came across Doke's biography, which captivated me and gave me opportunity to know you better and to understand you.

At present I am not quite well and therefore I cannot write to you about all that I have in my heart on reading your book and about your activity generally, which I value very highly. I shall do it however as soon as I recover.

Your friend and brother
LEO TOLSTOY

[After some time, as soon as he recovered from his illness, he fulfilled his promise and addressed

a letter to Gandhi, which gave this remarkable man called "Mahatma", i.e., "great soul", it may be said, the basis for his further social activities—Birukoff.]

To Gandhi, Johannesburg, Transvaal, South
Africa. 7, Sept., 1910, Kotschety.

I have received your journal "Indian Opinion" and am glad to know what has been written there about the followers of the renunciation of all resistance by violence. All at once the desire came over me to express to you the thoughts which rose in my mind on reading it.

The longer I live—and particularly now, when I clearly perceive the approach of death—the stronger it presses upon me to express what I feel to be more luminous than everything else and which in my opinion is of enormous importance: it is about what is called the renunciation of all resistance by violence, in which however, in the last analysis, is expressed nothing but the law of love not yet corrupted by fraud. That love, in other words, the effort of the human souls for unity and the attitude towards one another arising out of it, represents the highest and the only law of life, and in the depth of his heart everybody knows it and feels it (as we see in the clearest manner among children); he knows it, so long as he is not entangled in the net of falsehood. This law was proclaimed by all the sages of the world, Indian as well as Chinese and Jewish, Greek and Roman. I think it has been most clearly expressed by Christ, who directly said that therein are included all the law and the prophets. Still it is not sufficient. In view of the distortion which happens to this doctrine and may happen to it any time, he expressly refers to the danger of a misrepresentation, as is possible for people who are not free from worldly interests, namely, that such a person could take upon himself the right of safeguarding his interests by violence, or, as he expresses it, to retaliate a blow with a blow, to fetch back his stolen property by force, etc., etc. He knew, as every sensible man must know, that every use of force is irreconcilable with love as the highest law of life, and that as soon as force seems permissible even only in a single case, thereby the law is at once denied. The whole Christian civilisation, so dazzling externally, grew up out of this evident and curious, partly intentional but for the most part unconscious, misunderstanding and contradiction, At bottom, however, the law of love no more

exercised influence and could not do so, according as beside it was placed the defence by force—and as soon as the law of love did not succeed, there was no other law but that of "might is right." So Christianity lived through nineteen centuries. At all events peoples of all ages permitted themselves to be guided by force as the highest law of their society. The difference between Christian and other nations lies in that in Christianity the law of love was proclaimed so clearly and in so fixed a form as in no other religion,* and that its followers solemnly acknowledged it. In spite of everything, however, they considered the application of force as permissible and established their life upon the basis of violence. Therefore, the life of Christian nations in a singularly glaring contrast between what they profess and upon which they establish their existence: a contrast between the love which is laid down as the law of conduct and the violence which is acknowledged under various forms, as there are governments, courts of justice and the military, which are represented as necessary and are praised. This contrast became more and more glaring with the development of the spiritual life of Christianity, and in recent times, it has developed to its greatest extent. The question now stands thus: we must choose one of the two; either admit that we observe no religious principle and the conduct of life is determined for us only by the law of "might is right," or require that all raising of taxes by force should be discontinued and all our institutions of law and police should be given up.

In this spring, in a girls' institute in Moscow, at the religion-examination, at first the religion-teacher and then the archbishop, who was likewise present, examined the girls about the ten commandments and particularly about the fifth. After the correct recital of the commandment, the archbishop raised the question: is it always and in all cases forbidden to kill? And the unfortunate girls, corrupted by their teacher, had to answer and answered too: not always; for, in war and in execution, killing is permissible. When however to one of these poor creatures (what I say is not an anecdote but what actually happened and was reported to me by an eye-witness) the customary question was put whether it was always a sin to kill, the girl

turned red and replied angrily with decision, "always"! And she clung to it tenaciously in spite of all the sophisms of the archbishop: "to kill is forbidden on all occasions, even in the Old Testament; Christ has forbidden not only to kill but generally to do wrong to the neighbour." The archbishop in all his majesty and eloquence was silent and the girl gained the day.

Yes, we may write in our newspapers about our progress made to gain mastery over the air, about complicated diplomatic connections, about various clubs; about discoveries and all sorts of alliances and we may overlook what that girl replied: but we cannot hush it up while a single Christian feels it, however imperfectly it may be. Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, increase of crime, unemployment, the abnormal luxury of the rich and the distress of the poor, the fearful increase in the number of suicides,—all these are the result of that internal contradiction, which must be solved and will be solved. And of course, solved in such a way that the law of love would be recognised and every kind of force would be rejected. Therefore, your activity in the Transvaal, which for us lies at the other end of the world, is nevertheless of the highest interest to us and represents the most important work in which the world may take part at once and in which not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world will take part.

I think you will be pleased to hear that among us too in Russia such an agitation is fast gaining ground, that the refusals to do military service are increasing from year to year. However small, the number of those with you who renounce all resistance by violence, and with us the number of people who refuse the army service—they can both say to themselves: God is with us. And God is more powerful than man.

In the profession of Christianity, although disfigured in such a manner as it is taught to us, and at the same time in the belief in the necessity of armies, there is such a glaring and revolting contrast that it must be exposed in all its nakedness, sooner or later, probably very soon; either it will destroy the Christian religion, which is indispensable for the maintenance of the power of the State, or it will sweep out the military and all kinds of violence connected with it, which are none the less necessary for the State. All governments feel this contradiction.

*This assertion will be challenged by the followers of some other religions.—Editor, *M. R.*

your British as well as our Russian, and therefore, its experience is energetically pursued as any other activity detrimental to the State, as we have lived to see in Russia and came to notice from the headings of your journal. The governments know

from where the greatest danger threatens them and watch with careful eyes not only their interests in this respect but engage here directly in a life and death struggle.

With eminent regard,

LEO TOLSTOY.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES *

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Lecturer in Political Science State University of Iowa

I visited Mexico a few months ago when the fight between the government and the church was at its hottest. Mexico was then in a swirl of excitement. The immediate cause of the trouble was the determination of the Mexican government to enforce the provisions of the law prohibiting clergymen and churches from interfering in political affairs, or maintaining institutions proscribed by the Constitution. The church was joyfully branding the government as immoral, atheistic and hell-bound; it was cheerfully predicting a dreadful smash up for Mexico. Anything to this pious uproar? Nothing but camouflage, pure bunk.

I came away with the impression that Mexico, inspite of all clerical hullabaloo, is at bottom sound. It is now going through a period of transition; it is in the process of becoming a unified nation. Mexico at the present time is very much alive and kicking. It will not die. This country, like the United States, is a land of the future.

MAKING A NATION

Mexico is officially called Estados Unidos Mexicanos and Republica Mexicana. It has an area of 767,290 square miles.

That is to say, Mexico has one-third the area of the United States; but it is larger than Japan, Italy, Germany, France, and England combined.

Mexico is a Federal Republic with centralized executive powers. Its political divisions

include 28 States having independent local governments, 2 Territories, and 1 Federal District in which is located the National Capital.

The population of Mexico totals about 16,000,000 including a foreign population of 600,000 representing 40 different countries. Of these 600,000 foreigners, 60,000 are Americans who are principally engaged in oil and mining industries, and in the liberal professions.

The population of Mexico is not homogeneous. Less than one-fifth of the population is classed as whites, 38 per cent is Mexican Indians, and 43 per cent is Mestizos or offsprings of mixed Spanish and Indian parentage. Then, too, the Mexican Indians are anything but homogeneous among themselves. They are split into some 150 different tribes, speaking many dialects and practising different customs. These internal divisions have been one of the greatest curses of Mexico.

The political history of Mexico is much older, and in some respects more stormy and picturesque than that of the United States. The Spanish colonial history in Mexico began a century earlier than the English colonial period in America. The Spanish invaders under the bloody Cortez overthrew the empire of the Montezumas and destroyed the ancient Aztec civilization in 1520. And it was exactly a hundred years after this that the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts. The Spanish domination of Mexico lasted 300 years. Mexico won its independence in 1821.

* This is the outline of an address recently delivered before the Des Moines Women's Club.

It is sometimes asserted that Mexico is a land of perpetual disorder and violence. That is not exactly true. If a man keeps his wits about him, he is no more in real danger in Mexico than in Brooklyn or Chicago, which is the crime capital of christendom. There is perhaps more banditry in the United States in a single week than in Mexico in a whole year. By what



PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES
President of the Mexican Republic for the
term of four years commencing
Dec. 1, 1924

warrant the American pot attempts to blacken the Mexican Kettle? * Note the recent development of trade and commerce in Mexico as an indication of its steady progress.

The total trade between the United States and Mexico during the first ten months of the last year (1925) amounted to Rs. 642,000,000 in the United States currency. In

other words, the trade between these two countries was conducted at the rate of three million rupees a day. The importance of trade between Mexico and the United States can be further understood when one remembers that Mexico leads all Latin American continental countries in this respect. At any rate Mexico is not all a sink of crime or a den of vice as some have pictured it. The fact that the two neighbors across the Rio Grande can talk in economic terms means that they have common business language, that they have common interests, and that they should arrive at a better understanding.

Another fact of capital importance in regard to Mexico is that the present regime is an extension of the revolution began ten years ago. The present Constitution adopted in 1917 had never been put into full operation. The former governments, since the revolution, were either too occupied with the problems of military pacification or too busy enacting reconstructive measures to fully enforce the constitution. It is only with president Calles that Mexico has now started upon the path of technically legal administration. What he is attempting to do is to enforce every clause of the 1917 Constitution. In this connection it should be observed that the three most recent Mexican governments, which were recognized by the United States, have all been founded upon this Constitution born of the revolution.

One of the most direct results of the Mexican revolution is the growth of nationalism. "Mexico for Mexicans" is the cry of the day. Self-respect, self-help, self-development and self-determination are the watchwords of the Mexico of to day. The Mexican nationalists want their Fatherland to be independent, religiously, politically, as well as economically. Foreigners may come in Mexico but they must not dominate it. Mexico, is awakened.

The Mexican nationalistic movement is of tremendous dynamic force, and is packed with thrills and human interest. The nationalistic tendencies are specially noticeable in their church laws, petroleum laws, and in their various other attempts to protect and conserve their national resources from unjust foreign exploitation.

TYRANNY OF CHURCH

The nationalistic movement has inevitably affected the church, because Mexico is now trying to throw off the yoke of the church.

* See "The World's Worst in Crime" by Sudhindra Bose, *The Modern Review*, February, 1926, pp. 149-154.

Throughout the greater part of four centuries of Mexican church history, the ecclesiastical authorities have been fanatically intolerant. The present conflict is nothing but the continuation of a state of affairs existing since 1521. Writes Senor Jose Miguel Beja, and the well-known Mexican publicist,

"The Mexicans then had their own religion, their highly developed arts, their gods, and their temples, and although some time elapsed before a Pope decided that the conquered people were human beings and had a soul, the first act of the Spanish soldiers and the Spanish priests upon taking possession of the land was to demolish the magnificent places of worship in the Mexican towns and to erect upon the debris Roman churches. The idols and icons were destroyed, the religious monuments razed to their foundations, and the Mexicans baptized en masse."

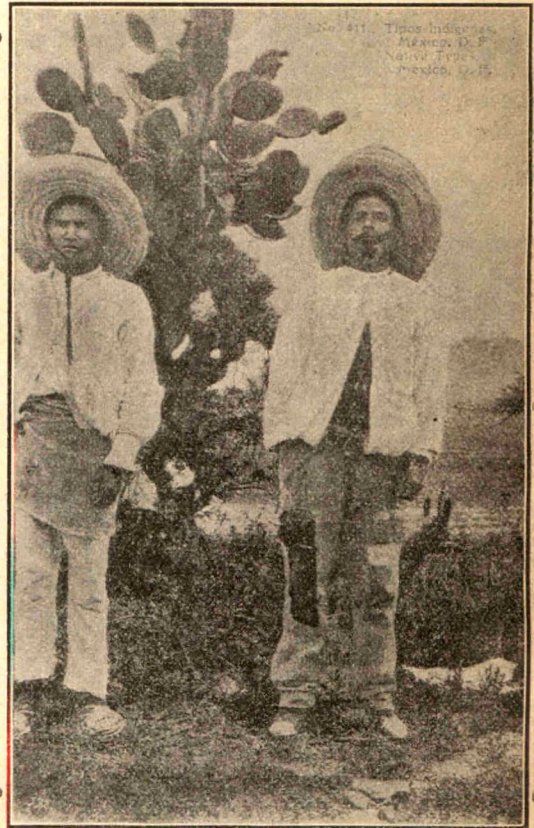
The church in Mexico was an instrument of fanaticism and bigotry. Only fifty years after the Spanish occupation, the Holy Inquisition with its fiendish fire and torture was introduced into Mexico to hunt out the heretics. No one lived at ease. Fear swept over the country like plague. History records that in one day alone, on April 11, 1649, one hundred and seven persons were burned alive or tortured to death by the Inquisition in Mexico.

The church whose sole duty was supposed to be to teach the self-denying doctrine of the humble Nazarine Carpenter, became the extractor of most of the gold and silver that went to Rome and to Spain. It took Rs. 71,000,000 in gold in one year. In three centuries it has been estimated that the church grabbed nine billion rupees worth of silver and other metals.

"Ten per cent of the product of the land was for the church; the ground had to be blessed by a priest before sowing; processions and religious services were organized to pray for rain in times of drought. Even domestic animals had to be taken to the church once a year to be blessed. The priest was pastor, physician, chief of police, school-teacher, and judge."

In the past the church was an instrument of conquest. It is now frequently a handmaid of the exploiting class. Many a rich manufacturer, desiring to safeguard against sabotage, finds it profitable to hire Catholic priests in order to bless the machine with "holy water" and prayers before they are used! The idea seems to be that when a priest has mumbled a few Latin words and sprinkled a few drops of Jordan water over a machine it becomes holy, and that the ignorant workmen would not injure it during labor troubles.

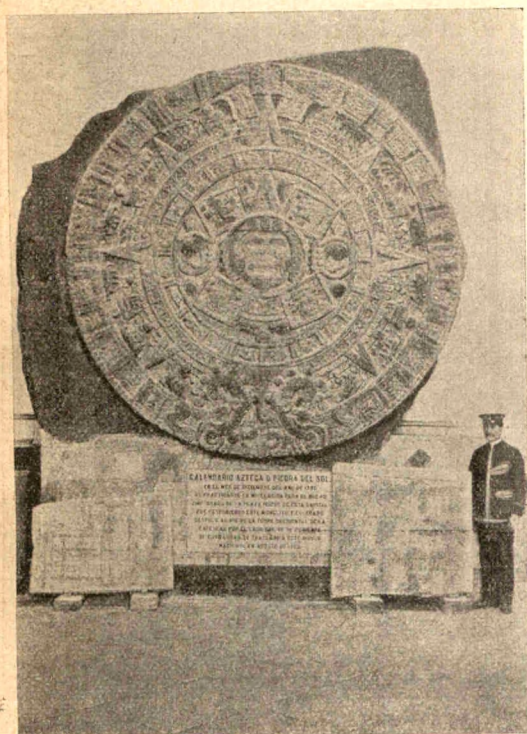
To the pleas of intelligent, educated, patriotic Mexicans that they are starved, robbed and degraded, the Christian divines have just one answer: "Get Jesus in your hearts, and these questions will take care of themselves." Church a mighty helper indeed! Is it any wonder that religion is already headed for the refrigerator?



Typical Mexican Indians

The Roman Catholic church in Mexico has accumulated vast property. Professor Ross of the University of Wisconsin states that by the middle of the nineteenth century two-thirds of the productive wealth of the country was in the hands of the church. The government has now nationalized all religious property as regards ownership and control. In its attempts to deliver the country from the dominance of a clerical medievalism, Mexico is inspired by the examples of France, Russia, and other progressive nations. Mexican leaders note that even the Asiatic Turkey has disestablished the Islamic ecclesiastical organization.

From a historical and administrative point of view, the church in Mexico is a foreign institution imposed upon the country from outside largely by force of arms. It has not built up a strong native priesthood. The church not only controls large areas of Mexican lands, but its foreign priesthood practically controls the Mexican system of education and encourages the ignorant masses to disobey land laws. The claim is made that the natives are exploited—economically and politically—by foreign bishops and priests, especially Spanish and Italian. The



An Aztec Calendar inscribed on a huge monolithic stone centuries before Christ.

mexican nationalists, who are distinctly anti-foreign, resent this exploitation. The national consciousness is too vigorous and too robust to be bluffed by any religious falderal.

Mexico wants the church to renounce temporal power and attend only to the spiritual needs of its charges. To put the church in its place, President Calles issued on July 3, 1926, the famous decree which has inspired the virtual excommunication of Mexico by Pope Pious XI. This epoch-

making decree, as summarized by the American Foreign Policy Association, provides:

1. No foreigner may exercise the religious profession in Mexico.
2. Education must be given in official schools and be secular. No religious corporation or minister of any creed may establish or direct schools of primary instruction.
3. Religious orders, convents, and monasteries will be dissolved.
4. Any minister who incites the public to refuse to acknowledge public institutions or to obey the laws will be severely punished.
5. No publication, either religious or merely showing marked tendencies in favor of religion, may comment on national political affairs.
6. No organization may be formed whose title has any word or any indication that it is connected with religious ideas.
7. Political meetings may not be held in churches.
8. All religious acts must be held within the walls of a church.
9. No religious order of any creed may possess or administer property or capital.
10. The churches are the property of the nation. Other ecclesiastical properties, such as bishops' palaces, houses, seminaries, asylums, colleges, convents, and all buildings constructed for religious purposes, pass into the possession of the nation, the use to which they are to be put to be determined by the Government.
11. Heavy penalties may be imposed upon ministerial or other authorities who fail to enforce the above provisions.

The church authorities instead of submitting to the laws of the country have openly defied the government by resorting to their ancient weapons of excommunication, the interdict, the boycott, and the terrorizing of people of weak conscience. This is flat rebellion. Religious bigotry has gone to seed. The Mexican government was compelled under the circumstances to expel some twenty foreign ecclesiastics. Who shall say that a nation has no right to throw out undesirable aliens in self-defense?

The leading Roman Catholics in the United States have been urging the Washington government for some form of interference. They would doubtless be pleased if America would intervene, and gobble up the southern neighbor by annexation. Fortunately there is not yet a substantial body of public sentiment favoring annexation. And unless the government in Mexico City weakens under pressure, all undesirable "sky pilots" will have to get out and keep out of Mexico.

LAND LAWS

Mexico possesses a very limited amount of productive land at present. Only about

one-fourth of the land is arable. Americans and other foreigners own millions and millions of acres of this land. The new Constitution prohibits any foreigner whatever from acquiring possession of real estate within sixty-two miles of the boundary lines and thirty-one miles of the sea-coasts. This is a measure of national defense against possible military and naval aggression.

Aliens who already own land in the prohibited zone, are permitted to hold it throughout their life time. Their heirs also may inherit it; but they must dispose of it within a period of five years or become naturalized Mexican citizens. Failure to comply with the law will result in the sale of the land at public auction.

Outside of this forbidden zone foreigners may acquire ownership of lands or acquire concession to develop natural resources, if they sign a pledge that in any question affecting the ownership of such property they will forego the privilege of appealing to their own government. Aliens must submit their claims, in so far as they affect the property, to the laws and courts of Mexico. Violation of the pledge will result in the forfeiture of their property rights to the Mexican government. Foreigners already owning property in Mexico will not be required to sign this pledge; but their heirs must either sign it or dispose of the property within five years. Failure to comply will result in the sale of the property at public auction, the proceeds of which will be turned over to the Mexican government.

Another provision of the Alien Land Act requires that fifty percent or more of the stock of any company owning land shall not be acquired by foreigners. However, a foreigner already holding stock in excess of that percentage may keep it until death, and a corporation owning such excess shall have ten years in which to dispose of it. The purpose of this clause is to ensure to Mexican citizens an adequate supply of agricultural land.*

PETROLEUM LAWS

Nearly everybody knows that Mexico is the largest producer of silver in the world; but it is not so generally known that in the

production of petroleum Mexico is only second to the United States. Now in view of the fact that much of this petroleum is in the hands of the foreigners, the Petroleum Act provides that the ownership of all minerals, including oil, is vested in the nation. This provision is intended to keep the control of such natural resources out of the hands of the foreigners. In granting concession to develop resources the Mexican government will doubtless favor Mexicans over foreigners. Moreover, the law prohibits monopolies, and requires the foreign concessionaires to pay taxes.

High-pressure diplomats have asserted that these laws are confiscatory and retroactive. Indeed the State Department at Washington has protested against them. The Mexican government, however, takes the ground that as a sovereign power it has undisputed right to legislate concerning land and natural resources within its jurisdiction. All lands and properties within the limits of the national territory belong originally to the nation. It has the right to transfer their ownership to individuals or corporations, and may determine the requirements for such transference. These rights are inherent in Mexico as a sovereign nation.

The Mexican Ambassador to the United States has recently pointed out that the Mexican land laws are not, in their essence, very different from those of America. In several of the United States foreigners are not allowed to own real estate under any conditions.

"This is notably true of the District of Columbia, as also of Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington, Texas, and other States. An exception is made of foreigners who first announce their intention to become naturalized citizens of the United States. In Oklahoma, if an alien acquires property by inheritance, he must either become a citizen within five years or forfeit the holding to the State."

Then again in most of the States on the Pacific Coast discrimination is made outright against the Oriental people as a class. The Aliens Land Act of California, for instance, rigidly forbids Japanese, Indians, and Chinese, not only from owning agricultural land, but also from leasing it, even for a single year. The law also forbids their purchase of stock in any company or corporation that is entitled to possess or acquire agricultural land. How can the United States having such anti-alien land laws on its own statute books bawl against those of Mexico?

* For a thorough study of the Mexican agrarian situation, consult *Land Systems of Mexico* by G. M. McBride.

LABOR MOVEMENT

It is interesting to note that the policies of the Calles administration are backed and supported by the Mexican labor movement. Indeed, it has assumed responsibility for the acts of the government. The Mexican Federation of Labor has a membership of a million and a half, and it is estimated that at the end of the present year the membership of the Federation will be 2,000,000. It is a powerful political force.

In the last labor convention President Calles expressed his determination to make life easier and more attractive for the workers. His government is exerting every effort to build a better and a newer country where there will be more social justice, and where the poor will not be ground down by the rich. He is the friend of the oppressed and the toiling masses. It is not therefore surprising that he should be described by his critics as socialistic and radical in his views.

The interest of the present government in the welfare of the laborers is not merely academic. Senor Calles is right on the job at all times fighting for the best interests of the laboring class. The Mexican Congress, now in session, has a bill before it which is designed to make employers share profits with their employees or to pay them a fixed bonus. There are also other measures pending, such as a minimum wage requirement, eight-hour day, workmen's compensation for injuries, and preference to Mexican citizens.

Are these measures too radical? Are they too revolutionary? Perhaps. But are they singular? Are they without their counterparts in the advanced countries of the world? Most of these measures are already in force in America. "In the United States", observes the Boston *Christian Science Monitor*, which can never be accused of sympathy for any radical expedient,

"are found statutes creating employer's liability. The eight-hour day is not unknown in American industries, and is actually enforced by statute in many cases. Wages are fixed by government mediators and the wage scales in a great many instances have been determined upon the earning power of the companies involved. The bonus system is not unknown, and, as a matter of fact, all those measures spoken of in Mexico as radical labor reforms have their counterpart in the United States, if not as laws, at least rules fixed by custom".

The fact is that President Calles and his supporters are convinced that the revolution can be preserved and made to move forward

only by progressive reforms. Life is progression. Progress is change. Progress demands a break with the dead past, and Mexico is striving to make that break peacefully, if it can, but break it must.

The Mexican labor leaders have been severely criticized in the United States for their extreme nationalistic policy. They seem to have acquired the reputation of being Xenophobic. One should remember, however, that Mexico for many years was subjected to a series of measures actually designed to favor the foreigner at the expense of the native. American, English, and other foreign capitalists vied with one another in controlling Mexican natural resources and Mexican economic enterprises. "Industrial development was fostered by concessions to foreigners under special legislation", writes an authority on Mexican affairs, "often granting monopoly privileges, exemption from taxes and from duties on imported machinery, etc. Bankers were established with exclusive rights of currency issue, to the amount of two or three times their currency reserve exemption from federal and municipal taxes and the right to foreclose on mortgage securities by private action of bank officials without judicial procedure. These banks were controlled by small groups of capitalists who lent large sums of money to their friends and rendered small land-holders helpless."* It is only natural that the labor unions, which are the only organized force in the country excepting the army, should resist economic exploitation vigorously henceforth no one shall prey upon Mexico.

Moreover, the Mexican labor movement is an important social influence in improving the standard of living among the working people. In twelve years the labor unions have raised, according to the General Secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor wages an average of eighty-five per cent.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The agricultural resources of Mexico are large and unusually varied, but the methods of farming are as primitive as those of India. The present government is endeavouring to modernize farming and improve the conditions of the lowly farmers.

The Federal government, the State govern-

* A comprehensive treatment of the subject is to be found in *Mexican People and Their Detractors* by F. Gonzales Roa.

ments and the various municipalities have been in some cases selling, but in most cases distributing free among the new farmers seed, implements, and agricultural machinery. Mexico has recently bought in America and sold to Mexican peasants 8,000 sets of modern plows and harnesses, at a cost of Rs. 78 per set and on three years' credit. This same equipment costs Rs. 375 per out-fit through private channels.

As a necessary step in the development of agriculture, the government has opened the National Agricultural Loan Bank in Mexico City. It lends money at a reasonable rate of interest to the peasants, who are fleeced by private money-lenders. The loan-sharks charge an interest rate from 24 per cent. to 48 per cent.

The government does not intend to stop with one agricultural bank. It is planned to start regional agricultural banks under the supervision of the central bank in Mexico City. Moreover, it is proposed that in "each community where a bank is opened a co-operative society of farmers will be formed, and this co-operative society will have an interest in the bank." What these banks, which will bring the much-needed credit within the reach of the starved peasantry, will mean for the development of Mexico requires no great powers of divination to foresee. They will stabilize agriculture and ensure increased prosperity for the nation.

SPREAD OF EDUCATION

Mexico is confronted with a gigantic task in changing from a sixteenth century self-dominion to a twentieth century democracy. In order to bring about the desired transformation, Mexico is turning more and more to education.

The majority of the people, estimated at from 60 to 80 per cent., are illiterate. This does not, of course, imply that Mexicans are stupid or of a low order of intelligence. The great mass of the people in Mexico, as in India, have not enough educational opportunities. Popular education is, however, being introduced with splendid success. Already Mexico has a fine nucleus of an educational system. The National University in Mexico City, which lacks only about quarter-century

of being 400 years old, is a flourishing institution. It is attended by 13,000 students, a large number of them being women. With the spread of education, the spirit of narrow sectionalism is waning. The rising tide of nationalism is sweeping all classes of people into unification.

Elementary education of all children between the ages of six and sixteen is compulsory. In actual practice, the law is not enforced. This is due to the fact that there are not as yet enough schools to meet the requirements of the compulsory law. The schools are, however, rapidly increasing. Calles has stated that new schools are being built and opened at the rate of 1,000 a year and the government will continue this building program until the nation is provided with school room for every child.

Mexico has at last awakened from its lethargy. We are today witnessing in that country a colossal struggle—a struggle for religious, political, and economic emancipation. The ideals of Mexican nationalists are those of liberty and enlightenment. The dream of Young Mexicans is the dream of a greater and happier Mexico. They hope to conquer a better material existence here upon this planet Earth before reaching Heaven. The hungry Mexican peons, like the starving Egyptian fellahins and Russian muzhiks, have no desire to chant:

You will eat, bye and bye,
In the glorious land above the sky;
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die!

The present administration may not be all that is desired; but it is a long and important step forward. President Plutarco Elias Calles is a man of high character, unselfishness, and rare executive ability. Life stands before him, an adventure of service not yet lived. His clean-cut program of nation building, which has earned him popularity in his native country, may well serve as a guide to Indian leaders.

Mexico by fighting for its rights is fighting for all oppressed peoples in all other countries. The question that Mexico is facing is this: Can a poor, oppressed, exploited people have the right—to quote the words of the American Declaration of Independence—to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" when threatened by the wealthy and mighty?

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

THAT Jadab Mukherjee and Madhab Mukherjee were not born of the same mother was history which they themselves had forgotten; so had all outsiders. Jadab, who was poor, had, at great sacrifice, trained up his younger brother Madhab in law and, after much trouble, had secured Bindubashini, only child of a rich land-owner, as the latter's bride. Bindubashini was possessed of uncommon beauty. On the day that she came to live in their house with her matchless beauty and ten thousand rupees in Government promissory notes, the elder brother's wife Annapurna shed tears of joy. The family had no mother or daughters. She was the head of the show. She held up the young bride's face and said proudly to the admiring neighbours: "This is what one should bring home, when looking for a bride! She is like a statue of the goddess Lakshmi!" But she was disillusioned in about a couple of days. She discovered very soon that the young bride had brought, along with her share of charms and cash, mountains of vanity and an undue sensitiveness. One day the elder lady of the house called her husband aside and said, "Dear, you have no doubt secured a sack full of grace and gold for a bride for your brother; but my goodness, she is a real jungle cobra."

Jadab did not believe her. He scratched his head and said, 'so then', 'really', 'is that so?', a few times and went to the Zemindar's Office.

Jadab was a quiet and peace-loving sort of a man. He used to work as a rent collector at the Zemindar's Collectorate and spent his time at home in religious duties. Madhab was ten or twelve years his brother's younger. He had just commenced to practise as a lawyer after passing his examination.

He came and said, "Bou'than*, Did dada† find money to be greater than all else? If he had waited a few days, I could have earned enough to satisfy him."

Annapurna kept silent

There was an additional danger which prevented anybody from attempting to discipline Bindubashini. She suffered from hysteria and had fits. She could make such scenes that it made one's head reel even to look at her and it generally required medical help to bring things to the normal. It was, therefore, that everybody believed the much-coveted *alliance* to have been a great mistake. Only Jadab stuck to his faith. He stood alone against everyone and said, "No, no, you will see later on. The little mother (meaning Bindubashini) is beautiful as the Goddess Jagatdhatri; could she be a failure? It is absurd."

One day, after a little exchange of words, Bindubashini was sitting silently with a dark cloud on her face. Annapurna was put into a panic when she saw these symptoms. She suddenly had an inspiration. Rushing into her room she brought out her little eighteen month old son Amulya, who was fast asleep, and dumping him on Bindu's lap she disappeared.

Amulya began to howl as a mark of protest against this rude interruption to his unfinished sleep.

Bindu struggled with all her might to save herself from the clutches of hysteria, won, and went into the room with the baby.

Annapurna saw this from a corner and felt extremely elated to have discovered such a miraculous cure for her sister-in-law's fits.

Annapurna had to do all the house-hold work of supervision and management and found little time to look after her little son. It made her sick if she got no sleep at night after the fatiguing duties of the day. So, Bindu took up the work of looking after the baby.

About a month after the incident referred to above, Bindu entered the kitchen one day with the baby in her arms and asked, "Didi* where is Amulyadhone's† milk?"

Annapurna left the work in hand and said

* The form of address used in Bengal to address one's elder brother's wife.

† Form of address used to address an elder brother.

* Form of address used to address an elder sister or sister-in-law.

† Amulya's full name.



MOTHER

Artist—Sj. Promodekumar Chattopadhyaya
Kalabhavan, Baroda

(2)

in a frightened voice, "Just a minute, sister, I am warming it for you."

Bindu had already seen that the milk was not ready. She lost her temper and said sharply, "I told you also yesterday that I wanted the milk before eight but it must be nine before I get it. If you find the work so heavy, why don't you tell me so? I can manage it in some other way. And you," (now addressing the cook), "O daughter of a Brahmin, have you too lost your senses? Would it turn creation upside down if you cooked the 'pindi'* for the whole house a few minutes later?"

The Brahmin woman kept quiet.

Annapurna answered: "We could have retained our senses if all that we had to do consisted, as in your case, of dressing and undressing the baby. Couldn't you wait even one minute?" Bindu said in answer, "You will have a curse on you, Didi, if you ever again touch Amulya's milk! I, too, may I have a curse on me if I ever asked you for his milk!"

So saying, she thumped Amulya down on the floor and taking hold of the milk-pan, placed it on the stove. Amulya began to shriek as a result of these extraordinary happenings. Bindu pressed him hard on the cheeks and shouted, "Shut up at once, you son of a pig, shut up, or I will strangle you!" Kadam, the maid of the household, rushed up seeing how Bindu was going on and attempted to take the baby in her arms. Bindu stormed at her, "Get out, leave my presence at this very moment, do you hear!"

She stood where she was, as if petrified with fright, and did not come a step nearer.

Bindu did not say another word to anybody and engaged in warming the milk with the little boy in her arms.

Annapurna stood still. When, after a little while Bindu had left the place, she said, addressing the cook, "You heard her, didn't you? I had told her one day in joke to take Amulya. Now, on the strength of that, she places a curse on me!"

However, it was thus that Annapurna's son began to be nurtured into manhood by Bindubashini, and the result was that he learned to call his aunt "mother" and his mother "didi"

About four years after this Amulya had his *hate-khari** with great festivity. The day after the ceremony, Annapurna was busy in the kitchen when Bindubashini called her from outside, "Didi, Amulya has come to give you his *pranam*†, just come out for a minute."

Annapurna came out and was staggered by the make-up of Amulya. His eyes were nicely painted with *Kajal*‡; he had been given a beauty spot on his forehead and his hair was gathered up and tied on the crown of his head. A yellow-dyed dress, an earthen ink-pot slung from a string in one hand and a few palm leaves (for writing purposes) wrapped in a small mat under his arm, completed his equipment.

Bindu said, "Do your *pranam* to Didi, dear!"

Amulya prostrated himself before his mother. He had no shoes, no socks, no burden of a variety of foreign clothes—Annapurna smiled at these eccentricities and said: "Oh, you have a head for ideas, Chhota Bau!** Is your son going to school?"

Bindu smilingly answered, "Yes, I am sending him to Ganga Pandit's Pathshala (village school). Bless him this day that he may realise his highest destiny." Turning to the servant, she said, "Tell Bhairab Pandit Mahashaya, in my name, to see that no one bullies or beats my son! Didi, take these five rupees, prepare a nice *sidha* (a present of food-stuffs), and send it to the Pathshala by Kadam." So saying she kissed her son, picked him up in her arms and went away.

Annapurna's eyes overflowed with tears of joy. She said to the cook, "She is all engrossed in that boy! Yet, she did not bear him—had she done so, I do not know what she would have done!"

The cook opined, "It is probably due to that that God has not given her any of her own—she would be eighteen or nineteen—"

Before the cook could fully unburden herself of her wisdom, Chhota Bau came back, alone this time and said, "Didi, couldn't you

*A ceremony inaugurating the student-life of a child.

†Prostrating oneself before an elder as a mark of respect.

‡Preparation of lamp black made from vegetable oil flame.

** Meaning, the younger bride of the family.

*Food offered to the dead. Here used to signify Bindu's angry desire that the other members of the house, died rather than deprive the baby of his timely supply of milk.

ask Bar'thakur * to arrange to open a Pathshala in front of our house? I shall pay all expenses."

Annapurna laughed out. She said, "Good gracious, he hasn't even gone two steps away from you and you have already lost your determination? Why not go to the Pathshala with him and keep watch there."

Bindu was disconcerted and said, "No, no; I have not lost my determination! But I am thinking that it is one thing for him to be within my sight and another to be out of it. The other students are all wicked boys. Suppose they thrashed him. He is so small!"

Annapurna answered, "And if they did; what of it? Boys will be boys and will fight. Moreover, all children are the same in their parents' eyes. If they could send their children to school, why couldn't you?"

Bindu thoroughly disliked comparison with others. So she said, probably a bit displeased inwardly, "You have a way of talking! Suppose some one poked him in the eye with a pen or something—what then?"

Annapurna understood her feeling, smiled and said, "Take him to a doctor, no doubt. But I tell you that even if I had spent days over it, I could never have thought of that poke in the eye! So many boys go to school; but I have never heard of any one being poked in the eye."

Bindu said, "Lots of things may happen of which you have no idea or knowledge. Who can make sure of accidents? Never mind all that; why not ask him once and let things follow their natural course after that."

Annapurna said gravely, "I know what will happen. When you have set your heart on it once, it must come about. But I shall not be able to say such unheard-of things. You speak to him, don't you? Then why not suggest it yourself?"

Bindu was now angry. She said, "Yes, I will. I shall not send my son so far every day—it does not matter if it displeases any one, nor even if it stopped his education altogether. Kadam, didn't I ask you to take the *Sidha* to the Pathshala? Then why are you standing and gaping?"

Annapurna hurriedly said, "I am arranging the *Sidha*. Don't let such little things upset you so much! Really, is not your son going to grow up? Do you expect to keep him under your wings for ever? Why don't you think?"

* Husband's eldest brother.

Chhota Ban did not answer her question. Instead she addressed the maid-servant, Kadam, "Go with the *Sidha*, and bring back the boy after he has taken the dust of the Gurumahashaya's feet. Request him also to come this way some time in the evening. It is impossible to persuade one who will not be persuaded. I am telling her that a little boy may be thrashed and bullied and I am told that I could not keep him under my wings for ever! I have not come for anybody's advice regarding what I could and what I could not do!" So saying she walked away at great speed.

Annapurna was dumb-founded and stood still. Kadam said, "Don't stand there any longer, mother *; she might come again. When she has set her heart on something, even God almighty will be powerless to keep her from it."

That evening when the oldest member of the family after taking his daily dose of opium, was reclining on the bed with the hubble-bubble pipe in his mouth and attempting to whip up his sweet hallucinations, there was a sudden knock at the door.

Jadab opened his eyes after great effort and said, "Who is it?"

Annapurna entered the room and announced, "Chhota Bou has come to say something to you, just listen to her."

Jadab hurriedly sat up, and said, "Who, the little mother†? Why, what's wrong, mother?"

He had great affection for the chhotabou (Bindu). As Bindu did not answer, Annapurna said, "She fears that the boys at the school will be poking at her boy's eyes with their pens; so she wants to have a pathshala started within the house."

Jadab looked very much upset, dropped his pipe and asked, "Who, who has poked into his eyes? Let me see, what has happened."

Annapurna lifted the pipe back to his hand and said with a smile, "No one has done so yet. We are discussing probabilities." Jadab was mightily relieved. He said, "Oh, probabilities! I thought—"

Bindu was standing out of sight and wriggling inwardly with rage. She said, however, in an undertone, "Didi weren't you absolutely incapable of uttering unheard-of things—then why are you talking?"

* In Bengal servants address the lady of the house as mother.

† Affectionate way of referring to one's younger brother's wife.

Annapurna also was realising that her way of putting the thing had not been very happy and was spoiling the case. She understood the full implication of Bindu's undertone and got frightened. Her passion was vented on the poor inoffensive husband, to whom she said, "I did not know that opium shut one's ears also; I thought its effects were restricted to shutting the eyes alone. What have I been telling you? And what have you heard! Let me see, what has happened! Did I say that some one had put Amulya's eyes out? It seems that I must suffer for every thing!" The poor, harmless Jadab felt his dreams crumbling away; he lost control of his senses and said, "Why my dear, what has happened?"

Annapurna got furious. She cried, "Everything and nothing! It is sinful and stupid to talk to such persons." Then she swept angrily out of the room.

Jadab asked, "Tell me everything little mother."

Bindu stood by the door and said softly, "If we could have a pathshala outside, near the store-room—"

Jadab said, "That is nothing much. But who will teach?"

Bindu said, "The Pandit mahashaya has been here. If he could get ten rupees per month, he would gladly bring over the pathshala. I think we could pay the expenses from the interest of my money."

Jadab was satisfied. He said, "Certainly, I shall set men to work from to-morrow. If Gangaram brings over his pathshala here, it would solve the problem very nicely indeed."

As soon as Madhab gave his consent to her plan, Bindu lost all her anger. She went into the kitchen with a smiling face and found Kadam expounding something with great flourishes of her arms to cheerless Annapurna. Kadam choked off all of a sudden at the advent of Bindu and could only manage a "Goodness, here is—" as a finishing touch. Bindu knew that she herself was the subject and asked, "Goodness, here is, what? Let us hear the rest of it."

Kadam swallowed and stammered with a dry palate, "No, didi, it was—Bara ma* said—let us see—suppose if—"

Bindu said harshly, "Yes, I have supposed. You go off and finish your work."

Kadam cleared out without another word.

Then Bindu said to Annapurna, "Our lady of the house has excellent advisers! They should get an increment of pay; why not ask Bara thakur*?"

Bindu addressed Annapurna as didi when she was in a good mood. Otherwise she called her the lady of the house (Bara ginni).

Annapurna flared up, "Go and tell him," she cried, "He would cut my head off, would he? And your Bara thakur! He will at once whine, 'Oh yes, little mother, perfectly right mother!' I have seen lots of fortunate persons; but none to beat you, chhota bou! What a luck you were born with! Everybody is simply living in terror of you!"

Bindu was in a temper, but the way Annapurna talked made her laugh out. She asked, "Well, you do not seem to be frightened of me?"

Annapurna answered, "Don't I! She who does not go cold with fear when you behave like one of the Furies, is still unborn! But, you know, chhota bou, so much of anger does no good! You are no longer a child, are you? Had you borne children, you would have had a good few by now. But what is the use of my blaming you! It is that old simpleton who spoils you!"

Bindu said, "I agree that I was born with a portion of good fortune. But I must say one thing. Lots of people get riches and social status in this life; but few get such a godlike bhasur* as I have! One has to do hard tapasya† to deserve such a one. It is my luck, didi. What is the good of your being jealous? But, if any one has spoilt me, it is not he; it is you!" Annapurna waved her arms and exclaimed, "I? Nobody could say that! I am a hard disciplinarian—but I am unfortunate, no one fears me—even the maids and servants quarrel in front of me and cheek me, as if they were the master and I their underling. It is because it is I that such things go unpunished, otherwise—"

Her contradictory ramble brought forth a giggle from Bindu. She said, "Didi, you belong to the golden age! Why on earth were you born now? But no one cheeks or quarrels with me!" She then suddenly knelt down in front of Annapurna, put her arms round her neck and said, "Do tell me a story."

*Bara ma—elder mother. When there are many ladies in a joint family, the wife of the eldest member is called Bara ma, and Bara thakur means one's husband's eldest brother. In this case Jadab,

*One's husband's elder brother.

†Fenace, performed to please the gods, for a boon.

Annapurna got furious and said, "Let me go! Go away!"

Kadam came rushing up and said "Didi, Amulya has cut himself with the betelnut-cutter". Bindu at once stood up, letting Annapurna go and said, "Where did he get the betelnut-cutter? What were you doing?"

"I was making the bed when he went into Bara ma's room and—"

"Yes, yes, I have understood, clear out from here." So saying Bindu went in search of Amulya. After some time she reappeared with Amulya, whose finger was bandaged with a wet rag, and remarked, "Well, didi, how many times have I asked you not to keep your cutters and things within reach of children, but—"

Annapurna got still more angry and said, "Your talk is absolutely without any sense! Must I lock up all house-hold utensils in the safe to keep your son from mischief?"

Bindu said, "No I shall chain him up from to-morrow," and went out. Annapurna addressed the maid, "Did you hear, Kadam? Do people keep betelnut-cutters in the iron safe?"

Kadam attempted to say something, but left it unsaid.

Bindu came back and said, "If I again catch you discussing our affairs with servants for opinion and arbitration, I shall go away with my son to my father's house!" Annapurna replied, "Why don't you go? But remember, once you go, I shall not ask you to come back even if you knocked your head on the door and died!"

Bindu said, "I should not think of coming back," and left the room with a glum face.

About two hours later Annapurna marched into Bindu's room with steps that resounded all over the house. Madhab was examining his briefs at one corner and Bindu was lying with Amulya on the bed, telling him a story. Annapurna said, "Come and have your meal."

Bindu said, "I am not feeling hungry."

Amulya said, "Go and eat a little, mother."

Annapurna scolded him, "You keep quiet! This boy is at the root of all mischief. What a spoilt child you are making of him, chhotabou! You will realise when it is too late. Then you will weep and say, 'yes, didi told me so'!"

Bindu whispered something into Amulya's ear and he shouted, "Why don't you go away, didi, mother is telling me a fairy tale?"

Annapurna repeated threateningly, "If you desire peace and welfare, come away chhotabou! Or, if I don't send you both away to-morrow, let people call me by a name different from Annapurna!" She then marched out as heavily as she had come.

Madhab asked, "What's up? What have you two been up to?"

Bindu answered, "What always happens when didi loses her temper. I had only asked her to keep her betelnut-cutters and things away from the baby—and she has kicked up a terrible row."

Madhab said, "All right, go and finish it now. The way Bouthan is marching about! She will soon wake up dada*."

Bindu picked up Amulya and went to the kitchen with a smile on her face.

(To be continued)

Translated from the original Bengali by Ashoke Chatterjee.

*Elder brother.

RAISON D'ÊTRE OF "THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

By KAZI MAHABBAT ALI

IT is now about six years that the League of Nations came into being and the time has come that its activities and work may be surveyed and criticised. The work of the League during the past six years will give enough materials for the study of its real design, which has been manifest on many occasions in the past. An attempt will be

made to expose the League in its true colours through its various phases and I shall try to show that the League—the so called saviour of the world peace and prosperity, is more or less a hoax. To a serious and critical observer of the League's activities, the pomp and show so lavishly displayed at Geneva every year, the courtesy and mutual good wish

so profusely expressed during the Assembly sitting at the secretariat will appear to be a piece of meaningless performance so far as the League's avowed objects are concerned. The fact, however, that it may possess a great potential power none will dispute. But my analysis of the situation will show what the League professes to do, what its covenant allows it to do and how far it has practically been successful in its mission which it so loudly advertises throughout the world. From this analysis I hope I shall be able to convince my reader that the League deserves the epithet I have given it.

Before going into the actual activities of the League it is desirable to give a very brief history of its origin. The League of Nations officially came into being on January 10, 1920, when the treaty of Versailles concluded on January 28, 1919, between Germany on the one side and the allied and the associated powers on the other, came into force. The League, as all know, was the outcome of the last great European war that broke out on July 28, 1914 and ended by an armistice on November 11, 1918.

The establishment of the League was due to the efforts of the late President Wilson (U. S. A.), whose intention of creating such a body was embodied in one of his famous fourteen points, and the 14th point of Mr. Wilson runs thus

"A general association of Nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

Mr. Wilson as an arbitrator offered these fourteen points to all the nations then at war and asked them to cease further operations on acceptance of those conditions. The allies then in hopeless confusion as to the results of the war readily accepted these terms and assured the world that they would act up to them. An armistice was signed after this. After giving a little further history of the League I shall try to show how these 14 points which were to be made the basis of the League have been honoured more in the breach than in their observance by the League.

The first draft of the covenant of the League of nations was published on February 14, 1919, and accepted after modifications by the representatives of the allied and associated powers in the plenary conference held at Paris on April 28, 1919.

A few words are also necessary to explain the constitution of the League. The League has three main organs, namely, the assembly, the council and the secretariat. Under the League there are as many as six departments. The secretariat has been permanently established at Geneva in Switzerland which became conspicuous by its perfect neutrality during the war. The secretariat consists of the Secretary-general of the League and his staff—the first Secretary-general being Sir James Eric Drummond.

England, France, Italy and Japan shall be the permanent members of the League council which is acting as the chief executive of the League. Germany, which has been admitted into the League in September, 1926, has also been given a permanent seat in the council after protracted negotiations. The council, practically speaking, is the most important body, since all international conflicts referred to or undertaken by the League are decided by this body and the formal approval of the assembly to its decisions is obtained by a simple majority. America, although she was the initiator in this matter, is not a member of the League, since she could not accept in toto the covenant framed by the allied powers.

The first and foremost objects of the League are to restore peace and prevent war all over the world. But my contention will be that the League by its very covenant is incapable of yielding such results; because article 5 of the covenant states that "except where otherwise provided, decision at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting". I should say that such a unanimity of agreement is not possible even in the council when matters of conflicting interests among the members are to be decided. As an instance of this it may be pointed out that Germany could not be admitted into the League in the beginning of the session, 1926, simply because Brazil retained its intention of veto to Germany's obtaining a permanent seat in the council. The possibility of such unanimity in the council may be admitted in cases of minor and non-controversial character. But the difficulty of unanimity has now all the more been aggravated by the raising of the number of non-permanent seats in the council from five to nine.

It is ridiculous to suppose that fourteen members, representing fourteen nations who

will now be composing the League council, would be of one mind regarding questions of extremely controversial nature.

In the second place, it is an observed fact, as will be soon illustrated, that decisions in the League council are not influenced by legal and moral convictions, but mainly by political considerations that serve best the interests of different members that sit as judges. In the face of this fact, which is indeed painful, the decisions of the council, even when they could be unanimously arrived at, cannot rouse the sympathy and obtain moral support of the unbiased people outside.

The next point is that a member according to the covenant, "may, with a previous notice withdraw from the League" if his purpose is well-served by doing so. It may be taken for granted that any member when it finds its position or interests shaken within the League will at once withdraw and thus get out of the clutch of the League. But the most serious defect of the League is its total incapacity to enforce its decrees or decisions even if they could be unanimously reached. Now the whole thing becomes a farce. Just imagine a case in which a judge can sentence a man to imprisonment but there is no executive to put that man into jail. So until this so-called confederation can interfere with the sovereignty of a state its decision in the true sense of the term has no meaning at all. It may be argued that the League has settled some European disputes. But the answer to this is that the League has been successful on very few occasions with respect to some minor disputes concerning very petty states of Europe—chief of which being the Bulgaro-Balkan dispute over the boundary line and the Aaland island dispute between Finland and Norway. But the League's dealings with a great power have been confined to mere appealing to its good sense and it is helpless in that case. Some instances of the kind are necessary at this stage.

It may be recalled that there was a dispute over upper Silesia in 1921 between Germany and Poland. The treaty of Versailles provided that in the eastern part of the German provinces of Upper Silesia a plebiscite should be held, and whether this province ought to go to Poland or to remain with Germany should be decided by the majority of votes of the people of Upper Silesia. A special committee was appointed by the allied powers to report to them the result of voting. The voting was however, in favour of Germany the ratio

being seven to four, and Germany now claimed the Government of that province according to the terms of the treaty. But France rejected the claim and the League, which was ultimately invoked, divided the province between Germany and Poland since it did not want to incur the displeasure of France. But what was a matter of pleasure to France was a vital question for Germany, and she, then under too much economic distress and pressure of the allies, was compelled to obey the decree, however unjust it might be. This is the first piece of justice done by the League.

The same year the League made itself ridiculous by handling the dispute between Poland and Lithuania over the city and the province of Vilna. It wanted in vain to enforce such a decision as was rejected by both the parties. It made itself still more ridiculous by deciding military action against the powers concerned to enforce its decrees and abandoning the idea at the last moment.

Some time after the treaty of Versailles, which reduced Germany to an insignificant state France under M. Poincaré's regime, all on a sudden attacked Ruhr, purely a German possession, and occupied it on the plea that Germany was not duly paying her war debts to France.

But the League maintained a prudent silence over the matter since it could not do anything against France, though the French action was declared by the British Government and others to be absolutely illegal, mean and against the spirit of the previous treaty. And every one knows that France evacuated Ruhr only when her economic and financial stringency would not allow her to be there. Such is the dealing of the League with its powerful members.

Another instance is afforded by Italy in her duel with Greece in the Corfu matter in 1923. Despite the League's warning and orders Italy under proud Mussolini occupied Corfu by force of arms and the matter ended there, since Greece had not the power to measure her strength with Italy. It was on this occasion that Lord Cecil in a statement regarding the activities of the league admitted that the authority of the League had been practically repudiated by a great power. Representatives of many governments even in the League council held that the Italian contention during the Corfu crisis constituted a definite challenge to the authority of the competence of the League. Now the commen-

tary on article 17 "of the League's covenant "that any act of war is henceforward a breach of the peace of the League which will exact due reparation" becomes a downright mockery in the face of the fact that the League did nothing against France and Italy for such breaches of the peace in defiance of the League's authority.

Above all, the dealing of the League with Egypt, comes to the forefront. It is to be recalled that Egypt, while she was being racked by British soldiers after the murder of Sir Lee Stack, appealed to the League requesting its intervention for the cause of peace and justice. But thanks to European diplomacy, this fervent appeal could not move the hard-hearted Geneva Secretariat, since acceptance of such appeal might result in incurring the displeasure of the British lion and the ultimate decision might be favourable to a non-European Muslim country; and the hesitancy of the League Secretariat was totally removed by the bold announcement of the British Foreign Office that it was a domestic affair and that it would not tolerate outside intervention. This rendered the League quite helpless and inactive. But the answer to the British contention to which the League acquiesced, may be found in article 3 of its covenant which says that 'the League may deal with any matter affecting the peace of the world'. Moreover, there is no mention in the covenant that any country which is not a state in the true political sense is not competent to lodge a complaint with the League and to get proper redress.

The same applies to Morocco and Syria. When one reads article 3 and particularly the main objects (stated previously) of the League one fails to realise why it should maintain such a dead silence over the two bloody and ruinous wars that are still devastating Morocco and Syria where two Moslem countries are endeavouring heart and soul to shake off the European yoke. But the League knows it well that these two small Moslem countries cannot hold out long against two of the strongest powers of Europe, such as France and Spain. It is for this indifference and apathy of the League towards these two small countries, that Sir Abdur Rahim in his famous Aligarh speech gave the League a mild rebuke.

It is now necessary to describe the treatment and nature of justice that Turkey has received from the League. What was the

League council's verdict with regard to the Mosul question? The council had to admit with much pain that from documentary and legal points of view Mosul belongs to Turkey; but strange to say the award goes to Britain. The decision had to be unanimous and the Swedish delegate to the council, M. Unden, one of the three members of the League's commission to the Iraq Frontier who had intimated his intention after thorough enquiry to support the claim of Turkey, had been prevailed upon only at the eleventh hour to vote against the Turkish contention. He would have certainly voted in favour of Turkey, as he had announced, but for the pressure brought upon him by England and other interested members to keep the 'prestige' and 'integrity' of the League by giving unanimous decision in favour of England. This is how unanimity was arrived at. From these facts it may be realised how far the Mosul decision was just and fair. France had, however, a large share behind the screen in this matter. Anxious to get Britain's support in Morocco and Syria, where her position had been very much shaken at the time, she too eagerly lent her support to the British claim over Mosul. It has already been stated that judgments in the council are influenced mainly by political considerations and self-interest of the members that sit as judges and not by legal and moral convictions; and the French behaviour in the Mosul question is an instance in point. Mosul, as all know, had been a Turkish possession till the last great war and is part and parcel of Turkey, and a great injury has been done to her in this respect. Turkey has justly pointed out that she cannot expect justice from the League executive composed then entirely of the Christian powers of the European countries with the solitary exception of Japan. Although a treaty regarding Mosul and its oil fields has been concluded between the Turkish and the British governments to the considerable advantage of the latter and much loss to the former, Turkey cannot forget that England made this timely but immoral bargain when she (Turkey) was threatened with an impending attack by Italy. She also suspects some dark hands to have worked behind this threatened attack and her feeling of recentment may burst out at any moment.

A few words should be said about China, which is groaning under foreign exploitation

and oppression, although she is an independent nation and a member of the League. It may be known to many that China had been forced to sign the Washington treaty according to which the ports of China shall be in the hands of England, America, and Japan and it is they who will realise and have the customs duty and direct the policy of opium. The Chinese seas are also under foreign control. All the bloody fights that are being waged for a long time specially against the lust of these imperial powers, have their roots in those unequal, unjust and humiliating treaty terms. China is not a domestic concern of anybody, and why is the League, which is so very forward and eager to settle disputes among the Christian nations of Europe, now so prudently silent? China's is the just cause and she deserves the sympathy and support of the League. But alas! what is the League after all? It is nothing but a mere tool in the hands of the powers now opposed to China; and another fact should not be lost sight of, that China is a weak nation professing a religion which is not Christian and that she is unfortunately not within the boundary of Europe. Her position might have been quite different had she not occupied the much accursed land of Asia.

The League has thus become an extraordinary and effective weapon to enhance the aggressive policies of Britain, France and Italy, in whose hands it is certainly a tool. It is a mischievous scientific institution calculated to obliterate and ruin powers other than European, but veiled under a hypocritical seal of benevolence. In the September session of 1926 of the League, when the Persian delegate expressed the opinion that two out of the nine non-permanent seats ought to go to Asiatic powers, it provoked only a good-humoured laughter in the Assembly. A careful study of the comments of the whole European press on Germany's admission to the League with a permanent seat in the council will reveal the real motive of European nations. They all in one voice emphasised the only fact that Europe's stability and unity would now be complete, as if the League were a concern of Europe alone. The confession is unconscious, but it is a fact. After extending their empires throughout the whole world and subjugating many other nations it is natural that European powers, in this age of general awakening of dependent nations, should now be

anxious to consolidate and retain their power in other parts of the world by mutual bond of friendship amongst themselves. The League is the best instrument for that purpose and this is the real spirit behind the Locarno pact and the subsequent admission of Germany into the League. People could understand the League better if it were termed an European clique, and not a popular body for the good of the world at large.

A word or two should now be said in connection with 'Disarmament', for the considerable reduction of which article 8 of the covenant makes provision as a necessary step for the maintenance of peace. Disarmament, so far as Germany, who had been so long outside the League, is concerned, is complete, to a great extent under the constant pressure of the allied powers. But as regards other advocates of disarmament, namely, Britain, France and Italy, it has remained merely a lip-expression. Italy on the contrary has answered this pledge by increasing her armaments and naval establishments. This is how they are disarming themselves.

Another important function of the League relates to its mandatory system. It is scarcely necessary to say that the mandatory system of the League has been vitiated beyond doubt. Not to speak of the principal allied powers even Australia, so long purely a British protege, has been given a mandate over New Guinea. Some time back a very high Australian officer serving in New Guinea described how the womanhood of that area is being molested by European soldiers and other European officers. These officers, as he says, send their boy servants to get fine-looking women for their satisfaction.

Let us now examine the work of France as mandatory over Syria and Palestine. It may not be out of place to describe here in a few words how Syria and Palestine became mandated territories in utter disregard of the pledge given by the allies before the signing of the armistice. The 12th point of President Wilson to which all the allied powers then, under fear of defeat, readily agreed, was that "the Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty." But the mischievous 12th article of the League covenant which makes provision for a mandatory over some Turkish territories, is a counter answer to the above pledge. The League, on the strength of this

article, has thus entrusted the mandates of Syria and Palestine—countries snatched from Turkey after the war—to the French who have raised there nothing but hatred and discontent;—nay, they have committed massacres and sheer vandalism, perpetrated at Bagdad and other parts of Syria. These are but a few of the many instances with regard to the mandated territories.

Now the question is what is the League's responsibility in this matter? According to its covenant the League is bound to enquire and demand reports of management of all mandated territories. It must see that good government is carried on in all these countries and that peace is maintained everywhere. But up till now the League has scarcely demanded such reports. The few that have been submitted to the League are merely nominal and formal. The League council, on the other hand, will resent any criticism made by any mandates commission appointed by the League. Thus in the September session of 1926 of the League Sir Austen Chamberlain strongly objected to the proposal of the commission headed by M. Undén (Sweden) 'to address a questionnaire to the mandatory powers dealing with the administration of mandated territories: He also opposed the commission's hearing verbal petitions from the inhabitants of the mandated territories without first hearing the mandatory's observation on the subject.' It was also suggested that the mandates commission was exceeding its powers as regards supervising the administration of the mandated territories. It is needless to say that other members joined in a chorus with Sir Austen Chamberlain and the report of the mandates commission had to be materially changed. The fun however lies in the fact that

members of the council are almost all mandatory powers who sit as judges to decide their own cases. This explains the silence and negligence of the League as regards massacres and vandalism perpetrated in Bagdad and other places. One may reasonably ask if the mandates were entrusted to these nations for doing nothing towards developing those territories save and except committing notorious deeds in them. Let any supporter of the League's mandatory system answer if Syria and Palestine are now more happy under the League's mandate than they were under Turkey.

In conclusion, it will rather be an act of uncharity not even to hazard a prediction of hope about the future activities of the League. Let us hope that the League in future will give a better account of what it stands for, since in hoping so we do not lose anything but we gain some consolation that the energy and activities of such an influential gathering which, on most occasions, have been so lamentably misdirected in the past, may ultimately change their phase and lead to the happiness, peace and progress of the world. It has been hinted at the outset that the League possesses great potential powers and so it is reasonable to expect that good results conducive to the happiness of the world at large are bound to come out of it only if the mentality of its European members in particular is changed, and their policy rightly and unselfishly directed. Let us have consolation in the hope—be it hoping against hope—that the malignant spirit and shrewd diplomacy of the League's exponents may change for the better and a new era of peace and brotherhood may dawn upon the world.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ADMINISTRATION*

BY J. H. HUTTON, C. I. E., M. A., D. SC.

AS I am not the first district officer to have had the honour of occupying this place, there is perhaps no need of an apology, for the anomalous usurpation of a pandit's

throne by a man of affairs. If any justification were needed, I should look for it in the fact that a district officer who is also an anthropologist is in the fortunate position of having, as it were, a footing in two opposing camps. For it must be admitted that in anthropology, as in other directions, the bond between Science and the State

*Presidential Address delivered before the Anthropological Section of the All-India Science Congress, Lahore 1927.

is not so close as reason and expediency would seem to demand. The state has always distrusted science, and under the banal conditions of latter-day politics the proletariat dislikes the genuine intellectual as much as the tyrant and the oligarch have done in their day. Napoleon could not bear what he called *ideologues*, though he did not actually persecute them, but Russia makes pogroms of her intelligentsia, while even the U. S. A. prosecute theirs. Indeed, this is perhaps but part of a general world movement, for even psychology nowadays tends to exalt kinaesthesia to a level with the recognized methods of intellectual activity.* Of course, this attitude is not without some justification.

It was said of the Athenian, the cream of Greek intellectuals, that he was *proshapan xunetos epi pan argos*—"In everything enlightened, and at everything ineffectual". Many of us will recall from undergraduate days a certain almost contemptuous distrust of dons as a class, whatever our feelings for particular individuals, and this, I take it, is merely another symptom of the same general idea. A recent writer has stated that in France intellectual influence was at its strongest in politics from 1875, and that those thirty years witnessed "a shrinkage in political virtue, a lowering of the national pulse; a gathering indifference to national name, fame and heritage", and that "If France awoke again.... it was because she has listened, not to the intellectual, but to those who have rebelled against their doctrines".

Still there is a great deal to be said on the other side for the scientist. He is at least the first man to reach the Socratic point of knowing enough to be aware that he knows nothing, and even if it be objected that the mental attitude of a man of science will lead to a doctrinaire and academical spirit useless for practical administration as engendering weakness and indecision, it can at least be claimed that one of the leaders among recent anthropologists, the late Dr. Rivers, recognized 'the danger, and would have been the first to condemn any course that created such an attitude.†

It cannot be denied, I think, that both Governments and Missionaries, who must, at any rate for the purposes of this discussion, be reckoned with administrators rather than scientists, have not infrequently pressed their side of the case much too far; their outlook is too apt to be obscured by ideas of efficiency, philanthropy, "civilization" and "progress", not to mention religion; they have their minds already occupied, to quote Rivers again, "with an organised body of knowledge, the fruit of the gradually acquired experience of those who have been concerned in the work of Government in the past. It is in the satisfaction of rulers with this knowledge and their failure to recognize its incompleteness, and even its too frequent falsity, that there lies the chief obstacle to the recognition of the value of science in their work."* When truths which clash with the methods based on such a body of knowledge are brought to notice, they are perhaps too ready to say that the necessities of administration, or Ministration as the case may be, are in conflict with the anthropologists' view and that the latter must go to the wall. "Earth on the eyes of Oran!" is really their cry. It is so much simpler not to know that you are wrong.

Let it be granted, however, that everyone distrusts a professor, and none more so than other professors; let it be granted that all scientists are suspect; do they not foolishly ensue knowledge for its own sake regardless whether it be of any practical value or no? Nevertheless, some knowledge of anthropology is in truth very necessary for all those branches of administration which entail the control by a highly civilized race of another race whose culture is what is commonly called 'primitive.'

Damage enough has been caused to subject races by deliberate cruelty and hostility arising from a complete divergence in ideas and a conflict of material interests. The pitiable cases of the Tasmanians, the Bushmen, the Hereros, the Easter Islanders occur to one at once, and the list could unhappily be considerably extended. But it has not been by blood and thunder alone that primitive races have been exterminated. Ignorant and arrogant attempts to "improve" have probably done almost as much to destroy native races as the cupidity and prejudice of amateur boanerges, possibly

*See T. H. Pear, *Remembering and Forgetting*, Ch. xii, 'The Respectability of Muscular Skill'.

†See W. H. R. Rivers, *The Government of Subject Peoples*, in *SCIENCE AND THE NATION*, (p. 324). Cambridge, 1917.

*Rivers *loc. cit.* page 307.

even more. After the last Tasmanian war, everything that could be thought of for the welfare of those who had survived extermination was attempted, but it took the remnant only fortyfive years to become extinct under the aegis of civilization. Rivers' examination of the causes of the depopulation of Melanesia is well-known, and, as a result of their contact with more civilized races of both east and west, the Marquesans and the Caroline Islanders have likewise almost died out. And we read of the Eskimo "the intrusion of the white man has brought with it the usual blight—poverty, sickness, selfishness, and loss of self-respect".* Nor can the Indian expect to escape the same censure as the European, since from the point of view of the bottom grades of society caste has been a greater enemy of self-respect than colour or wealth.

A race adapts itself through many generations to its environment; then comes a civilized intruder and finds its customs strange, uncouth, repulsive perhaps. Regarding such customs as bad from its own point of view, it conceives of them as bad in themselves, and promptly starts a policy of destruction in the belief that it substituting higher and better ways. The destructive programme is easy enough; the customs and their sanctions that held society together are obviously powerless to bind the intruders, their value is not realized and they are too lightly cast away. The construction of substitutes is, however, quite another thing, and the far too frequent result is a rapid moral and physical decline, following on a decay of the bonds which have kept the community solid and healthy in the past. Civilization is as it were, a drug, which however harmless or even beneficial to the hardened and immune, is a rapid poison to those unaccustomed to its use. It is no less destructive than opium or alcohol, and like them needs to be controlled, and that straitly, in the interests of the weak. Unhappily the poisonous nature of the drug has been far too little realized, and philanthropists of all sorts have combined to administer the biggest dose that the often too willing victim could be persuaded to swallow, with lamentable results. In India and Burma there are still several remote corners where the inaccessibility of the country or the intractability of its inhabitants has left islands of primitive culture almost

untouched by the surrounding waves of progress, and it must for long remain a problem to administer these areas in such a manner that the touch of civilization shall not destroy their inhabitants as the brass pot in the fable destroyed the earthen pot that swam with it on the flood. It is here that anthropology has her part and I propose to indicate briefly a few of the ways in which she serves this end.

Now the first necessity for any man in dealing with a race of so-called "primitive" culture is to understand its point of view and such an understanding depends on a particular sense of sympathy, by which I do not mean the feeling of compassion experienced by the philanthropist for the 'under dog' or by one of those, who have found salvation, for the unregenerate. That sort of sympathy sometime does even more harm than good. But I mean the attitude of a man who can divest himself entirely of his own outlook on life, who can ignore the values which he himself places on the things of this world and of the next, and who can regard everything from the point of view of the members of the other race as they exist for themselves in their own scheme of life. A sympathy of this sort presupposes an intimate knowledge of the general conditions to meet which that scheme of life has through untold generations been built up; of the details of the scheme itself, and of the conduct of the individual within that scheme. But it requires more than that. It requires ability to appraise (not excluding the appraiser himself and all his works) from the point of view of one living in the scheme referred to, and with reference to the details of that scheme alone, thus giving values often entirely at variance with those which the sympathiser feels, in the light of his own society and of the circumstances of his own life, to be the values satisfactory to himself. He must be able, in fact, to think at will in terms of thought and value entirely other than his own. It may be that this goal is never wholly attainable, but any progress that is to be made towards it is facilitated in an almost unbelievable degree by familiarity with the science of anthropology.

I have in mind an instance in which an official who was sitting to interview some unsophisticated villagers was angry because they squatted before him instead of standing in his presence, but as a matter of fact no disrespect was intended. On the contrary, it

*Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, p. 579.

would have been highly disrespectful for them to have elevated their less worthy heads above his head, the sacred part of his person, the seat of his soul. This, of course, he did not know, but had he cared to know, both sides would have understood each other and gained accordingly. And I would here reiterate that to the anthropologist all customs are natural, and even head-hunting, human sacrifice, and cannibalism, however necessary it may be to suppress them, are not revolting and atrocious crimes, but reasonable and inevitable acts resulting from beliefs and ideas logically applied to circumstances and environment. Seen in this light, measures taken to put an end to them are much more likely to be humane and effectual than more prohibitions and punishments ensorced on people who know perfectly well that their point of view is unappreciated, unconsidered and ignored. People in this frame of mind cannot appreciate the motives which lead to interference with their customs, and will distrust accordingly those who interfere. Probably all the rebellions which have taken place in Assam, for instance, since its occupation by the British have taken place as a result of ignorance or misunderstanding both of their rulers by the ruled and of the ruled by their rulers. I do not suggest for a moment that this particular ignorance or misunderstanding could have been avoided, but merely that any knowledge which tends to prevent or to remove its existence is of great administrative value. But while mutual ignorance may sometimes lead to rebellion or disturbance, it must, in the end, lead to apathy, depression and degeneracy, and I suggest that this is one reason why so many primitive tribes decay under administration. Even in Assam, where, in general, the hill-tribes have been well looked after such decay is frequently apparent. Thus the Mikirs are related to have been once a virile and warlike race, but to have been deprived of their arms by the Ahoms. The rather wretched opium eaters who are their descendants show little signs of having ever been a power in the land. The Khamtis, when we first came into contact with them, were a vigorous, martial and energetic race, but they are now described as "inconspicuous and opium sodden".

I have taken sympathy, in an anthropological sense as the first necessity in the administration of wild men, but there are a number of ways in which an anthropologist's knowledge of custom enters directly into the

daily life of administration, and the most obvious of these is in the administration of justice. An application of intricate codes of law and elaborate juridical systems with their delays, their formalities and their nice distinctions are probably necessary in civilized life, but they are likely to operate very hardly upon a primitive community, to cause much injustice and to give little satisfaction to anyone. In the first place such communities though often following intricate and difficult customary rules, have, generally speaking, entirely different standards from those to which we are ourselves accustomed. Torts, for instance, are everywhere recognized, but crime, as such, hardly at all. If it is recognized, it is in the breach of some tabu likely to bring disaster on the community, and punished by some sort of action taken to avert that disaster, whether by sacrifices at the expense of the offender, or by his expulsion from the community in order that the latter may escape the consequences of his act. Thus in a case which recently came into my court, a man whose small daughter had committed some fault, probably not for the first time, proceeded to frighten her into good behaviour by tying her up and putting her on the swinging shelf that hangs over every Naga hearth to prevent sparks rising to the thatched roof and to receive meat and fish placed on it to be smoke-dried. When his wife's mother interfered to release the child, he struck her. Being a man of more than usual truculence, he refused to pay the compensation assessed by the village headmen, who brought him to me. I dealt with the case as between the man and his mother-in-law's relatives, and then asked the headman what ought to be done to a man who thus ill-treated his daughter; what was the village custom? The answer was "Nothing". The daughter was his own. If anything happened to her the loss was his; who would have cause to complain? If Government regarded his action as an offence to be punished, let Government see to it; it was nothing to do with them. I therefore saw to it, but the offender and his friends considered that he was treated with injustice on account of the mild punishment accorded. On the other hand, in cases of homicide, even if accidental, the culprit is banished from the village, probably because his presence is likely to entail a serious blood-feud and more killings, and so to disturb and weaken the community. Offences

such as incest, though regarded with aversion and even horror, are allowed by most tribes to go unpunished by man.

Detailed knowledge of custom is often of great value, as when guilty intention was proved in a case of homicide by the precise manner in which the killer subsequently washed his hands, but acquaintance with beliefs and ideas, which are usually unexpressed in words, and are often unexpressible in words, in languages lacking in any means of conveying an abstraction, is much more valuable still. This is particularly the case in dealing with the obscure and rather indefinite workings of the mind obsessed by witchcraft. Often the magistrate or judge has to reckon with the fact that the person accused of witchcraft genuinely believes in his or her own powers, even if they are exercised involuntarily, as in the case of a woman who admitted to me that it was quite true that a child had died merely because she had handled it. How could she help it, she said; there was no ill intention on her part, but she had the misfortune to have a poisonous hand. Which being so, of course, she had no business at all to touch anyone so susceptible to evil influences as a small child, and knew it.

In anything of this nature belief has obviously a very important influence over the actions of primitives, but they are so incoherent and obscure when it comes to trying to put that belief into language, that it is often only the knowledge of what the mental process is likely to be that makes it possible to follow the thought and to deal with the case in a manner which is at least comprehensible and may with luck be satisfactory to the people concerned. And it is in cases of this sort that it is probably hardest of all to give satisfaction. It would never be regarded as just merely to dismiss accusations of witchcraft as mere superstition nor would it do anything to solve the difficulty which has led to the complaint in court. Those accused of witchcraft do believe, in many cases, that they possess supernatural powers, and in all cases that if they do not themselves, others do. They, therefore, consider perfectly just forms of procedure and punishments which appear to us unreasonable and iniquitous, or at any rate inequitable, but to which they are surely entitled as long as their point of view remains unchanged. All sorts of other similar cases occur. For instance, an old

Sema, who had come to the conclusion that his bad health was caused by the absence of his soul from his body, a frequent cause of illness according to Semas, went down to the fields where he thought he might have lost it, killed a chicken for it, and called it. He went home, calling to his soul, by his own name, of course, from time to time to make sure that it was following. A personal enemy, aware of what he was doing, took a stick and hid by the path. As the old man went by, calling over his shoulder to the invisible soul, his enemy leaped out of the grass suddenly and brought his stick down with a thwack on the ground just behind the old man's heels. The timid soul was frightened and fled, and the old man died on the third day, and his relatives rightly accused his enemy of murder. Now this business of calling back the soul may appear to us to be a farrago of foolishness, but it is very real indeed to those that believe in it, and though it may be said that what actually killed the old man was the unaccustomed effort of going down to the fields and climbing back again, it is equally likely that he died as the result of auto-suggestion, thinking that he could never more recover his soul, which was scared away for good. That, at any rate, is what all the Semas concerned thought, and it may be taken as certain that even if it was not the sole cause, this idea largely contributed to his death. The enemy got off as he denied the act entirely and on oath, and there was no evidence beyond the dead man's statement to his friends, but had there been enough evidence, he would probably have been convicted under the penal code, and rightly convicted, of causing death, and his fellow villagers would have held this to be entirely just and proper.

Nor is it merely judicially that anthropological knowledge is useful. It was recently suggested to me that some system of memory training was urgently required in primary schools in the Naga Hills district. This, on the face of it, might sound absurd, as generally speaking the Naga has an amazing memory, and an interpreter can take out, say thirty processes on a fortnight's trip and serve them all correctly, explaining the wherefore of each, without being able to read one of them. But it is well known to anthropologists that the acquisition of a knowledge of reading and writing is only too apt to kill out all folk-memory and that

traditional lore which is handed on from generation to generation by word of mouth, and to kill it out so quickly that it is lost before it can be recorded.

But the greatest importance of anthropology to administrators is in informing them and warning them of the evil effects which follow universally the contact between a lower and a higher culture. Much information has now been amassed, which makes it more possible to gauge the probable results of impact generally, and both the immediate and remoter effects of measures taken. That it is necessary to take action, and that the old policy of *laissez faire* will not do, has been brought out very emphatically at the recent meeting of the British Association at Oxford. The Revd. Edwin Smith, speaking on this subject in regard to Africa, stated that the decrease in population in French Equatorial Africa as a result of contact with civilization was three millions in fifteen years, and that in most of East Africa the deaths exceeded the births in spite of the abolition of intertribal warfare, human sacrifice and the smelting out of witches, and Dr. Schwitz, a leading Belgian authority, put European civilization in the forefront of the causes of African depopulation. * Captain Pitt-Rivers had also much to say on similar results of racial contacts both in the Pacific and in Africa. The problem inevitably varies according to local conditions, but general lines of action can be determined with reference to the science of anthropology, and no administration has the right to bilk the question.

No less a responsibility lies with the missionaries. Captain Pitt-Rivers has recently described their activities as "an irrelevant hobby", and there is this much to be said for his view, that their work, from its very nature, is fraught with the peril of doing more harm than good. *Non mores sine legibus*; perhaps, but *non leges sine moribus* for certain. For the generality of men morality depends for its sanction on religion, so that religion is the cement of society. When that cement crumbles and is loosened the danger is that the whole building may collapse. This is what is to be feared from any proselytism which ignores the dangers with which it is involved. "If we treat as contemptible", says Frobenius, † "what to another is sacred, we ruin him", and

this has too often proved to be true. Thus Professor Smith, himself at one time a missionary, writes of the Ao Nagas "Boys in Christian families are refusing to serve at the young men's house. This was an important educational institution for boys. There were regular ranks through which the boys passed until they attained to adulthood and were admitted to full membership. Each order had to perform some distinctive service for the men who belonged in the bachelors' house. The break from this destroys a valuable disciplinary agency, and causes the boys to lose respect for the authority of their elders". * So, again, the Census Report for Assam of 1921 says that Ao girls educated by missionaries neglect work in the fields, for which their newly adopted long skirts are quite unsuitable, and idle in the village instead. So, too Mr. J. P. Mills says of "civilized" Nagas that they "almost invariably become parasitic on the community, and are content to wait for 'suitable appointments' entailing no manual labour." The model to which the Naga is being assimilated is a civilized type that in Naga surroundings "must either be fed by others or perish," and it is this type of civilized Naga that the missions tend to produce. † "The mere fact," writes Cooley, "of discrediting noted beliefs and habits, in order to substitute something unfamiliar, is almost inevitably destructive. Many individuals may be really Christianized . . . while at the same time the overthrow of the native institutions is causing another class, possibly much larger, to become irresponsible and dissolute." § So serious is this danger, that the Royal Anthropological Institute has formed a special committee with the purpose of allying missionaries and anthropologists in the investigation of the means by which the evil effects of racial contact may be studied counteracted and avoided.

I do not therefore suggest that missions cannot play a useful part in aiding the accommodation of primitive tribes to fresh contacts, but I do suggest, from my own experience, that they are apt to destroy more than they create, and in so far as they do

* Smith, *Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, p. 193. More to the same effect will be found in Mr. Mills' *The Ao Nagas*, recently published.

† *Man in India*, III, 222.

§ *The Social Progress*, p. 189. quoted by Smith *op. cit.*, p. 208.

* *The Times*, Aug. 6th., 1926. Report on the proceedings of the British Association (p. 8).

† *Childhood of Man*.

that, they do more harm than good.* Man, at any rate the average man, cannot live by religion alone. In the case of the Naga a very important part is played in village life by feasts and dances. These are not essentially religious, though, as into the festal life of any civilized community, religion inevitably does enter. It is to these occasions that all the village looks forward for a break in the monotony of life, for an opportunity to give free rein to the artistic senses, whether in colour, or in motion, or in song. The gala dress of almost any wild Naga shows an admirable taste expressed in white and scarlet and black in a most pleasing accord with the reddish skin that wears it. An Angami festival is a feast of gorgeous and harmonious colouring, and in some tribes the dancing is of a very high standard indeed. Yet of these only singing, in the form of hymns, is allowed to survive conversion to Christianity. Bright clothes and gay dances are heathenish and therefore tabu. The Lhota Christian may wear only plain cloths, and a sanctimonious countenance; laughter savours of pagan levity.† This is assuredly all wrong. I can see no reason (but I speak as a heathen) why a sense of colour and a sense of rhythm, no less than a sense of song, should not redound to the glory of God who gave them. And I suggest that to deprive simple men of their use in the name of religion is a sin. Not thus did the fathers of the ancient Church who incorporated the heathen feasts of Europe into the Christian calendar as Easter, Whitsuntide, St. John's Day, Michaelmas, Hallowmas, Christmas and many others. If there is one thing more than another which suggests that there is something wrong with Christianity as practised and preached to-day, it is its apparent inability to shed the incidentals and, while retaining the essentials, to adapt itself to the life and needs of those to whom it is newly preached. I should be sorry, however, to suggest that missionaries alone adopt this attitude. The Commissioner for Indian Affairs in the United States of America has forbidden dancing by the Indians of that country. He apparently considers that valuable time is given to dancing that might be devoted to industry and that it encourages

a religious disposition, which induces an uneconomic generosity in the individual. Could any materialism be grosser?

To turn from the moral effects of contact to the purely physical side, the apparent rapid deterioration of physique on the part of a primitive tribe is often remarkable. The Nagas living on the south border of the Lakhimpur District of Assam probably afford as good an example of this as any, but occasional observers in the Naga Hills district, in particular I may mention the name of Mr. Henry Balfour, have commented on the fact that the independent Nagas across the frontier are of finer physique than those of the administered district. Mr. Balfour went further and said that it struck him that the Nagas of the more recently administered parts were again finer in physique than the inhabitants of areas long taken over.* If this is so it is a serious reflection on the evil effects of administration, and a short enquiry into the facts and their causes may perhaps not be out of place. The question is complicated by the varying physique and appearance of tribes which naturally differ as a result of racial composition, and by the inevitable climatic effects of different habitats. The Lhota, living in the lower and hotter ranges near the plains, is likely to be of poorer physique than the tribes living in the high hills, and the Ao living inside the frontier is of inferior physique to the Chang, living alongside him, but just across it, owing probably to racial difference, the Ao appearing to be of superior physique to the Phom also his transfrontier neighbour and the neighbour of the Chang as well. On the other hand, the administered Semas are unquestionably, I think, of poorer physique on the whole than those across the frontier, and Angamis of the village of Khonoma once told me that they have deteriorated in stature and stamina since being administered. Generally speaking however, I doubt if the Angami tribe, now all administered, has suffered much in that way. The deterioration in Khonoma has probably been due partly to distilling and consequent drunkenness in the village and partly to the importation of malaria and other diseases by traders, as Khonoma has replaced raiding and war as the primary interest in life by long trading expeditions, men of that village

* cf. Buxton, *Depopulation of the New Hebrides*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, vol. XIX (1925-26), p. 453.

† See J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. xii, and *The Ao Nagas*, p. 415, cf. also Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 66. Buxton, *loc. cit.* p. 432.

* Presidential address to the Folk-Lore Society, *Folk-Lore*, March 1923, p. 21.

visiting Calcutta and even Karachi and Madras to buy beads and wandering all over Burma to sell them. This practice, (as that of distilling) is of course, consequent on administration, but supplies a badly needed outlet for the energies formerly spent on war. In most Angami villages the practice of intensive cultivation and the preservation un-impaired of village festivals and feasts for the acquisition for social status by individuals seem to have been successful in maintaining the interest in life which is necessary if the tribe is not to deteriorate. In addition to which the Angami is conscious of not being dependent on administration for his survival, whereas the Ao and to some extent all the neighbours of the Angami except perhaps the Sema, tend to regard Government as a source of protection. The Angami on the other hand, as also the Konyak in the north, are probably still inclined to regard the British Government as a temporary evil which will pass in due season, and the Angami, like Konyak again, is far more conservative than the other tribes and much less receptive of new beliefs, the fact being that he has confidence in his own view of the nature of things and has not yet had that view undermined and exploded. His real religion is rather ancestor-worship than anything else and it is not nearly so easily undermined as are the vague beliefs of other tribes already shattered by migrations and invasions among themselves. The Angami in fact has been able to retain his belief that he is a better fellow than anyone else at all; and his excellent system of cultivation has prevented his suffering like the Sema from scarcity of food. The Tengima Angami probably thinks that if he could only get hold of suitable weapons he could drive the sahibs out of his country—and long may he continue to think so, for there is nothing so stimulating as a good opinion of oneself. To return to the case of the Semas, a tribe whose country is overpopulated and whose food supply is always on the scarcity margin, the effect of administration has been to restrict expansion at the cost of less warlike tribes and thus to cause inevitable deterioration as a result of shortage of land and an inadequate food supply. The tribes across the frontier have naturally suffered less, and until quite recently, at any rate, the transfrontier Semas have been expanding at the expense of their neighbours.

As regards all the administered tribes the prevention of head-hunting and war have, of course, had a detrimental effect in some ways. Across the frontier there is more competition and a harder life; more need for vigilance, resource and address. Personal efficiency is the primary standard and wealth secondary, whereas under administration wealth stands first and the tribe suffers by the change. Also it is true that across the frontier the hills are higher and colder and the land inhospitable, and it takes a tougher digestion to live on *coix* *lachryma* than on rice. Still, I think, the vital factor is that under the conditions obtaining before administration it is necessary for everyone to live on the alert, a state of things undoubtedly contributing to active habits of mind and body, while under administration the partial loss of these habits is inevitable. But there are other effects which can be checked if not prevented. Perhaps the most important of these is the spread of disease. Under the old conditions in the Naga Hills many diseases now common appear to have been practically unknown, and it is safe to say that one of the first effects of administration is to spread epidemics which cause far more loss of life in a short time than head-hunting ever did in a long one. Small-pox, measles, influenza and syphilis are probably all new in these hills. Tuberculosis which seems to have been unknown 20 years ago is now common. I remember, a medical missionary telling me 14 years ago that in his experience there was practically no tuberculosis in this district. A few years later he commented on having had to treat several cases, and now the disease is of comparatively common occurrence. Two at any rate of my interpreters have died of it in recent years.

As in Melanesia the introduction of European clothing and its misuse are probably responsible for certain amount of disease. We read of Melanesia that decrease in population is in progress since the administration of the white man owing to changed conditions of life, among which preference is given "to the injudicious use of unsuitable clothing, which.....is a fruitful cause of disease and the introduction of new diseases."* I think there is a very serious danger of a similar result in the Naga Hills;

* Woodford in *Depopulation of Melanesia*, p. 69.; Buxton, *loc. cit.*, p. 437.

and probably the process is already actually in operation. So, too, a change in the method of building houses, leading to the adoption of a type new to the environment, may be dangerous. It has been pointed out that in the Cook Islands the indigenous type of house is ventilated throughout as a result of its method of construction, and overcrowding is immaterial. People sleep as many as a dozen together in a small room shut up at night for fear of ghosts. When, however, this practice is followed in the modern houses built on lines taught by missionaries, it results in a very unhealthy atmosphere indeed, and the practice immediately becomes favourable to the spread of disease.*

Another cause of the decline of population in certain localities of the district is probably to be found in an undue amount of compulsory load carrying. Of course, without a certain amount of such carrying work the administration of the district could not be carried on, and it is necessary to call villages to supply carriers, but it will be found that in the hot climate of the lower hills, where work of all kinds is much more trying than the high ranges, there is noticeable decay in the population of all villages lying near a Government road. That this is not merely due to the climate is suggested by the fact that such decay is much less noticeable in villages further from such routes. Thus villages on the outer range such as Kansing Toluba, Aonokpo, Yamho Yantha, Yamho seem to have suffered considerably less from loss of population than villages actually on the road like Changchang, Lakhuni, Bhandari and Yimbarasa. So too in the Angami country the villages on the original route to the plains are much decayed, though this may be due to disease imported by strangers after the opening of a cart track as well as to too much carrying before that. I believe there is a similar scarcity of population along the Manipur-Cachar bridle path. That this decay really is due to excessive exertion is suggested by the extraordinarily high death-rate among the Lhota coolies who went to France with the Labour Corps or who carried loads during the Kuki Operations in 1918-19. A noticeable point about the Lhota coolies who were found to have died, when their belated medals came to be issued, was that although

most had married very few left children. Apparently their fertility had been affected by the strain they had undergone.

An entirely unexpected result followed the introduction of monogamy in the New Hebrides. Instead of reducing, as might have been expected, the extent of the practice of abortion it increased it, as husbands of one wife found that pregnancy caused an inconvenient interference with the daily routine, which was not experienced in the former polygamous households; and abortion was more freely resorted to in consequence.*

I have referred to one or two aspects of the contact question in the area with which I am familiar as examples. There the most important need appears to me to be to control the contact between civilization and the wild tribes, so that progress is very slow and that the wild man may have time to accommodate himself gradually to new conditions. The greater danger is in introducing change too fast. It is considerations of this sort that will cause serious misgivings in the minds of many anthropologists at such news as that of the simultaneous release of all slaves in the Hukong Valley by money payments. Such a proceeding must inevitably disturb the whole of the economic and social life of the people affected. The system of slavery in that part of the world is, generally speaking, a very mild one, and it could surely have been put an end to gradually by prohibiting transfer of ownership, redeeming all children in the present and for the future, or by some similar method which would have allowed the change to take place gradually. It would have given a chance to the people affected to accommodate themselves to the new conditions of life in a way that must be denied them by a sudden and sweeping change. Cash is no substitute for labour in the wilds; it is no substitute for crops, and where there are no banks or investments it may soon be spent. To effect the change gradually would probably have been cheaper, and would certainly have been more humane, but of course it would not have been spectacular.

However, different areas will have their differing problems, and there is no one remedy for all, but I think that many of you will agree with me that the present position is unsatisfactory and could be much improved. Among other things, much greater freedom

* McKenzie—*Observations on Filariasis, Years etc., in the Cook Islands*. Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Vol. XIX (1925-26), p. 139.

* Buxton, *loc. cit.* p. 425.

is needed in regulating the communications between primitive tribes and the more civilised world. Enlightened countries like Australia have gone so far as to prohibit the entry of any persons whatsoever into their native reserve except occasional scientists and the administrator of the tribe. Even schools and missions have been barred, as this appears the only way at present of protecting the remnant of their aborigines from extermination. There is no reason why legislation on somewhat similar lines should not be applied to these primitive areas of India and Burma, and it would vastly improve the present position with regard to the acculturation of aborigines if the entry of civilized foreigners and of their trade goods into such areas was put under very much severer control than it is at present. As I have said before, civilization is a drug and its consumption needs very careful regulation and supervision. Primitive man is perfectly capable of a gradual

accommodation to changes which will kill him if introduced suddenly, and it is probably wrong that he should be killed. At any rate it is inimical to the acquisition of knowledge. Another measure that I would advocate would be to make examinations in anthropology—Physical, Social and Cultural, carrying effective marks compulsory for entrance to all the public services on which the administration depends. Anthropologists know that haste in civilizing, educating, and acculturating is likely to do more harm than good. The difficulty is that other people do not believe it. The facts are at variance with political and philanthropic tradition, and therefore unwelcome. It is not an easy thing to induce a large number of persons to discard the familiar and comfortable ideas of a lifetime in reluctant exchange for new and unaccustomed views, but it is our duty to keep trying, even though we feel, as I so often do myself, like a sparrow disconsolate on the house top or a voice crying in the wilderness.

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

V.

AS in my previous letters, so in this, I shall not mention or describe all that I have seen, but shall only make a few observations on some of them. Had my intention been different from what it is, it would have been impossible to describe London thoroughly in the course even of a good many letters, not to speak of one or two. The administrative County of London comprises 116½ square miles with a population of 4,483,249. Greater London is 699 square miles in extent, and comprises about 7,000 miles of streets and nearly a million inhabited houses, with a total population of 7½ millions. Needless, therefore, to say that, during the few days at my disposal, I did not attempt the hopeless task of seeing even all the most importance "sights" of the great metropolis. I saw only a few of them.

At the time of my visit, Parliament was not sitting. The edifice where the two houses of parliament hold their sessions is in the richest Gothic style and has a somewhat

cathedral-like appearance. It looks quite imposing. The still frequent allusions to "St. Stephen's" are due to the fact that St. Stephen's Chapel, built by Edward III., was for centuries the meeting-place of the House of Commons. The old building having been destroyed by fire in 1834, the new building was commenced in 1840 and completed in 1857. It occupies an area of eight acres and contains eleven quadraegles. It cost 3,000,000.

The magnificent Westminster Abbey has been the growth of centuries. Its north transept is generally known as the Statesmen's Aisle. Here are either the graves or the monuments of the elder and the younger Pitt and of Fox, Castlereagh, Grattan, Palmerston, Peel, the three Cannings, Disraeli, W. E. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury and many others. The south transept or Poets' Corner is famous throughout the English-speaking world, because of the memorials of all the greatest English poets and other writers, from Chaucer to Tennyson and Ruskin, which it

contains. These memorials in Westminster Abbey of British statesmen and authors cannot but fill patriotic British hearts with pride and an earnest desire to follow their example. The National Portrait Gallery serves the same purpose, besides gratifying the aesthetic sense, as the memorials in Westminster Abbey. The collection comprises about 1900 portraits of eminent men and women of all ranks and ages. Royal personages, statesmen, poets, judges, writers, scientists, warriors, actors, all who have played a part in British history are represented here. All the paintings and drawings, bronzes, marbles, medals, specimens of handwriting, autographs and other personal relics, have been kept here, well-arranged and with the greatest care. Wherever I have been in Europe I have found scrupulous attention paid to cleanliness in public places and buildings, which we cannot boast of in India, though our frequent baths and washings make for personal cleanliness.

While on the subject of national memorials, I should mention the grave of the Unknown British Warrior in Westminster Abbey. The latter part of the inscription on it runs as follows :—

"Thus are commemorated the many multitudes who, during the great war of 1914-1918, gave the most that man can give—life itself, for God, for King and Country, for loved ones, Home and Empire, for the sacred cause of justice and the freedom of the world. They buried him among the kings, because he had done good toward God and toward his house."

We cannot be so presumptuous as to assert dogmatically that nobody fought in the great war for God, for the sacred cause of justice and the freedom of the world. But the more one comes to know the motives, causes and objects of the war, as well as its real direct results, so far at any rate as these results concern the non-European peoples of the earth, the more one becomes convinced that to connect God and the sacred causes of justice and freedom of the world with it is nothing short of blasphemy. One can only hope that the great wrongs done or perpetuated during or after the war will rouse the subject peoples of the earth to obtain justice and win freedom.

Opposite the National Portrait Gallery stands the Nurse Cavell Memorial, with a fine symbolic figure of Humanity. She was a nurse in a Red Cross Hospital in Brussels where wounded Belgian, German, French and English soldiers were nursed after the

outbreak of the world war. Brussels was then (1915) under German military occupation. Nurse Edith Cavell was instrumental in conveying about 60 English and 15 French derelict soldiers and about 100 French and Belgians of military age to the neutral Dutch frontier and had sheltered the greater number in her house. The German Court-martial, which tried her, held that as a Red Cross Hospital nurse, she ought not to have done this, and sentenced her to death. She was shot on October 11, 1915. The British people considered her a great patriot, which she undoubtedly was, and removed her body to Norwich cathedral on May 15, 1919. The memorial originally bore only an inscription to the effect that she died for God, king and country—I do not remember the exact words. In 1924, when the Labour Government was in power, were added Nurse Cavell's memorable words shortly before her execution:

"Patriotism is not enough; I must have no hatred or bitterness for anyone."

An Indian student who was with me when I stood in front of the Cavell Memorial told me that this addition to the inscription was made in the course of a single night, because it was apprehended that people under the influence of fanatical patriotism might possibly try to prevent the addition.

Lovers of humanity as a whole cannot but derive strength from the thought that one who risked and lost her life for her countrymen and their allies, had realised before her death that there is a greater entity than one's country, which includes it, and that one should not hate or harbour bitter thoughts against any one.

The Nelson Monument stands in Trafalgar Square, so named in commemoration of Nelson's victory. The monument is a granite column 185 feet high, surmounted by a statue of Nelson, over 17 feet high. The column is no doubt imposing, but the square is really "a dreary waste", as one critic has called it. I have seen only a few places in England; but perhaps the Nelson monument is the loftiest erected by the British people to any of their famous men. I am not sure that as a man and judged according to even ordinary moral and intellectual standards, Nelson can be said to stand in the front rank of British men of all ages or that he was the greatest benefactor of the British race. But from a worldly point of view, he was no doubt a

saviour of British imperial interests at a very critical period of British history.

A different kind of memorial of a different kind of man is the Bird Sanctuary in Hyde Park. In this sanctuary no bird may be killed or molested. It is in the form of a grove. I could wish that there were hundreds of such sanctuaries in India. The bird life of London is remarkably rich and varied, and that is due in great degree to the sanctuary provided by the many Parks in London, of which the area in the County of London alone is over 7000 acres. The Bird Sanctuary in Hyde Park forms a memorial of W. H. Hudson, well-known as the author of *The Naturalist in La Plata*, *Green Mansions*, *British Birds*, *Birds and Man*, *Adventures among Birds*, etc. "The pretty bird bath is, in the opinion of many, marred by Epstein's Panel of Rima (see Hudson's *Green Mansions*)." I have seen this Panel. On it is sculptured in low relief the figure of a man with his head thrown back a little and his right hand stretched out in the gesture of protection. The palm of this hand is disproportionately large. It is perhaps this disproportion which is objected to. But, as I understand it, the artist probably wanted to make the idea of giving protection very prominent and so made the hand larger than anatomically it should have been. Art is not science—it is not anatomy. The Hindu goddess Durga is represented with ten hands to denote that she protects the eight points of the compass and also the regions above and below. Anatomically, no figure like that of a human being can have ten hands, nor can the point of attachment of the ten arms with the shoulder be made sufficiently thick if due regard be had to anatomy. But in iconography, it is allowable to make a figure with ten hands to represent the idea noted above. Similarly, in my opinion, the sculptor was justified in making the hand in the Panel of Rima very large to emphasise the idea of giving protection. I was told when I saw the Panel that when the bird bath was constructed and this Panel put up, crowds assembled near it and there was much excitement and controversy.

Reference to this work of Epstein's reminds me that, during my short stay in London, I paid a visit to Epstein's residence and studio. I wanted to see his bust of Rabindranath Tagore. When I called, he was engaged in modelling some new work—the plaster was still sticking to his fingers.

So he shook hands with me with some hesitation. Tagore's bust I could not praise. The likeness did not strike one at once. But what was worse, the face looked blank; there was no character, no expression, in it. The bust of Conrad, the novelist, appeared to me to be a true work of art. There was character in it. I saw there also a bust of James Ramsay Macdonald. I liked the bust of a Hindu boy made by the sculptor. I do not know who he is. I thanked the artist for courteously showing me his works and bade him goodbye.

It is meet that after mentioning the bird sanctuary in Hyde Park I should say something about the park itself. It is the largest of the public Parks in London proper and, with Kensington Gardens, covers an area of 638 acres. Hyde Park is very frequently used for public demonstrations of all sorts. Any agitator, idealist, faddist, etc., of any sort who wants to air his views is quite free to speak in the bare and flat open spaces here, and crowds, large or small, are sure to gather round him. The political meetings here often attain to huge proportions. When I entered the Park I had already become tired with long walks. So I sat down in a chair to take rest. Shortly after a man came and asked me to take a ticket for the use of the chair during the day for two pence, which I did. The most attractive feature of the Park is the Serpentine, an artificial sheet of water where bathing is allowed from 5 to 8 a.m., and on summer evenings during certain hours. "A few hardy enthusiasts have achieved a well-earned notoriety by taking their morning dip all the year round." Boating can also be enjoyed for 1s. to 1s. 6d. per hour. I saw many aquatic birds enjoying their life on the waters and in the small islands of the Serpentine. There were notices put up asking visitors not to pelt or molest them in any way.

Readers of English literature must have often come across the name of Rotten Row. When I entered it from Hyde Park corner I found the adjoining drive thronged with the motors and carriages of the aristocracy, and wondered why it was called "rotten." The fact is, the name is a corruption of *route du roi*, the path of royalty; it is a course of a mile and a half reserved for riders. The flower-beds which I saw on the Park Lane side and between the Serpentine and Hyde Park corner, were a blaze of colour. Wherever I have been in Europe, I have

found the love of beauty and order a feature in the character of the people. Perhaps the absence in Europe generally of the kind of destitution with which we are familiar everywhere in India, has enabled Europeans to develop and gratify their love of beauty.

The Royal Albert Hall, built 1867-1871 as a memorial of the Prince Consort, at a cost of £200,000, is one of the largest halls in the world, and will comfortably seat 8,000 people, with another 1,100 in the orchestra. "Though frequently used for political demonstrations and other great gatherings, it is principally famous for musical performances on a large scale." Such use of the hall gives proof of the vigorous political life of the British people, as well as of their love of music, though they are not among the pre-eminently musical people of Europe.

It would be futile to attempt to describe even briefly what I saw in the British Museum. It would have required months to become acquainted with all its contents. But I could devote only the hours after breakfast one morning till midday to walking along the halls, rooms and galleries of this vast national storehouse. It is national only in the sense that it belongs to the British nation, but the objects kept here have been collected from all countries of the earth. It is one of the most extensive and valuable in Europe. Experts conduct parties round the galleries every week-day at 12 noon and 3 p.m. No charge is made. Particulars of each day's lectures can be gleaned from the notice boards. Private parties are conducted if application has been made four days in advance. To go round the halls and galleries and to listen to these lectures is in itself a liberal education. Our museums in India are much smaller. It should be easier, therefore, to make arrangements for such lectures therein by experts and for conducting private parties. The facilities for education which we have in our midst are not at all sufficient; but even those we have are not properly utilised owing to the absence of suitable arrangements. There should be guide lecturers attached to all our museums.

Though I will not attempt any detailed description of the Museum, I must try to give some idea of its library and reading room.

In 1850, in point of magnitude, the British Museum stood fourth in the list of European libraries. It now holds the second place, the Paris National Library ranking as first.

In foreign books the British Museum library is the finest in the world. In 1923 it contained nearly four million printed volumes; the number is certainly larger now. For since 1900 the annual additions from all quarters, exclusive of about 350,000 continuations, music, newspapers, etc., average about 30,000. Another account says that the annual increase is at the rate of 50,000. The length of shelving is 50 miles.

As I was only a visitor, not a ticket-holder, I could obtain permission to go into the reading room only as far as the doorway and see the room. It is a huge circular hall, accommodating between 450 and 500 readers, who sit at desks radiating like the spokes of a wheel from two concentric circles, in the inner of which sit the officials, while the printed catalogue, comprising about 1000 volumes, is ranged round the outer circle. The dome is 106 feet high and has a diameter of 140 feet, being second only to the Pantheon of Rome and that but by 2½ feet. About 20,000 volumes most in request, such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias, etc., are ranged in shelves round the Reading Room itself and may be consulted without filling up a form. "Readers" average nearly 400 daily. The number of visitors to the reading room of the Imperial Library in Calcutta was 41,660 in 1925-26 and the number of requisitions for books not in the open shelf collection in the reading room was 25,664 in the same year. Considering that Calcutta is a much smaller city than London, that it is less literate and that the Imperial Library is a much smaller library than the British Museum Library, Calcutta's record is not quite discouraging.

To return to the British Museum.

From the doorway of the Reading Room I saw a few hundred readers studying and consulting books in perfect silence. One of the porters showed me the arrangement of the movable or 'sliding' book cases. Of course, he expected a tip, which was paid. Europe, Great Britain not excepted, is considered a part and the principal part of Christendom; it might also be justly styled Tip-dom, the payment of tips being the rule everywhere.

At present the contents of the museum are arranged under twelve departments—viz., *Bloomsbury*: Printed Books, with printed music and maps, Manuscripts, Oriental Printed Books and Mss., Prints and Drawings (with the sub-departments of Oriental Prints and

Drawings), Oriental Antiquities, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Coins and Medals, British and Mediaeval Antiquities, Ceramics and Ethnography; *South Kensington*: Zoology, Entomology, Botany, Geology, and Mineralogy.

I can now only enumerate the galleries and rooms I saw. The Roman gallery, the three Graeco-Roman rooms, the gallery of casts, the Archaic room, the Ephesus room, the Elgin room, the Phigaleian room, the Mausoleum room, the Nereid room, the Assyrian saloon, the six Egyptian rooms, the Nineveh gallery, the four Vase rooms, the Bronze room, the room of gold ornaments and gems, the terra-cotta antiquities room, the principal staircase on the walls of which are Buddhist sculptures, the Plaquette room, the coin and medal room, the Roman Britain room, the Asiatic saloon containing specimens of Japanese and Chinese porcelain carvings and metal work, the Indian religious room, the Buddhist room, the Iron-Age gallery, the Maudslay collection of Maya sculptures from Central America, the Ethnographic collection, pottery glass and mediaeval antiquities, the manuscript saloon, newspaper room, etc. The rooms are all large halls.

The Egyptian sculptures represent human and allegorical figures, sometimes of colossal size. Some of these gigantic statues look as fresh today as when they were cut and chiselled. I saw the famous Rosetta Stone which furnished the key to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Of very melancholy interest were the Egyptian mummies. They must have originated in a longing for immortality or rebirth—perhaps in immortality or rebirth in the original human body. One grave has been kept in an Egyptian room, with its mummy reduced to skin and bones and the earthen vessels, containing the food and drink (no longer to be found), placed in the grave by the relatives of the deceased for his use in the next world. And the object of all this solicitude of theirs is now one of the gruesome things to be seen in a museum!

The Assyrian antiquities mainly consist of sculptures in low relief, the subjects being the exploits of the king whose palace walls they ornamented. The Hittite remains with hieroglyphic inscriptions as yet undeciphered are also here.

Some of the Maya sculptures from Central America were colossal. The inscriptions on

them are in an as yet undeciphered script or hieroglyphic.

I do not know whether I saw all the Indian antiquities, but it struck me that the Indian sculptural collection was not as large as some of the others. This is rather fortunate. For the less we have to go to foreign countries to study even our own history, etc., the better. The sculptures from the Amara-vati stupa, which I found adorning the wall of a staircase, were generously (!) donated by some former Secretary of State for India. As soon as I read the words to that effect, I was reminded of our proverbial expression, "parer dhane poddari", "to be generous at others' expense." But is not might right?

The British Museum and other similar museums ought to give their visitors an adequate idea of the vastness, variety and antiquity of human civilisation, and cure them of narrow patriotic pride and vanity. I do not know whether the British Museum has contributed to any extent to make the British people broad-minded and free from insular pride and vanity. Nor do I know whether they realise that this vast collection represents robbery and plunder to some extent at least. But howsoever the collection may have been made, let us hope that the British people will make not only an intellectual but also a moral use of it.

Such collections have many lessons for us, too. One is that we do not take a sufficient interest in the antiquities of even our own country, whereas the range of interest of European nations embraces the whole world. Many of them are authorities not only in subjects relating to their own national culture, civilisation, history, etc., but in those of foreign countries, too. But in India, how few of us are authorities even in subjects relating to India? As for foreign countries, I cannot just now call to mind any Indian who is an authority on any subject relating to a foreign country.

Here I may also be allowed to observe that in Europe the number of men who try earnestly to tackle problems involving the weal or woe of the whole of humanity, or at least of some foreign peoples, is much larger than in India. In fact, there are scarcely half a dozen outstanding Indian names among those who are trying to tackle problems affecting the whole of humanity. Some of the causes responsible for such a state of things we all know. Our political subjection is so depressing in so-

many directions and so much of the time and energy of so many of our educated men, and recently of women too, has to be devoted to the attainment of political freedom (the methods thereof I need not here discuss), that there are little inclination, time and energy left for paying attention to or even getting acquainted with wider problems. Political subjection has undoubtedly narrowed our mental horizon. The system of caste and the fact that most of us profess an ethnic religion, may also have had something to do with narrowing the sphere of our human interests. And then, we must not forget that the vast majority of our countrymen are steeped in ignorance, of which illiteracy is only one of the outward signs. I condemn the political and economic imperialism of European nations, and their habit of exploitation. I have more than once condemned their intellectual and spiritual imperialism and drawn attention to the fact that Europeans generally want to monopolise all scholarship, virtue and spirituality. Virtues are Christian virtues, scientific methods are European methods! But we should not be blind to the existence among Europeans of men, however small in number, who are sincerely interested in the solution of problems affecting the whole of humanity. Nor should we encourage in ourselves the habit of speaking sarcastically of the very few men among us who have a wide human outlook, as if humanitarianism were opposed to patriotism of the right kind. On the contrary, we should look at even our national problems from a broad humanitarian point of view, as a small number of Europeans do in the case of some of their own national problems.

I shall now mention some of the other things I saw in London. The India Office, I, of course, saw. India has paid for its construction and also pays for its upkeep, including the salaries of its officials, though India is governed mainly in British interests. The sight of this building; therefore, did not make me either proud or glad. I went there to obtain some information about the "Indian" Delegation to the League of Nations, and wanted to do some sight-seeing also. Having gone there I thought it my duty to see our fellow-countryman, Sj. Surendranath Mallik, member of the India Council. But he was not in his room when I called. I wanted to know his private address, but the porter said it was against the rule of the office to tell it to anybody. He, however, agreed to

give my card to Mr. Mallik the next day. On thus coming to know of my presence in London, he kindly invited me to a tea-party in Hotel Cecil, which he was giving in honor of Lord Lytton. Fortunately I received the invitation too late, having gone out sight-seeing. I must nevertheless thank him for his courtesy. What, however, I appreciated was his invitation to tea at his own residence. When I reached it, he was not at home, but Mrs. Mallik, a *pardanashin* lady, very courteously received me, though I had never been introduced to her before. Mr. Mallik came in soon after, and the guests enjoyed the delicious Indian sweets and other Indian refreshments which the gracious hostess had prepared with her own hands.

I saw also the hired buildings in which the Indian High Commissioner's offices are located, having gone there twice to see Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, the High Commissioner for India, at his request. The High Commissioner's office employs several hundred men. But only some 12 Indians have permanent clerkships there and some 18 more Indians similar temporary appointments.

At the time of my visit to London, the educational institutions were enjoying their vacation. So I could not see much of them. I, however, went into the Imperial College of Science and Technology, partly because my eldest son was educated there. I saw the chemical laboratories of the college. On asking a young English assistant whether any Indian student was then getting his training there, I was told that an Indian young man was at that very time carrying on some research there. On my expressing a desire to see him, he was called. His name is Jogendra Kumar Bardhan. He was then doing research work in vegetable dyes, and showed me some fabrics dyed therewith. It gave me much pleasure to see an Indian young man working hard even during a vacation.

I paid a visit to the famous Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew. I strolled over many of its parts and went inside the large palm-house, kept always at a temperature of 80 degrees.

Among other works of universal importance carried out at Kew was the raising from seeds specially brought from Brazil—at that time the world's sole source of rubber supply, of the 1,000 plants with which the rubber industry was introduced into the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon. Kew

was also instrumental in introducing the almost indispensable quinine plant from South America into India."

In going from one part of London to another, I have used all the different kinds of conveyance available—motor taxi-cabs, 'buses, tram-cars, underground railways and the tube railways. And, of course, I did some sight-seeing on foot also. Horse-drawn conveyances for men have entirely gone out of use in London, at least I did not see any. There are, no doubt, big wagons drawn by big horses for carrying goods. Considering the high cost of living in London, taxi-cabs appeared to be cheap, the first mile or part of it costing only one shilling and each succeeding quarter of a mile or less, three pence. Many people prefer travelling on the tops of the omnibuses to sitting inside, because they have fresh air there and can also see sights better. In travelling by rail I found several Englishmen, railway officials and others,

polite and helpful. They helped me quite unasked. I did not experience any rudeness or incivility anywhere. I mention this fact, because in India Anglo-Indians (old and new style) are not famous for politeness to Indians. Before going out to England I had heard much about the London policeman. I found him to be in reality a sort of walking directory and also polite and obliging. There are no tube railways in India. Nor are there escalators or moving stairways, by means of which passengers get down to the tube railway platforms.

I did not see the slums of London. In the parts I saw and at the time I saw them, the streets were quite clean: there was no dust or mud in them. The modern buildings, not only in London, but in the other cities of Europe, appeared to be generally characterised by dull uniformity, though the size and height of some of them were imposing.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Future Development of Asia

The Hon. Bertrand Russell writes in the *Hindu Annual* regarding the future economic development of Asia:—

There can be no doubt that all Asia will be industrialized to the extent warranted by the natural resources. In Western Asia, the most important industrial asset is oil. I speak of it as an "asset", though from any but an economic point of view its existence is a misfortune to Asia Minor, Persia and Iraq. It has enlisted all the great Powers, not excluding Russia and the United States, in the great game of grab, and has made genuine independence very difficult for all the regions which are interesting to the oil magnates of the world. It is true that Turkey has achieved a greater measure of freedom than at any recent former period though at the expense of a great loss of territory, in particular the territory containing oil. But in spite of Turkey it seems probable that the economic development of Western Asia will continue to be controlled by Europe and America until the rest of Asia is in a position of greater independence than at present.

In India, industrial development has already made great strides. So far as can be seen, there is only one cause that might retard it in the future, namely, internal anarchy. If, after achieving independence, India were to fall into a condition of chronic civil war, that might cause a reversion to

more primitive economic conditions. But this would be temporary; for, unless a stable government were established, some foreign Power or Powers would again acquire control and reestablish industrialism. The maintenance of national freedom in the modern world demands a developed industry, without which military defence is impossible; and in the absence of national freedom, foreigners will introduce modern economic methods. There is, therefore, no escape from these methods, whether we like them or not.

Regarding the future political development of Asia he says:—

The domination of the white man, which characterised the 18th and 19th centuries, is not an eternal fact of nature; indeed, there are abundant signs that it is already coming to an end.

In India, the dominion of Great Britain becomes more and more precarious, and is likely to fall if Great Britain becomes involved in another first-class war.

I fully expect that the bulk of the population of Asia will be freed from the domination of the Europeans within the lifetime of those who are now young.

Europe was saved by the invention of science, and embarked upon centuries of conquest which ended at the battle of Mukden. The spread of science in Asiatic countries is giving them renewed strength, and Europe's star is sinking—no doubt to rise again some day.

This see-saw conflict is devoid of serious significance ; it advances no human values, and retards the progress of mankind. Will the time come when each continent will allow freedom to the other ? I hope so ; but that time is still distant. Let no one fancy that the ideas which inspire the League of Nations are strong enough, or will soon be strong enough to prevent great wars. There are causes of conflict between Europe and Asia which lie very deep. The standard of life is higher among Europeans ; the pressure of population is greater in Asia.

As regards cultural development he writes:—

It would be ridiculous to speak of two cultures, European and Asiatic. The division is rather (1) the Judeo-Christian, (2) the Mahomedan, (3) the Hindu, (4) the Confucian-Buddhist. I find things to admire in each of these four cultures, and I shall not attempt to appraise their relative merits. All four have been superseded by the mechanico-scientific culture, invented by Galileo and Newton, propagated by schools and bombs. This new culture has reached its most advanced point of practice in America, and of theory in Soviet Russia : but Japan lags not far behind. For good or evil, the new culture, which is an inevitable adjunct of industrialism, must conquer the world before anything else can have a chance. The only road to future happiness lies through the victory of the machine and its subsequent subjugation to human welfare.

The New Opium Policy

In his fourth article in *Welfare* (January) on the New Opium Policy of the Government of India, Mr. C. F. Andrews observes:—

To every modern educated mother, who has obtained a clear opinion about the harmfulness of the opium drug-habit for little babies, the very thought of this thing going on day after day for millions of babies in India must be intolerable. They know how they themselves would never for a moment allow it for their own children. If an *ayah* were ever found giving opium to their own babies to keep them quiet she would be dismissed at once. For they fully understand how the digestive system of the tiny babies may be injured for life and constipation become chronic even from infancy, where such practices are allowed. All this very nearly goes without saying. Yet the way in which this crying evil is handled by Government appears to show, that the loss of public revenue, which would immediately ensue from any drastic dealing with the evil, acts as a deterrent. Things that would not for a moment be tolerated in the West, simply because revenue has never been made out of opium in the West, are still tolerated in India, where important revenue has been made out of opium year after year. To say this, is not to blame Indian officials more than other ordinary mortals. For if revenue had been made for half a century in England out of opium, it would have been no less difficult to register reforms quickly than it is in India.

If, however, this indictment of official India is vehemently denied, then I would only ask one thing. Let the opium revenue be kept entirely apart from the ordinary public revenue for five years ; and let it only be used for the prevention of opium smuggling and for the instruction of the ignorant public against the opium vice ; let not a single anna of the opium revenue be used for ordinary education, or for ordinary police, or other purposes ; then I would guarantee, that opium reforms would take an immense bound forward, and we should have no more lame apologies made by Government officials for the doping of little babies.

Mr. Andrews describes at some length the results of scientific experiments in support of the following sentences in his article:—

The Central Government had held up for an example of what they themselves admired the out-of-date Royal Commission Report of 1893. They commend its conclusions, except with regard to the use of opium for malarial fever, which they recognise to be antiquated and unsound. But they do not at all acknowledge, as they ought certainly to do, that other parts of the Report of 1893 are equally antiquated, and other conclusions equally unsound. They appear to be strangely unaware of the fact that the use of opium as a prophylaxis against other diseases of an epidemic character, such as, cholera, dysentery, beri-beri, kala-azar, and the like, (for all of which opium has been indiscriminately used) has now been scientifically condemned. What is now made clear by Science is this that the use of opium in large quantities diminishes the resisting power in the blood, and therefore makes the opium consumer more liable to catch the disease than the non-consumer.

Laughing at Children

Lenora Bailey concludes a short article in *Welfare* thus:—

"You think, then, that children are affected in one or two ways by older persons laughing at them. Either they are made very timid---sometimes morbidly shy---or they immediately begin to perform all sorts of ridiculous actions upon the slightest notice."

"Exactly right, Mary. Both are equally harmful. Children need to be watched carefully but not laughed at. As I said before, laugh with them all you wish. There's a great difference."

The Murder of Swami Shraddhananda

The Islamic World condemns the murder of Swami Shraddhananda and observes:

Such cold-blooded murders are absolutely against the teachings of our Faith and can advance no cause. It is a matter of deep regret that in some quarters this tragedy is looked upon as something

communal. Let us assure our Hindu fellow-countrymen that Islam has nothing to do with such black deeds; and it stands for universal peace and toleration. If there are any persons who think otherwise, they are sadly mistaken.

"There is no progress in Philosophy"

Mr. H. N. Randle writes in the *Allahabad University Magazine* :

Socrates claimed a special kind of knowledge, you will remember : but at the same time he made profession of his ignorance. It was in virtue of his knowledge that he was aware of his ignorance; other men lacked his knowledge, and therefore were not aware of their own ignorance. Therefore the sense in which I denied progress in philosophy still holds good. And it will now perhaps appear that it holds good in another sense, too; that is to say, even in the respect in which I have claimed that philosophy can offer certitude. For this is a sort of certitude which every individual and every generation of men has to achieve anew for himself or themselves. Philosophy is an individual achievement; and one therefore which has to be repeated by every man for himself; so that there is no such thing as *teaching* philosophy, and no such thing as learning it from books. You can no more learn philosophy from lectures than you can learn morality from moral discourses. The teacher here is not an impartor of information which the generations of his predecessors have gradually garnered, so that each generation starts where the last left off. The teacher in philosophy (not of philosophy) is at best—to use the Socratic metaphor—a midwife to the birth of men's own thoughts. For, as Locke puts it, "So much as we ourselves consider and comprehend of truth and reason, so much we possess of real and true knowledge. The floating of other men's opinions in our brains makes us not one jot the more knowing; though they happen to be true." And again, speaking of the satisfaction to be derived from the search for truth: "He who has raised himself above the alms-basket, and, not content to live lazily on scraps of begged opinions, sets his own thoughts on work, to find and follow truth will, (whatever he lights on), not miss the hunter's satisfaction; every moment of his pursuit will reward his pains with some delight, and he will have reason to think his time not ill spent,—even when he cannot much boast of any great acquisition."

Standardization of the Essentials of Economics

Mr. B. G. Bhatnagar says in the *Indian Journal of Economics* of July 1926, received in January 1927:—

Economics is a subject of great practical significance under modern conditions of life, and without a sound grasp of its essential principles one cannot take his proper place in the legislative and administrative spheres of life. All the time of our students is wasted in mastering the

unessential confusions of impossible terms, and the real subject-matter is completely ignored. And that is why a Hailey can make an unchallenged statement in the Assembly that currency is a difficult subject and that there are very few people who really understand it. If we want to increase the number of people well-versed in the lore of the science of Economics, we must do something to standardize its technical terms.

[This journal is issued by the Department of Economics, University of Allahabad, and is the organ of the Indian Economic Association. It has an Editorial Board consisting of the following gentlemen: C. J. Hamilton, W. H. Myles, N. S. Subba Rao, C. D. Thompson, and S. K. Rudra (Managing Editor). It is a quarterly. The price of a single copy is Rs. 3. A single copy consists of 60 pages, each page containing 37 lines of printed matter. Such being the facts, it is a matter of surprise that the Indian Economic Association, the Department of Economics of the Allahabad University, and the Editorial Board of the Journal make such an economical use of their time, energies and abundant knowledge of economics as to issue the July 1926 number of the Journal in January 1927. Some Indian periodicals are not published punctually. But this Allahabad Journal has perhaps beaten the record.—Ed., M. R.]

India's Expenditure in Motor-cars

We learn from *Indian and Eastern Motors* that the value of motor-cars imported into India from abroad during the seven months, 1st April to 31st October, was in 1924, 1925, and 1926, Rs. 1,21,10,755, Rs. 1,30,18,440 and Rs. 1,52,36,495 respectively. The cars came from U.S.A., Canada, the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Italy and other countries, the largest exporters being U.S.A., Canada and the United Kingdom. Of the cars Bengal took 30 per cent., Bombay 29, Sind 15, Madras 15 and Burma 11. Besides cars, during the same seven months in 1924, 1925, and 1926, motor cycles were imported into India of the total value of Rs. 541741, Rs. 467108, and Rs. 607623 respectively.

When will India manufacture her own motor cars and motor cycles?

Insect-borne Diseases.

We read in *Indian and Eastern Engineer*: ITALY has taken some of the most decisive steps in the campaign against mosquitoes, recognising

that wherever scientific war has been waged against the mosquito malaria has practically disappeared. Italian treatment of the subject may be shown by the fact that in malarial zones workmen are properly treated for the disease and even children have preventative quinine treatment administered to them concealed in chocolates. Malaria is a centuries' old scourge of the Italian peninsula and the Italian Government have made a wise step in publishing cinema films for the instruction of the nation in the best methods of frustrating the ravages of the enemy. In days of old men fled from malaria districts, and for that reason a district became worse and worse. But to-day where men stand and fight with scientific weapons victory is assured and regions once devastated by the scourge are devoted to cultivation. In Great Britain the Hayling Island Institute has taken a large share in the campaign and the need for 'definite action' is shown in the fact that already there are about 25 malignant species of mosquitoes found in Great Britain and in all some 150 varieties of the gnat type. The Institute has prepared a film in which the various varieties of mosquitoes, their habits, life and development in successive stages are clearly shown, and, starting at home, it has succeeded in ridding Hayling Island of the salt water type which used to be such a pest. The British Mosquito Control Institute at Hayling has now become a very well-known body and local authorities throughout the country seek its advice and help, which are always readily given. The Institute is now embarking on a programme of lectures, and demonstrations to be given in public and private schools and sets of films and slides are supplied on request. This invaluable service is capable of infinite extension.

Again :—

The average expectancy of male life in the United States is about 50.6 years. In Sweden it is about 50.9 years. In India it is about 23 years. The combination of insects, ignorance and insanitation is the explanation.

As an indication of what can be accomplished, the African Gold Coast annual death-rate from 1881 to 1897 was 75.8 per thousand. In 1911 it had been reduced to 13.9 per thousand and the reduction was practically all in insect-borne diseases.

The general rules to be followed with mosquitoes are :

- (a) Prevent as far as possible all mosquito propagation.
- (b) Kill all mosquitoes possible of those that do breed.
- (c) Keep habitations away from mosquitoes and mosquitoes away from habitations.
- (d) Protect the sick from mosquitoes.
- (e) Protect the well from mosquitoes.

It was the application of the above rules which made the building of the Panama Canal possible and life there as safe as in the temperate zones.

There is no question that the common house fly is the most common transmitter of disease.

Among the diseases which the domestic fly carries are typhoid fever, cholera, amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, gangosa and oriental sore or Bagdad boil.

Bubonic plague might be described as a disease

of the rodents transmitted to man by means of the flea which serves as intermediate host.

The diseases more commonly transmitted by lice are : typhus fever, trench fever and a form of relapsing fever.

The bed bug is responsible for the transmission of the European type of relapsing fever, found especially in Russia.

There is an old saying that virtue is its own reward. Cleanliness has a much greater reward in the way of health, longer life and happiness. There are languages and dialects which have in them no words corresponding to disinfectant, insecticide, antiseptic, etc. It would seem that those who are engaged in making the world cleaner and destroying the causes of disease are engaged in a most important and responsible duty and should have the thanks and co-operation of all concerned, and that is everyone.

Suggestion for ending Communal Conflicts

In *Morris College Magazine*, Mr. N. A. Abbasi makes some suggestions for putting an end to Hindu-Moslem conflicts. We quote a few sentences below.

Untouchability not only amongst the Hindu sub-castes but also between the Hindus and Muslims, should be at once removed or at least the priest-class of both should be made to meet and live together as much as possible. It should be so arranged that the *Mulla* of a mosque and the *Pujari* of a temple mess together, the former cooking and the latter helping. The food will, of course, be strictly vegetarian. The *Mullasaheb* is sure to feel it, but there is no help. Napoleon made the Pope fast for his misdeeds.

We, with an admirably happy audacity of self-sufficiency, exhibit the greatest possible variety in head-dress. No country in the world can compete with us in this respect. A Bengali's bare-headedness, a Punjabi's manyfolded heavy turban, an Oudh man's thin flimsy muslin *Topi*, a Bombay merchant's richly gold embroidered round cap and an Aligarhian's red felt fez ; whether these are or are not sanitary and comfortable under a strong tropical sun is a very interesting subject by itself. But we are here concerned only with the National side of the question. The headwear in India has unfortunately become a patent sign of caste and creed. The mere sight of a man is enough to single him out to be a friend or a foe. The different head-dresses have intensified (please excuse this new word) the feelings of rivalry and estrangement, and this is why this unfortunate diversity and variety should be discouraged and uniformity be established at once. It is for our Scientists to declare whether we should go about quite bare-headed or with a hat on. Economically the former is preferable.

The slaughter of cows ought to be stopped at once (sometimes I really don't get milk for my tea). This also, just like the music and mosque, is rather a question of sentiment and obstinacy than religion.

A Message to Postal Workers

Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, M. P., has sent the following message to postal workers, printed in their organ *Labour* :

As a socialist I am always especially interested in the development of the postal service. In every country in the world with which I am acquainted, the Post Office is owned by the community and run in the interests of the community. It is the purveyor of knowledge. It provides for the minds of men the same facilities that the roads and railroads provide for their bodies. Finally, through its international links it girdles the whole world.

For these reasons it should be a model service in all respects. It should be a model of intelligent co-operative service by every grade in the staff. It should be a model of good pay and good conditions of labour with full facilities for the presentation and redress of grievances. It should be a model of efficient, progressive and economical administration.

The Indian Institute of Science

The editor of the *Educational Review* of Madras, whose name is not printed in it, observes in its (rather late) November 1926 number :

It is a great pity that the magnificent endowment of the late Mr. Tata embodied in the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore should not have been worked satisfactorily and complaints should be heard about it in various quarters from time to time. "An esteemed correspondent," writing in the *Hindu*, catalogues a long list of grievances which constitute an indictment on the working of the Institute under its European Professors. It is complained that there is an air of aristocratic pride about them and "students never approach their Professors on a footing of equality or trusted cordiality. Something indescribable but well-known to every one keeps them at arm's length and therein is all the rub." It is surprising that the Indian agency should be so carefully excluded from the higher ranks of its service. The latter is likely to be not merely more patriotic and willing in service but also more economical to the Institute. We are also told that an atmosphere has been created in the Institute foreign to Indian students. "The latter have to live in a style which is utterly beyond the means of an average parent or guardian in this country. Apart from the scholarships, the high standard of life expected and imposed on the part of the students here could not bear too close a scrutiny. For us, who are after all a very poor people compared with the other nations of the West, for us to imitate Oxford or Cambridge life, is not only ridiculous but suicidal. The very atmosphere, to say the least, is choking." Is there nobody to look into these grievances which seem serious?

Prohibition of Opium

The editor of *Prohibition* thinks :—

The Government of India's views on the use of opium in India, make any hope of the prohibition of the traffic very distant. It has no evidence that there is "any serious and wide-spread abuse of the drug, and it would regard as entirely unjustifiable any departure from its present policy of non-interference with moderate use." Nevertheless there is a partial prohibition of opium in Burma, and in Assam, which have a system of selling the drug to pass-holders only. In Bengal the local Government has approved of a scheme for the introduction of a method of registration of opium consumers in two districts of the Presidency with a view to obtain as accurate data as possible regarding the proportion of the drug used purely for medical purposes, and the proportion used for intoxicating purposes. In the Central Provinces, the Commissioner of Excise notes that more than one of his district reports bear witness to the extent to which the demand for opium is stimulated by the deplorable practice of administering it to children.

Newspapers and Liquor Advertisements

The same editor writes :—

Some of our readers will not know that "Punch" is a humorous weekly paper published in London which has been described as "a great national organ." Its subscribers' list is over 2 millions and it goes to all parts of the British World. It is a paper with a great and glorious record. It recently made the announcement that it will take no contracts to advertise alcoholic liquors in its pages after March, 1927. By this action it follows the example of the "Spectator," the "Observer," and other papers. Temperance journals in Britain have rightly waxed jubilant over this decision. For it can only mean that the proprietors of "Punch" have joined those who regard the liquor traffic as a menace to the public welfare.

We purchased a number of Calcutta Indian papers to see how far Indian journalism is on the right road in this matter. We found the Calcutta Swarajist papers free of such advertisements. They were acting up to the principles of Congress as expressed by resolution at Belgaum in December 1924. "The Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habits of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India, and would therefore welcome its abolition." To our discomfiture we found other papers owned and edited by Indians with prominent drink advertisements. May we not appeal to the Press of India, especially where it is under the control of Indians, to follow the example of "Punch" and give up all such tainted revenue?

Jain Versions of the Story of Rama

The Jainas have versions of the story of Rama different from the Hindu version.

Prof. A. Chakrabarti of Madras gives these versions in brief in *The Jaina Gazette*. Here is the first portion of one version :—

The story starts with an ominous prediction—"The birth of Sita will be the cause of the ruin of Lanka." Vibishan the brother of Ravanaesvara hearing of this prediction from the sooth-sayers tries to avert the calamity by nipping the whole thing in the bud. He wants to destroy both Dasaratha and Janaka so that there may be no Rama or Sita. This is to save his brother's kingdom of Lanka. But Vibishana's design on the lives of Dasaratha and Janaka is made known to them by Narada. These are advised to protect themselves by setting up their likenesses on the throne temporarily and to spend their time in disguise elsewhere. Vibishana destroys these two representations and goes out with the satisfaction of destroying the enemies—not knowing the real truth. Dasaratha and Janaka make a tour together and arrive at Kantaka-mangalapura. There they find preparations going on for the Swayamvara of Kaikeyi. They attend the ceremony when Dasaratha is chosen by the bride. The other suitors attack Dasaratha, who has to defend himself. Kaikeyi takes place of his charioteer when the latter is killed. For this timely aid, the king offers her a boon which she accepts and reserves for a future occasion.

Female Education in Buddhist Literature

Dr. Bimala Charan Law writes in the *Indian Review* :

Ladies who came under the influence of Buddhism appear to have followed religious teachings without much difficulty. They were not altogether steeped in ignorance. As a matter of fact some women of the Buddhist period were not behind their male brothers in education. The verses in the Theri-gatha are attributed, in the tradition of the Pali canon, to certain saintly sisters; and we are not entitled to entertain any doubt about Indian women's erudition. The religious harangues of Sukka and the philosophical discussions of Khema and Dhammadinna may be cited here as instances of Indian women's attainments; to ignore the reality of which is to wilfully disregard the quantum of historical truth buried deep in the Buddhist literature. Names of certain ancient Indian women notable for their scholarship are still in the living memory of the present generation. But then it is still disputed on the basis of slender hypotheses that the authorship of the verses in the Theri-gatha cannot be ascribed to the women who sang them. Be that as it may there is no gainsaying the fact, in the absence of any historical truth to the contrary, that in the Buddha's days, women who broke through the fetters of worldly life and gained the joys of rational beings, sang extempore learned and thoughtful verses on many occasions—specially when Mara, the Buddhist Satan, tried, in vain his level best to lead astray these saintly sisters sometimes by joyful or lewd temptations and sometimes by frightful sights. The *gathas* were sung by women and the record of the educational career of certain individuals evince the fact that

education must have been in vogue amongst females in the days of Gautama Buddha.

Party Names and the Political Outlook of Indians.

The editor of the *National Christian Council Review* rightly observes with regard to the recent elections :

The party names, however, are not very important. The fundamental outlook of almost all Indian political groups towards the question of self-government is the same; there has been difference on the question of method. If the Gauhati Congress permits co-operation and the taking of office, there is likely to be a considerable uniting of parties as far as the Hindus are concerned, but the Hindu-Moslem problem remains.

Mr. Gandhi's plans are not yet disclosed. Politics are not a grateful field to him, but we cannot help feeling that, whatever he may bring to politics should he return, at least he will bring a loathing of communalism and a contempt for petty self-seeking.

The Aim of Catholic Missionaries

We read in the *Light of the East* :

Each man is inclined to interpret the intentions of his neighbour in the light of his own purposes. The man whose only aim in life is pleasure can hardly fancy that there are men who freely seek out sufferings rather than earthly joys; how could others be so different from himself? The miser whose only ambition and desire is to gather heaps of gold cannot realise that another man may, for the sake of higher goods, forsake riches and embrace poverty; how can one believe, so the miser thinks, that there are higher goods than gold? Other examples might be given; these two are enough to make us realise that "according as one thinks, so one judges." Everyone is at least tempted to suppose in his fellow-men the thoughts, intentions and purposes which he discovers in his own soul.

The best ways of answering all these accusations, whose source is prejudice, might perhaps be to oppose them to one another. As there are men in India who accuse the missionaries of trying to make money, so there are others who condemn them because, say they, they spend too much gold trying to make converts. As there are anti-Britishers in India who maintain that the missionaries are out to maintain the British Raj, so there are pro-Britishers who maintain that, being mostly foreigners, the same missionaries sympathise too much with Swaraj. *Etc., etc.* That these accusations are contradictory never seems to worry those for whom the sight of a missionary is an eyesore. But we may be forgiven if we do not take the trouble of refuting allegations that refute each other.

Allegations against the Nizam and his Administration

Professor G. R. Abhyankar gives in the *Hindustan Review* the following summary of the allegations (which he amplifies in his article) against the Nizam and his administration :—

(1) The Hindus, who form nine-tenths of the population of the dominions of the Nizam, are not allowed the legitimate exercise of their religious faith and are molested in the performance of several rites by vexatious firmans. (2) The Hindus feel an insecurity of person and property under the autocratic rule of the Nizam. (3) Educational facilities are not given to the Hindu population and even private efforts at spreading education are being stifled. (4) From the State Service, whether superior or inferior, civil or military, Hindus are studiously excluded. (5) Public offices are filled by unqualified persons (including outsiders), solely because they are Mahammadans, and the public service has become a field for jobbery. (6) There is a huge waste of public funds in the administration. (7) The Nizam engages in the vicious practice of taking *nazars* from his subjects. (8) *Inams* and *Jahgirs* are illegally confiscated and properties are taken under the court of wards without any justification. (9) Numerous complaints of violation of personal liberty and also of the honour of men and women are constantly brought to the British Resident by the aggrieved parties. (10) State resources are squandered outside the State limits on objects which have no concern whatsoever with State interests. (11) The management of the Customs Department is very harassing to the people. The income of this department is not appropriated to the needs of the state, and not more than 20 per cent of the Customs revenue finds its way into the public treasury. (12) The administration of justice is often in the hands of incompetent officials, chosen simply because they are Mahammadans or related to some high Mahammadan official. Failure of justice is thus occasioned in many cases and causes serious discontent. (13) State resources are utterly neglected and no efforts are made to improve the Moral and material condition of the population, who are labouring under the incidence of heavy taxation and are suffering from chronic poverty owing to the Nizam's misgovernment. (14) The Nizam has not shown the slightest inclination or capacity to introduce any form of representative government. (15) No local self-government exists in the State. (16) In spite of the pretension of the Nizam to confer responsible government on the people of Berar, there is absolutely no association of the people with the administration, no freedom of the press, no liberty of meeting and no desire to establish constitutional rule. (17) Every agitation is ruthlessly suppressed, and orders of externment and internment are passed in a high-handed manner. Even men like Mr. Jinnah are ordered summarily to leave the Nizam's territory.

India's Future

The editor of *Probuddha Bharata* does not despair of the future of India. Says he :—

We do not despair. We have faith in the future. We *know* India cannot die, she has yet to fulfil great things in the life of humanity. And we shall be unsparing in voicing the truth for which India lives, the message of the spiritualisation of life. We shall tirelessly repeat our warnings to our West-infatuated countrymen till the true glory of India is revealed to their vision and the nation comes into its own.

We do not look upon our nation as an irreconcilable element in the scheme of humanity. We are the only people who are national and yet international. For, the ideals of our nation are the same as those of humanity, and by being truly national we become also truly international. And no nation can fall in a line with the larger movements of internationalism unless it makes its ideals purely spiritual. Anything less than that would be prejudicial to the realisation of the brotherhood of men which is the brightest dream of the age. Our plea to both our eastern and western readers has been the same. Be truly spiritual, wherein lies both individual and collective salvation. No greater message can we conceive of in this juncture of history than the call to the life and the truth of the Spirit. All our present complications are traceable ultimately to the neglect of our spiritual nature. We stand on the widest basis of spirituality, on which alone the diverse nations of the world can be made one. And surely ours cannot be the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

To have a whole year of health

in the opinion of the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*,

To have a whole year of health, you need but to have it a day at a time, and to make a day of health you need but to watch the details of your living programme. It is the habitual doing of things that makes either for health or for disease. The habit method is just as powerful for good as for ill, and it is not much more trouble to form right habits than wrong ones.

Plan your daily schedule so that all you do will count for health. Study your own needs, in nutrition, exercise, and rest, and insist on securing what you need of each. Start the day with a wholesome mental attitude and spiritual setting. The early morning hour is the best for your devotional reading. Getting up early is fine if you went to bed early enough the night before.

Defectives and Mysore

We read in the *Light to the Blind* :—

Some time ago there had arisen some confusion regarding the use of spending public funds for maintaining schools for defectives in Mysore, in

that it was suggested that the five year old Deaf and Dumb School at the seat of the Mysore Government, Bangalore, should be closed immediately. It created not only stir in the public mind but also grief in the minds of the few who were responsible for the opening of the school as well as of those who have elected themselves to do a piece of duty to the suffering humanity---the Deaf, Dumb and the Blind. How badly it was felt that there ought to have been an organisation of the defectives themselves or a member in the Representative Assembly or Legislative Council, representing the minority interests of these defectives. The recent census puts the number of defectives in Mysore at more than 10,000, and we will be grateful to the enlightened Government of his Highness the Maharaja of Mysore if they take up the cause of the helpless state children and see that their (defectives) interest is constitutionally represented in the State Administration. May we live in the hope that our prayer on behalf of the not-seeing and the not-hearing touches the kind and benevolent heart of our illustrious sovereign and that of our popular God-fearing Dewan?

It is not in Mysore alone but all over India that defectives require looking after. They can be made happy and self-supporting members of society.

Causes of the World War

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma writes in the *D. A. V. College Union Magazine* :—

One of the propagandist lies so sedulously repeated during the last war was the assertion that the outbreak of the War in the middle of the year 1914 took the allied powers by surprise. The lie was necessitated by the continuous defeats of the allies during the first years, which called for an explanation. It could be proved to be true by reference to certain German war appliances which, whether prepared during the War, or before it, made their first appearance in those days.

This myth also helped in fixing the sole responsibility for the war on the central powers who could thus be made to appear all the more criminal in forcing a war upon an unsuspecting world. Now that the war clouds have rolled off and historians need not be forced to choose between their patriotism and their love of justice the blame is being more equitably apportioned. One result of these new studies has been the horrible knowledge that the world storm of 1914 was only one of the series of conflicts which had threatened the peace of the world since the beginning of the century.

In 1906, 1909, 1911 and during the Balkan wars the peace of Europe was preserved as if by a miracle. The war-God cheated so many times of his prey would not let go his chance in 1914 and the Russian general and mobilizations coupled with the criminal Austrian ultimatum to Serbia gave him his opportunity.

The root of the matter lay in the fact that "unappeased ambitions, wrongfully wrested territories, suppressed national aspirations and immoral ideas about international relations had so undermined the peace of Europe that the old world had degenerated into a powder magazine in which the dropping of a lighted match, by accident or design, was almost certain to produce a conflagration."

Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, M. L. C.

The Women's Indian Association of Madras congratulated Srimati Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal on her nomination as a member of the Madras Legislative Council at a special meeting. According to *Stri Dharma*, the speakers

All dwelt on the practical aspect of it, how the presence of a lady doctor, of her position, in the Council would help the cause of women and children, in their education and physical welfare. Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal's reply was marked by spirit of real earnestness. She answered most effectively the usual charge made against women that they are ignorant of politics. She said, that while men politicians were clamouring for communal and other sectional benefits, the women presented their claims on no such narrow grounds; and whatever they do and win will be for all without distinction. Women's active part in all departments of national life is sure to have a harmonious and whole-some effect on it.

A Woman President of a Labour Union

We read in *Stri Dharma* :

Trade Union movement is very young in India. The hardships of the workers in India in organising themselves are greater than they were in England, owing to illiteracy and ignorance and the general indifference of the public in our country. So the record of successful work of a worker's body, like the Textile Labor Union of Ahmedabad, is a matter for sincere congratulation. The case is also one for great pride when we learn that its President is Srimati Anasuya Sarabhai. Under her and her colleagues' guidance the Labor Union has been carrying on splendid work in all directions.

As regards welfare work, the Union maintains two Dispensaries and a Hospital equipped for surgical work; 9 Day and 15 Night Schools and a Nursery School run on the Montessori system; home industry classes to women who cannot work in the mill; a library and reading room a weekly journal of 5,500 copies circulates freely; and two cheap grain shops. The union provides also legal aid; cheap loans at 6¼ per cent to pay off previous debts carrying 75 to 120 per cent interest; advances for current expenses at an easy rate against the prevailing 300 to 1,000 per cent, charged by Pathan money-lenders; Savings Bank facilities and help to secure compensation in cases of accidents. 77 cases, resulting in the total award of nearly Rs. 10,000 being attended to in the year under report, and further, the task of securing various Municipal facilities for the workers is duly carried out. These are but the bare headings of the extensive work carried out under each of them.

The Government should nominate Srimati Anasuyabai to the Legislative Assembly, where as in the Provincial Councils, Labor interests are not sufficiently represented. Her presence in the Legislature will be of immense help in framing measures for working people's welfare, especially of the women and children employed in industries. Her noble example can be also followed by other women by taking some interest in the conditions of labourers around them.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

John Bull's Charities

According to the *Daily Mail Year Book* or 1927.—

There are known to be in Great Britain and Ireland some 2,750 charities, and the last estimate (1923) of their total income was over 26 millions. These figures exclude the voluntary contributions towards the support of Churches, but include their organised philanthropic income (their foreign missionary receipts averaging during the past three years £2,300,000).

In 1925 the income of 118 London hospitals was over £3,000,000 exceeding the expenditure by nearly £100,000. Patients' attendances reached seven millions. The report of the King Edward Hospital Fund states, 'There is a steady growth in income, which is enabling the hospitals to make up their past deficits and to maintain a continually increasing number of beds.'

Catalogue of Rajput Paintings in Boston Museum

We read in the Boston *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* :

Catalogue Of The Indian Collections In The Museum Pt. V. *Rajput Painting*. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. 4to. 276 pages of text, 265 illustrations on 132 pages of plates, frontispiece in color. Price postage paid within U. S. A., \$ 18.00.

The Museum possesses an important collection of Indian Art, which includes nearly seven hundred Rajput paintings and drawings the largest and most representative series in the world. These paintings are described and illustrated in the Catalogue. The Introduction is historical and interpretative, giving the classification of the different groups of paintings, a history of the costumes, and the various sources of the motifs of the pictures. The descriptions contain illuminating commentary which helps to interpret the subject-matter of the paintings and to render it intelligible to another age and race than that for which they were painted. The bibliography is an exhaustive list of the publications on Indian painting other than Mughal. The group of plates at the end of the volume consists of 265 half-tone illustrations, and the frontispiece serves to give an impression of the color.

Why not an Asiatic League of Nations ?

The New Republic writes :

Two gentlemen have been holding a conference at Odessa and have set the telegraph wires buzzing in consequence. They are George Chicherin and Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the foreign ministers of Russia

and Turkey, respectively. At once the lively journalists of Western Europe have invented an explanation of their meeting. A Pan-Asiatic League is to be formed. Russia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India, China and Japan are to unite in opposition to Europe. The successes of the Cantonese forces in China make the present a propitious moment. All this has a familiar sound; we have heard it many times before under various guises. There are two things to be said about it. In the first place a Pan-Asiatic League is improbable. Russia under Stalin is seeking a rapprochement with Western Europe rather than a policy of defiance. Turkey also is seeking to identify itself with the Occident. Russia and Japan are at loggerheads over Manchuria. Other difficulties equally serious might be mentioned.

In the second place, if Asia really wanted to form a League of Nations, why not? If the Geneva organization is good for Europe, and the Pan-American Union for the Western Hemisphere, why should not the Asiatic powers get together in the same way? If it be urged that such a grouping would be aimed at the white man, the answer is threefold: first, the dominance of the white man in the East, in so far as it rests upon force, is doomed in any case; second, the nations could hardly do more to oppose Europe in combination than they are now doing separately, since not one of them could supply troops or money in important quantities to aid another; and third, an Asiatic League would be a much more responsible and reasonable body with which Europe could negotiate than the individual powers of which it would be composed.

"The Terror in Italy"

The Editor of the British *Review of Reviews* says :

After the attempt made on Mussolini's life by Anteo Zamboni at Bologna on October 31, 1926, Fascist propaganda announced to the world that not only had the "Duce" remained "calm and smiling," but that he had given orders to his friends that "no one must lose his head."

Professor Salvemini's article occupies a little more than four pages of the Review. We give below only a short extract.

The immediate result of the Duce's command at Bologna was that the high Fascist Personages who were in the car following that of the Duce, took part themselves in the lynching of Zamboni. One of them, Signor Arconovaldo Buonaccorsi, cut the boy's throat with his dagger. Signor Balbo, Under-Secretary for National Economy, shot twice at the agonised body. The lynching was carried out with such rage that the Fascists wounded each other and two of them had to be taken to hospital (*Corriere della Sera*, November 2nd. 1926).

Ignorance Worse than Darkness

E. E. Slosson writes in the *Modern World* :—

In considering the extension of scientific knowledge and in particular the inculcation of the scientific method of thought, we must beware of being misled by convenient analogies.

For instance, it is common to symbolize knowledge by light and ignorance by darkness. The metaphor is as old as science itself, yet it is essentially misleading, for darkness is negative, is nil, offers no resistance whatever to the diffusion of radiant energy.

But ignorance is not an inert entity, a negative fiction offering no resistance to the expansion of knowledge. No cranium contains a vacuum. It is always filled with something, and in the case of certain individuals, filled with matter which is impenetrable, or at least difficult to make an impression upon.

In actual life ignorance is allied to conservatism and the combination is a strong one. In order to introduce a new idea into the mind of man, it is generally necessary to eject an old idea. The eviction process often has to be accomplished by violence. Even a child's mind is not a *tabula rasa*. It is, on the contrary, a palimpsest written over with previous inscriptions from Paleolithic times to the present. To move in new furniture one has first to move out the old.

"The Review of Nations"

Mr. Felix Valyi of 6, rue de Hollande, Geneva, Switzerland, has founded a new review called the *Review of Nations*. The contents are mostly in French. But there are contributions in English, too. Mahatma Gandhi has written the editor a letter, in which he says :—

"What message shall I send you save to say that my nationalism is intense internationalism? I am sick of the strife between nations or religions."

Regarding the intentions, ideas and hopes of the editor, he says in part.

The new international magazine, of which this is the first issue, is an enterprise of universal character. Universality in the true sense of the term is our aim: universality of mind, of sympathy for all nations, universality of Knowledge and of Science, including in our field of research and study everything human. Political Science as well as History, Philosophy and Psychology of Nations as well as Economics, World Finance, International Law, Sociology of Religions, the Social Teachings of Old Civilizations as well as the sympathetic consideration of new efforts towards the Synthesis of Human Culture as a whole.

India's Future

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru writes in the *Review of Nations* :

The terrible fact which stares every one in India is the appalling poverty of the people. India is not a country of gaily bedecked Maharajahs, displaying themselves and their jewels periodically in the west after the manner of star artistes of the cinema world, as many people seem to imagine, but a grim land full of millions of poverty stricken peasants and labourers for whom the next meal is always a problem, a problem which is often not solved. Competent observers have come to the conclusion that poverty has increased greatly since the coming of the British and is still increasing. But indeed statistics are hardly necessary to establish this, for he who leaves the few towns with their thin veneer of activity and prosperity and goes deep down into the villages, can see it for himself in the sunken eyes and the hopeless looks of the people. What will India be like in the future if this continues?

Meanwhile, many of the best of India's sons lie in jail or in forced detention. Many of them are exiles in foreign lands unable to return to their motherland. Under the Bengal Regulation, one of the gifts of Lord Reading and the last British Labour Cabinet to India, large numbers of young men have been in jail without trial or without even the formation of any charge. Conspiracy trials are frequent and young men, whose chief fault was that they loved their country too ardently, if rashly and foolishly, suffer the extreme penalty of the law. This is the *pax britannica* in India and it is not surprising that the Indian is thoroughly dissatisfied with it and looks forward to the day when he will have no more of it.

What the future will bring it will be vain to prophesy but it is clear that no settlement short of complete self-rule will solve the problem. That self-rule may mean complete independence or it may mean what is called Dominion status. Most Indian politicians talk about Dominion status but perhaps they do so because it is apparently easier to achieve. In reality the vast majority desire independence and some have the courage to say so. The chief link between England and the Dominions is one of sentiment, but sentiment does not carry one far when interests clash. If India were a Dominion there would be little of this sentiment in fact at present there is something very much the reverse of it; and her economic interests are bound to clash with those of England. It is thus a little difficult to see how India could continue as a free member of the British Commonwealth. But perhaps the future may bring its surprises and India may find a place there. For India has no desire to nourish past grievances. She looks to the future.

"Pat" Drawings

Mr. Ajit Ghose gives an account of the old Bengal paintings known as "pats," in *Indian Art and Letters*. Says he :—

From the word "Pat" we have its derivative "Patar," to mean a painter. But in Bengali we

have the word "Potua" to denote one who makes "Pats," and this word has become a class name applied to both Muslims and Hindus. The "Potuas" are artisans who are now principally engaged in decorating pottery, which gain is a dying craft. At one time when families of Potuas congregated together in a quarter their community was of sufficient numerical importance to give its name to the quarter; thus there was an artists' quarter in Dacca which is still known as Potuatuli, while the name of a thoroughfare in Calcutta even now recalls an old settlement of Potuas who have long left the locality. The Potuas also painted and decorated images of the gods, but it is as folk artists of Bengal that their name should be handed down. Another caste of folk artists associated with the art of the "Pat" were in their origin carpenters and are known as Sutradhars. They are hereditary makers of images and painters. They are scattered all over Bengal, but are chiefly to be found in Bankura, Burdwan, and Birbhum districts. In Murshidabad, under the name of Chitrakars they have become a caste, exclusively employed in making pictures, the members of which will not intermarry with other Sutradhars. A third caste employed in making, painting and decorating images are the Kumbhars or men of the potter caste, but they are not known to paint pictures nor have they any such tradition.

"Feminism Destructive of Woman's Happiness"

This is the title of an article in *Current History* by Gina Lombroso Ferrero, daughter of Cesare Lombroso, famous criminologist and wife of Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian historian, and herself a distinguished author, says she in part:

Some women wish to win for women the right to do all that men do; others wish women to develop more completely their femininity; some demand a more rigorous morality than that of men; others free access to all professional careers now monopolized by men; still others ask for legislation to protect the working woman.

There is one point in common between all the feminist movements in all countries--the demand for woman of all the rights possessed by man, the determined effort to bring woman to the enjoyment of all privileges enjoyed by man, on the understanding that in this way woman will enjoy all pleasures she formerly enjoyed as well as those which only man enjoys.

That the movement has succeeded in imposing its program no one can deny. All the barriers against which Feminism has struggled, all the barriers that seemed to bar women from happiness, all the differences of mission and profession formerly standing between men and women have fallen. Woman today has the vote as well as man; she can study in the same way and as much as man, she can become a priest or minister in certain religious communities, she can be a chauffeur, a diplomat or an astronomer, she can aspire to all positions and to all honors, she can

participate in all games and sports enjoyed by man. It can even happen, as Miss Lenglen has shown, that a tennis champion can earn vast sums of money.

But when I am asked if these victories have increased woman's happiness, I reply that I doubt it.

Love is the fixed, unchangeable aspiration of woman. Love is the glowing sun of her heaven --not love in its vulgar and sensual form of physical attraction, but as conceived by woman having some one to think of and who thinks of her, some one to devote herself to and who devotes himself to her, as in the case of a mother and her child. Let woman make this her aim, and it will appease her longings better than freedom, independence, the franchise, wealth, power, or glory.

Men not Schooled for Prosperity

In *Current History* Prof. T. N. Carver observes:—

Men have been more carefully schooled for adversity than for prosperity. During the greater part of the life of man on this earth he has had a constant fight with adversity and has acquired considerable experience to help him in his fight. He has not had time to accumulate anything like the same experience in meeting the problems of prosperity. All his moral and religious systems that have been of any use to him have provided him with disciplines against the demoralizing tendencies of poverty and adversity. Where he has lived up to these disciplines they have fortified him, and neither poverty nor adversity could break him. Special classes have here and there escaped from adversity only to come in contact with the demoralizing influences of prosperity. There is not and never has been a religion or a moral discipline that fortified the prosperous classes against these new dangers as the old religions and moral disciplines had fortified them or their ancestors against the old dangers. Consequently every aristocracy which the world has ever known has been a decaying aristocracy, not because it was an aristocracy, but because it was too prosperous. It has either disappeared or has been nominally preserved by constant recruiting from below. When all classes become prosperous, all will alike be attacked by the same enemy, and all alike will be in need of experience, moral discipline or religion to fortify them against the new danger.

Intelligence Tests of Geniuses

We read in the same magazine:—

Scientists throughout the United States are becoming increasingly interested in trying to determine how best to educate and apply the ever rising generation to the work of the world. One of the centres of research for this purpose has been Stanford University, where an intelligence test has been given to 301 of the geniuses of history, John Milton, Michelangelo,

Napoleon, Samuel Johnson; and 297 other famous men and women born between the years 1450 and 1850, were in this way subjected to investigation by Dr. Catherine M. Cox, assisted by Dr. Lewis M. Terman, Lela Gillan and Ruth Livesay. Historical records showing childhood traits and mental talents of the geniuses were used as a basis for giving out the intelligence ratings. John Stuart Mill, the English philosopher and economist, was awarded the highest rank of all the 301 famous children. His intelligence quotient (IQ) was placed at 190, which is 90 points higher than average mentality. At six years of age Mill wrote a history of Rome, and at eight he gave Latin lessons and was held responsible for the errors of his pupil. Three children were given intelligence ratings of 185. These were Goethe, the German poet; Grotius, the founder of modern international law, and Leibnitz, the German mathematician and philosopher. Napoleon and Beethoven received ratings of 135 on their childhood mentality. Byron was given 150; Michaelangelo, 145; Lincoln, 125; Mme. de Stael, 155; John Q. Adams, 165; Coleridge, 175; Washington 125; Raphael, 110.

To be Free yet Active

If a man does not take any active part in the world's work, he may enjoy a kind of freedom. But the ideal is to be a world's worker, yet free. Betty Webb gives, in *The World Tomorrow*, an inkling of how such an ideal may be realised. Says she :—

Before our generation will be able to live lives which are free, and yet harnessed to do the work of the world, we will have to grow into different kinds of persons. It is going to take people a lot keener about all these matters than most of us are. It is going to take young people who are not afraid to doubt the *status quo* and, furthermore, who will do something besides talk about it—young people who love the going forward better than the place we now are; who love the growing better than what we now are; the seeking more than anything we yet have found. This is the creed of an experimentalist, an adventure; one who at all costs would go and see what lies around the next corner. And "those who venture take risks, but so do those who do not venture—not the risks of shipwreck but the risks of rust and decay."

And with this spirit thousands of students are wanting to venture forth, yet without knowing where they want to go—with no real goal. Here we are—with all our doubts, with all our energy and fine spirit of adventure—going whichever way the wind blows—with no determined direction of our own. Do you remember this conversation in *Alice in Wonderland*? It rather characterizes us. "Cheshire Pus," Alice began, "would you tell me, please, which way I ought to walk from here?" "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the cat."

Medicine and Industry

Dr. L. P. Lockhart observes in *Industrial Welfare* :

A survey of scientific progress during the last

fifty years is remarkable for the very great strides which have been made in the arts of medicine and surgery. Whatever may be our views on the actual value of many individual pieces of work I think we may say, taking a moderate and even at times a sceptical view point that the really concrete advances have indeed been enormous. Even if, at the end of a brief review, we realise that many of the most promising laboratory researches have proved to be sterile in practice, we can at least claim that wherever we light upon a really striking step forward, it is nearly always connected, directly or indirectly, with the prevention rather than with the cure of disease. There are brilliant exceptions to this general statement, but the fact remains that the prevention of disease is the real goal towards which medicine and surgery are slowly but surely progressing, and it is in this particular branch of the science of medicine that the most tangible advances of the future will be achieved.

There can be no doubt in the minds of us all that good health should be within the reach of everybody and not merely the prerogative of the few. It must be placed, in so far as in us lies, within the reach of all. It is this feeling which has, of recent years, been behind the increasing interest which the State has shown in the health of the industrial worker. The Factory Acts of a hundred years ago have been increased in scope protecting the worker in dangerous trades from many of the hazards of calling. Welfare Orders have been promulgated relating to many aspects of daily industrial risks and of recent years a Minister of the Crown has been appointed to the control of the national health.

Prof. Radhakrishnan on Civilization

The following passages are taken from a brief report in the *Hindustanee Student* of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan's lecture in America on "What is happening to our civilization" :

Professor Shepherd, of Columbia University, who presided, suggested that what Professor Radhakrishnan perhaps really meant was "What is the matter with our civilization." This Professor Radhakrishnan emphatically denied. In his own words, "our civilization would be a dead one if nothing had happened to it." Civilization is a living process and things are continually happening to it. The lecture then goes on with an enumeration of the various conflicting tendencies now raging in our modern institutions like the home, the church, the school etc. The keynote of these conflicts, in his opinion, is the opposition between dogmatism and skepticism or conservatism and radicalism.

Leaving aside the subject of conflicting tendencies Professor Radhakrishnan commented critically, if not humorously, upon current social problems. Economic exploitation of one country by another is summarily attacked, and denizens of the modern world are compared with their Darwinian ancestors. A monkey, he tells us, may be taught to ride a bicycle, to smoke a pipe and to do a host of other things but a monkey is still a monkey. Skyscrapers, flappers—what nonsense is all this? With all our radios and automobiles it is doubtful whether we

are really happy or not. What we need is more sobermindedness. And as "every sinner must have a future just as every saint has had a past," may we hope that the prodigal son some time returns.

Professor Radhakrishnan also commented upon the problem of sex. With the increasing masculinization of woman he predicted that people will ask the Lord one day to give back to them their good old days again. On the matter of religion he insisted that the ideal religion should be one of love and peace. And yet, he said as he quoted the Bible, Jesus told his disciples to buy a sword. Gandhi next came into his discussion. The Indian reformer was convincingly described as a personality far more inspiring at least in several respects, than the Great Jewish carpenter.

Prof. Dasgupta's Reception

We learn from the *Hindustanee Student* that

The New York Chapter of the Hindustan Association and India Society arranged a farewell dinner in honor of Professor Surendranath Das Gupta. The guests, mostly American friends of India, enjoyed a real Hindu dinner.

In introducing Prof. Das Gupta, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the chairman of the evening, took the occasion to point out the great glory of India's past and her present renaissance as exemplified in the persons of Gandhi, Tagore, J. C. Bose, and such scholars as "our guest of the evening."

Prof. Das Gupta was not well disposed to speak. He was suffering from an operation in his throat. He requested Mr. N. B. Parulekar, the Vice-President of the Chapter, to read his extremely interesting and profound paper on Mysticism and Yoga. As the paper along with his other lectures will soon be published in book form by the Open Court Publishing House, Chicago, Illinois, it may not be worthwhile to give a brief summary of it. It must be read as a whole to grasp the deep meaning of Yoga Mysticism.

Prof. Das Gupta, however, in spite of his ailments, said a few words. He traced his throat trouble to the eighty lectures he had to deliver in twenty universities within a short space of time. Many invitations he had to reject. He had come here, he said, to create an interest in Indian Philosophy. The pioneer in the field was Vivekananda, he observed. And then Tagore, through whom the best of India has flowered, came to America. During his stay Prof. Das Gupta endeavored to imprint in the minds of his audience wherever he went the fact that much of the European thought, even in detail was anticipated by the various philosophic systems in India.

The Poison Gas Controversy

A keen controversy was going on in America during last Christmas Week—the season of "peace on earth", as to whether the U. S. A. Government ought to sign the Geneva protocol barring the use of poison

gas in warfare. A few opinions are extracted below from the *Literary Digest* :

Those in favour of signing the treaty—which include Secretary of State Kellogg and General Pershing—believe that, since the use of gas in warfare has received the condemnation of the civilized world in general, as the *Brooklyn Eagle* remarks; since it produces unnecessary suffering and is certain to endanger the lives of non-combatant men, women and children in "the next war," its use should be out-lawed. Those approving the use of poisonous gasses declare that this is a humane form of warfare: that the provisions of the Geneva protocol would be promptly broken in the event of war; and that the United States would need poison gas for its own defence against the world.

General Pershing, says an Associated Press dispatch, believes that to sanction the use of warfare gas in any form would open the way for the use of the most deadly gases and the possible poisoning of whole populations."

Senator Wadsworth, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, observes:

"The use of gas is cruel, but so are all weapons of war. If we are to abolish weapons because of their cruelty, why pick out gas, and not high explosives and shrapnel and the bayonet?"

Origin of the Syrian "Rebellion"

L'Europe Nouvelle, a Paris Liberal foreign-affairs weekly, explains the origin of the "rebellion" in Syria as follows:—

France, a Mussulman Power, at first relied on Christian support against the Moslems. In any case, she gave to the Arab world the impression that she was establishing herself firmly in Lebanon, where the majority of the population was Christian. What is more, she increased the province of Lebanon and annexed territory both north and south, where Christians were not in the majority. She created Greater Lebanon, and seemed rather indifferent toward the rest of Syria.

It goes without saying that neither the spirit of the mandate nor the principles that govern the political action of the French Government permit the mandatory power to take the side of one religion against another, or to follow the Turkish practice of cultivating disorder by repressing one element after another. But matters of principle aside, the eloquence of figures shows how hopeless it is to set the Christian minority against the Mohammedan majority. The Christians in Syria number about seven hundred thousand, compared to two million, three hundred thousand of Mohammedans. The latter, it is true, are divided into two groups, the Sunnites and the Shiites, but the Christians are very much fewer, and their numbers are decreasing every year through emigration, while the Mohammedan population has a tendency to grow. This is not all. In Lebanon itself, which has now become Greater Lebanon by the inclusion of these new territories dominated by Islam, Christians are in only a very small majority. They represent fifty-two per cent of the Lebanon population.

Air and Empire

While we are *dreaming* of Swaraj, the European powers have been engaged in rivalry for supremacy in the air. As the *Observer* puts it :—

Aviation has evolved a weapon such as Napoleon might have dreamed about, and which can be put to more destructive uses than either fleets or armies by competent and unscrupulous men. Air power has not yet reached its full development; the final stages of the World War gave a mere inkling of its potentialities. Its growth unlike that of sea power, has been sudden and prodigious. The war stimulated airmen and inventors, quickened production artificially, and brought into being lavishly equipped air forces and new factories manned by an army of skilled mechanics. Once roused, the British rose to the occasion. A great national and Imperial effort put Britain well in the lead in practically every phase of aerial development.

With the cessation of hostilities, however, a reaction came. Neither the Government nor the people had fully grasped the lessons of the war. Great Britain ceased to be the air Power.

But where is India ?

Congress Bans Liquor Advertisements

Abkari records :

Tendering for advertising rights in connection with the recent Indian National Congress, held at Gauhati, Assam, were subject to the following condition :—

"The Reception Committee will not allow any advertisement to be exhibited about imported or country-made liquor and cigarettes and further reserves the right to disallow any objectionable or obscene advertisement in their grounds."

But do all Congress, i.e., Swarajist, papers ban such advertisements. And what of other papers ?

Teaching India to Drink

Perusal of the following passages in *Abkari* cannot but make one sad :—

The "Manchester Guardian," October 2, has an informing article on this topic, showing how widespread is the consumption of liquor in India by Hindus, who have for many years been following British example, until, we are told, "more than half the liquor" imported into India is consumed by Hindus. "The trade in foreign liquor was originally for the benefit of the English community, but the use of these liquors has spread far beyond the resident English and East Indians."

Liquor Stronger than Religion

"Though taking alcohol is contrary to the tenets of the religion of both Hindus and Mohammedans, the amount, of spirits in the form of whisky and brandy drunk by the educated members of these

communities is not only very considerable, but is increasing.

"Among women of the higher castes the liquor habit has, I have found originated in most cases at the time of the arrival of their first child. Drinking is, unfortunately, an established habit among midwives, most of whom belong to one of the lowest castes. Whether trained at a Government institution or not, they often persuade their patients that a bottle of brandy is in accordance with the best medical tradition, and what is more curious, they will assert that it is invariably drunk at such times by Englishwomen to the benefit of themselves and their babies."

The Contribution of Hinduism

The Rev. R. Pelly, Vice-Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, writing in the *International Review of Missions* on the contribution of Hinduism to Christianity, observes :—

Most of us are to-day willing to admit that Hinduism has produced treasures of devotion in literary form which deserve the respectful consideration of every devout Christian. Some of the hymns of Manikkavachakar and Tuka Ram, not to mention Tagore, are worthy to be placed by the side of our psalter and hymn-book.

So also we may recognize that Hinduism can add to our list of heroes of religion.

All this we may admit and yet deny that Hinduism has made any real contribution.

The question still remains : Is there in Hinduism any new ideal of religion, any new thought of God, any new method of approaching Him, any new conception of what is pleasing in His sight, anything really fresh and distinctive and not to be found in Christendom to-day ?

Can we go further and point to anything found in Hinduism, and of real value, but not found at all in Christianity ?

His reply is :—

There are two matters under this heading which I should like to commend to the attention of my readers. They are closely related to each other.

The word 'contemplation' is generally used to describe a form of prayer which consists not so much in speaking to God, as in listening or even watching. The soul finds rest and joy in simply leaning back upon the Infinite and the Eternal. This world with all its variety and its ceaseless movement drops away and God is all in all. So Plato would have us refresh ourselves in the contemplation of the unchanging ideals of goodness and beauty. Such an attitude of mind is one of the commonplaces of higher Hinduism. No doubt it has often made its appearance within the boundaries of Christendom. Many of the Christian Mystics have used language of this kind and it is popular to-day in many circles. But we may still ask whether it is really a part of New Testament Christianity. Does it not trace its spiritual ancestry rather to Plotinus and Platonism than to Jesus and His apostles ? The New Testament in the Book of Revelation does indeed give us a picture of the denizens of heaven engaged in

adoring contemplation of the mystery of God, but can we say that the New Testament ever commends this to the dwellers upon earth?

A similar question arises with regard to the immanence of God in nature. This too is a commonplace of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. It is true that sometimes they go further and pass over into pantheistic ideas, but it may fairly be claimed that the thought that God is *in* all is more frequent and more characteristic than the thought that He *is* all. Here too we notice a powerful response in the modern mind. Especially since Wordsworth and Shelley, Christian thinkers have delighted to find God in all that is beautiful and good. But again, can we claim this undoubtedly valuable idea as a true part of New Testament Christianity? The Epistle to the Ephesians says that God is in all and St. John affirms that the Word was in the world, but such phrases do not carry us far. The New Testament as a rule is content to think of God as immanent in His saints, rather than in this world, and leaves the matter there.

He summarizes his conclusion as follows :

When the question is asked: Can Hinduism contribute anything to Christianity? we must at once define more closely what we mean by Christianity. If we mean the religion of the Christian Churches as we see it to-day, then the answer is in the affirmative. It can recall us to some of our own half-forgotten ideals. If we mean the religion of the New Testament, the answer is again (though less confidently) in the affirmative. There are ideas, such as those of contemplation and divine immanence in nature, which seem good yet have but little attention in the New Testament. But if by Christianity we mean the whole wealth of that great river of religious thought which took its rise from Jesus but has gathered into itself subsidiary streams from elsewhere in the course of its history, then the reply seems to be in the negative. Christianity so defined may find rich illustration from Hindu thought but no real addition to its message.

Less Talk, More Work

A. M. K. Cumaraswamy writes in *The Indus* :

The Indian students are often considered "speaking" as the Scottish cabman would say. That the opinion is entirely just I do not believe, but one sees in it much thought for reflection. I asked an Egyptian gentleman of importance how it was that they seemed to be getting almost all they wanted, while we failed to secure even our most modest demands. He replied without a moment's hesitation, "because you talk while we work." His answer obviously is not the whole truth, yet it set me thinking hard. It may be that because my own profession, as a schoolmaster, is that of "talking" I saw a greater force in the Egyptian's answer than there was in reality. In any case, I have been constrained by circumstances to consider these remarks seriously. I feel compelled to admit that we Indians are prone to spend time

and energy in purely academic discussions. It was my good fortune two years ago to make some close contacts with Chinese students in their own country. Every one of the Chinese Universities I visited brought me fresh confirmation of the discovery that the Chinese student was intensely practical in his outlook and in his discussion. For abstract principles he has no use or perhaps no time; but he is eager for any practical solution for the problems of his country. We have seen how powerfully articulate Chinese student opinion has often manifested itself as a result of this attitude.

India the Cradle of Religion

In Dr. A. Brodbeck's opinion, as published in the *Young East*,

India is the cradle of religion and of civilization, in more than one sense. Gautama Buddha, about 2500 years ago, rationalized religion for India, and for the world. Buddhism was a great power for good in India for about a thousand years not only for religion proper, but also for fine art and literature. Even when it was driven out of India, it left deep traces in Brahmanism and Jainism. One of the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in India was its overdone asceticism; there were too many monks and nuns; laziness and superstition were their principal faults.

Shinran Shonin in the twelfth century, about 700 years ago, evolved in Japan a metaphysical system, which is essentially identical with that of Spinoza in Europe, and 400 years before Spinoza. This fact is little known. Shinran broke also the monastic style in Buddhism. He married a sweet woman, and from them on in Japan Buddhist priests married also. It was a step similar to that taken 300 years after Shinran by Luther in Germany. Shinran properly maintained that Gautama Buddha was also married and had a son. Original Buddhism in India may be compared with the Protestant reformation in Europe in the 16th Century.

I have stated above that India was the cradle of religion not only for Buddhism in India and other countries, but also for other religions of the world. I mean here especially Christianity. Christianity is a form of Buddhism, as it was shortly before Jesus, partly degenerated into a belief in miracles and a material heaven and hell; and mixed especially with degenerated Mosaism, as it existed in Palestine, in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus.

Paul, the Apostle, changed the almost pure Buddhism of Jesus to Jewish Phariseism.

Let me incidentally mention here, that Chinese missionaries brought Buddhism in the third century after Christ into America, where it was for one thousand years the leading religion, until the Aztecs killed it off shortly before the time of Columbus. This fact is also little known.

A Tagore Society

The same magazine records :

Countess Metaxa, a Greek lady of high culture, who is teaching in Waseda University, has founded

a society for the study of the works of Rabindranath Tagore. She is an ardent admirer of the great Indian poet and thinks that his teachings are antidote to the materialistic tendencies of the modern world. She has a great many supporters among well-known Japanese thinkers and writers in her movement. A lecture-meeting is shortly to be held in Tokyo by way of announcing the birth of the society.

Leading Japanese Papers and their Capital

The same magazine contains interesting information about the capital of the leading Japanese papers. For instance,

The *Osaka Asahi*, one of the two biggest Japanese papers, was founded in the 14th year of Meiji (1881) by Mr. Ryuhei Murayama, the present president of the paper, and Mr. Uyeno with a capital of 30,000 Yen. Keeping pace with the success of the paper, the capital was increased to 210,000 Yen in 1895, to 600,000 Yen with the establishment of the Tokyo Asahi-Office in 1908, to 1,200,000 Yen in 1916, to 1,500,000 Yen in 1919, and finally to 40,00,000 Yen in 1922.

The *Osaka Mainichi*, the rival of the *Osaka Asahi*, was established in 1889 with a capital of 50,000 Yen. With the increase of the circulation the capital was increased several times. i.e. to 150,000 Yen in 1899, to 300,000 Yen in 1906, to 500,000 Yen in 1909, to 1,200,000 Yen in 1918, to

2,500,000 Yen 1922, and finally to 5,000,000 Yen in 1925.

The Yen is equal to about Re. 1-9.

The Name Unitarian

Mr. Arnold Lupton writes in the London *Inquirer* :—

I take an intense interest in the controversy as to the name "Unitarian." I think it is an honourable title. Why limit it by adding any words such as Christian? The Unitarian pure and simple is a brother of the Jew and the Moslem. In the days when the Trinitarians tried to exterminate the Unitarians, it was the Moslem warriors that saved our ancestors from destruction. It was the Unitarians of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, who welcomed the Moslem liberators and gave them an easy conquest. The Moslems to-day are the descendants of the Unitarian Christians of those countries.

It was the Moslems of the Mediterranean and European Turkey that saved the Protestants from extermination by the Roman Catholics in the days of Philip II of Spain. The Moslems also preserved those priceless treasures of ancient Grecian literature, that Trinitarian bigotry had destroyed wherever its hands could reach, and so made possible the renaissance of Europe from the "Dark Ages." These "Dark Ages" were made by the deliberate destruction of all scientific and all wise philosophic books in order to support the silly stories of Trinitarian Christianity. The Scriptures were also falsified to justify the horrible persecutions of the Jews in order that "Peter's Pence" might go to Rome.

NOTES

The Indian Science Congress at Lahore

The fourteenth session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Lahore from the 3rd to the 8th of January last under the presidency of Sir J. C. Bose. The Congress was opened by His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the Panjab, on the 3rd instant in the spacious hall of the Panjab University, where also the presidential address was read. In an able speech, Sir Malcolm Hailey described the importance of scientific research for national advancement, and, speaking of the recent progress made in this direction by Indian investigators, quoted felicitously from a great English paper which, writing in 1896 on the original scientific work of Sir J. C. Bose remarked—

"There is something of rare interest in the spectacle of a Bengalee of the purest descent lecturing in London to an audience of appreciative European savants, upon one of the most recondite branches of modern physical science. We see no reason why the oriental mind, turning from its absorption in insoluble problems, should not betake itself ardently, thirstily and hungrily to research into Nature which can never end, yet is always yielding results upon which yet deeper enquiries can be based. If that happened, that would be the greatest addition ever made to the sum of the mental force of mankind." Writing in June last the same paper said, "The prediction has been fulfilled. In Sir J. C. Bose the culture of 30 centuries has blossomed into a scientific brain of an order which we cannot quite duplicate in the West. He is a prince among physiological research workers and a prophet of this age which has brought so many new powers to life."

Sir Malcolm Hailey concluded his excellent speech by saying that "what appeared

to him to be even more important than the acknowledgment that Sir Jagadis has earned from the world is the promise that his success holds out for India, the promise that he may be but the forerunner of a great school of workers whose efforts may not only bring new treasures to the world of science but may give mankind a new and higher conception of the place of India among the great civilisations of the modern world."

The presidential address of Sir J. C. Bose which followed His Excellency the Governor's speech breathed a lofty ideal and for the first time gave a connected account of his investigations for nearly a third of a century and was a tremendous success. In language which could be understood by all Sir Jagadis showed the long stairway of the ascent of life from the plant to the animal and the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment and fortifies itself to control them.

The subject of his discourse was the establishment of the great synthesis, that all life is one, resulting from investigations that had been initiated and continued in India for nearly a third of a century. The establishment of this generalisation will always be credited to India as a great contribution made for the advancement of the world's knowledge. From the establishment of the generalisation of the Unity of Life,

It followed as a corollary that there must be a unity of all human efforts, and that in the realm of the mind there can be no boundaries and no separations. It is a misreading of the laws of Nature to regard conflict as the only factor in evolution; far more potent than competition is mutual aid and co-operation in the scheme of life. Nothing can be more untrue than the ignorant assertion that the world owes its progress in knowledge to any particular race. The whole world is interdependent and a constant stream of thought has throughout the ages enriched the common heritage of mankind."

From Tuesday forenoon to Saturday the various sections were at work.

In the Physics and Mathematics section, the president, Dr. D. M. Bose of the Science College, Calcutta, gave an interesting address on recent theories of Magnetism and the investigations that he and his students had carried on for the last few years. The most notable papers read before this section were those by Drs. Meghnad Saha, Satyendra

Nath Bose, Nikhilranjan Sen and Satis Ranjan Khastagir.

In the Chemistry section, the president, Dr. H. K. Sen of the Science College, Calcutta, delivered a very valuable address on the fuel problem. The leading papers read before this section were those by Drs. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, Jnanendra Nath Mukherjee, Nilratan Dhar, S. S. Bhatnagar, B. B. Dey and Prof. Naik. By far the largest number of papers were sent to this section, which shows the great activity of the school founded by Sir P. C. Ray.

In the Zoology section Major R. B. S. Sewell in his presidential address gave some extremely valuable suggestions as regards the future teaching of Zoology in India—suggestions which the authorities of our Universities should seriously think over. Among the interesting papers read before this section were those by Dr. S. L. Hora, K. N. Bahl, Bishwanath and H. R. Mehra.

In the Medical and Veterinary section, the president, Major R. N. Chopra of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, gave a timely warning against the evil effects of over-drugging and the irresponsible manner in which certain patent medicines were advertised. Major Chopra showed that defective medical education in India was due to the fact that most of the teachers were not research workers but busy practitioners. According to him this state of things could only be remedied by the establishment of a central government organisation like the Medical Research Council in England with experts in all branches on its staff. Majors Acton and Chopra and Drs. Muir and Chandler of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, read some very important papers before this section.

In the Agricultural section, presided over by Mr. F. J. Worth, Mr. Howard pointed out that a novel obstacle to the production of pure seed was that cattle fed on cotton-seed often passed out undigested seeds capable of germination. The only safe way, in his opinion, of avoiding the risk was to feed cattle on crushed food. A very important paper was read before this section by Dr. S. S. Nehru of the Indian Civil Service, showing the successful acclimatisation in U. P. of Broom-Corn from seeds procured by him from North-West (Ligurian Province) Italy.

In the Anthropology section, Dr. J. H. Hutton of the Indian Civil Service, who

presided, pointed out in a very able address, printed in this issue of our Review, the great harm done to primitive tribes by 'civilisation' and the ignorant zeal of missionaries. The rapid spread of disease and the consequent extinction of aboriginal peoples in various parts of the world were to be attributed to these two factors. Among the important papers read before this section were those by Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur, Mr. Cammiade, Mr. H. C. Chakladar and Dr. B. S. Guha.

In the Psychology section, Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Berkeley Hill pleaded strongly in his presidential address for the creation of a Psychiatric Department in India. Prof. G. C. Chatterjee of the Government College, Lahore, read a very interesting paper before this section on the application of intelligence tests to College students in the Panjab. Prof. H. C. Bhattacharyya's paper on Inferiority Complex was also very suggestive.

Owing to the absence of Prof. L. Duthy Stamp, the Geology section was presided over by Prof. Birbal Sahni and among the interesting papers read before this section mention must be made of those read by Prof. H. C. Das Gupta, G. de P. Cotter and H. L. Chhibber.

The Botany section was presided over by Dr. M. A. Sampathkumaran, and among the important papers read before this section were those by Drs. B. Sahni, S. R. Bose and Messrs. Parija and Kashyap.

The great success of the Science Congress this year was due to the keen interest taken by the Governor of the Panjab, the presidency of Sir J. C. Bose, and the excellent local arrangements, for which last Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar was mainly responsible. The Science Dinner in which covers were laid for 400 people, and the trip to the archaeological remains at Harappa, all speak highly of the excellent organisation. The presence among others of Prof. Compton, the distinguished American physicist, also added to the success of the Congress.

The Congress next year meets at Calcutta, and it will be the duty of all here to show that alike in hospitality and organisation, the people of Calcutta do not lag behind the people of any other part of India. The session at Calcutta will be presided over by Dr. Simondsen of the Tata Institute, Bangalore, and Dr. J. N. Mukherjee of the Science College has been elected as the Local Secretary. The following sectional Presidents

have been elected to preside over the meetings of the different sections :—

1. Physics and Mathematics—Mr. Graphh unter.
2. Chemistry—Dr. S. Bhatnagar.
3. Zoology—Mr. Sundar Raj.
4. Medical and Veterinary Science—Major Knowles.
5. Botany—Mr. P. Aiyangar.
6. Geology—Prof. H. C. Das Gupta.
7. Anthropology—Dr. P. S. Guha.

A Young Sculptor of Mysore

The work of Mr. V. R. Madhava Rao, a young sculptor of Mysore yet in his teens,



Bust of Shivaji prepared in 3½ hours by the Sculptor

has been attracting some notice of late. He appears to be a talented sculptor of much

promise. It would do him good if he could get some years of education and training under proper guidance. And if in that way his gifts bore full fruit, that would do credit



V. R. Madhawa Rao, the boy Sculptor of Mysore

to Mysore and India. Those in Mysore who have the power should see to it that he gets facilities for experience and education.

Saradeswari Asram

The Saradeswari Asram, an educational institution named after the wife of Paramahansa Ramakrishna and founded by disciple Gouri Puri Devi, who is now past eighty and has led a life of celibacy, has now been able to have a home of its own, built on a piece of land purchased for the purpose at 26, Rani Hemanta Kumari Street, Calcutta.

The aims and objects of the Asram are—(1) to promote female education on lines recommended by Hindu society and religion; (2) to provide a Home for orphan girls and helpless women of respectable Hindu families and to train them to a life of usefulness; and (3) to further the growth of ideal and beneficent womanhood. The institution is run on purely national and progressive lines in keeping



The bust of the Sculptor's younger brother

with the Brahmacharyya system and has a Boarding House and a Day-school. Tuition is free in the school. The teaching and internal management are entirely in the hands of competent lady workers. Apart from the ordinary school course, training is imparted in household duties, spinning, weaving, sewing, tailoring, cooking and other practical arts, so as to enable them to earn their livelihood, if required, honestly and honourably. Higher education is also being imparted and some of the inmates have been awarded Sanskrit and University Degrees.

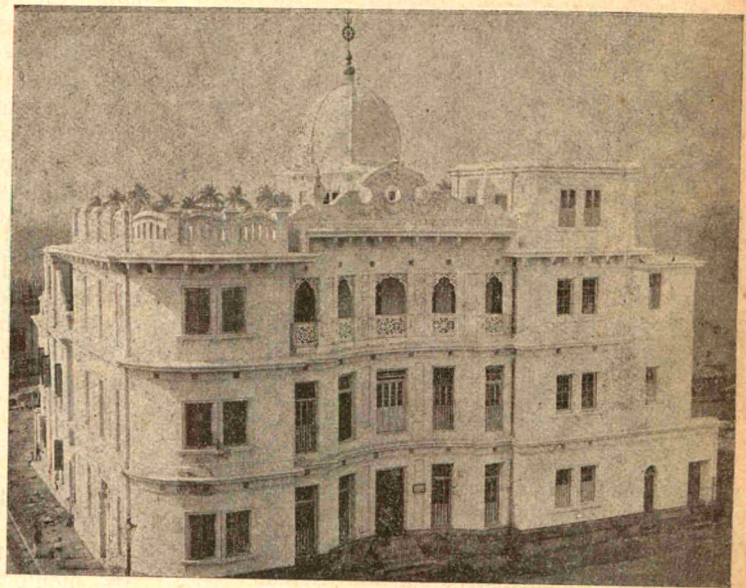
Money is still required to finish the building to provide omnibuses for the day-scholars, to maintain helpless girls and women, and generally to extend the usefulness of the school and place it on a secure and progressive basis.

We are glad to find that the education of girls and women is gradually finding favour even with the orthodox section of the Bengali Hindu community. But it cannot make sufficient progress unless the *purdah* system and the custom of child marriage are done away with. For, the expense of conveyance of girls from and to their homes is so great that girls' schools

cannot be multiplied adequately; and if girls are married before they have entered their teens, no education worth the name can be given to them. But so long as the men of Bengal are not willing and able to take the risk of defending girls and women from molestation by bad characters, it is felt that girls cannot in all places walk to and from their schools.

Bombay and Madras, which are not *purdah*-ridden to the extent that Bengal is, are bound to forge ahead in the educational progress of girls and women and, therefore, in general social, moral, economic and political progress also. As in Bengal the majority of the inhabitants are Musalmans, who are more *purdah*-ridden and illiterate than Hindus, the Hindus must become more than ordinarily courageous and also active in the cause of the education and emancipation of girls and women; else Bengali Hindu society would be doomed to decay.

In the Saradeswari Asram, in addition to the school courses there are special arrangements for preparation for the higher examinations under the University or the Calcutta Sanskrit Association and for the study of the Hindu systems of philosophy. In the boarding department every inmate, young or old, rich or poor, is required to do with her own hands all the household duties of the Asram.



Sri Sri Saradeswari Asram and Free Hindu Girls' School.

The League of Nations and Asia

In the Notes on the proceedings of the League of Nations which we sent from Geneva and which were published in the last November number of this Review, it was pointed out how the outlook of the League was essentially European. All the efforts which it has hitherto made to prevent war have been made to maintain peace among European nations. Consequently, it was not a matter of surprise that it did not at all interfere to prevent or put a stop to war in Syria; for the sufferers there were Asiatics, not Europeans.

Similarly, when at the fifteenth plenary meeting of the Assembly of the League, held at Geneva on September 24th last, the Chinese Delegate M. Chao-Hsin Chu made the statement printed below, the League took no notice of it, taking shelter behind a technical plea. M. Chu said:—

On July 8, August 2 and August 29 several British merchant ships sailed up the Yangtse at full speed. A number of native wooden ships and small boats were wrecked by these British merchant ships, and more than 100 passengers, military officers and soldiers were drowned and goods and silver lost.

When the Chinese authorities sent soldiers to make an inquiry on board these British merchant ships, they were interfered with by a British

cruiser (sic) which happened to be on the spot. Moreover, the British cruiser threatened the villages on both shores with its cannon.

The Chinese authorities were obliged to detain the British merchant ships and take up the matter with the British Consul at Chungking.

Unfortunately before the case was settled a much more serious incident followed. It was reported that a British gunboat had arrived at Wanh sien on September 5, and had opened fire on the gendarmerie in the town, killing more than 100 of them.

Following this other big cruisers (sic) used their big guns to bombard the town of Wanh sien. More than 1,000 houses were destroyed and thousands of civilian lives were lost as a result of the bombardment.

The Chinese soldiers were obliged to return the fire in their self-defence.

Owing to such an extraordinarily serious incident of international importance which if it developed would endanger peace in the Far East, the Chinese delegate has been instructed to make known these facts as a matter of record.



Sannyasini Mother Gauri Puri Devi
(The foundress—Saradeswari Asram)

Viscount Cecil, delegate of the British Empire, said :—

I have heard with some astonishment the statement which the Chinese delegate has thought it right to make from this tribune. He did not give me or my Government any kind of notice or intimation that he was going to raise this matter, or was going to make any such statement to the Assembly. I cannot but regret that this very strange method of procedure prevents me from replying in any detailed way to his remarks. I happen, however, to know sufficient about the facts, as reported to the British Government, to say at once that we do not in any way agree with the statement that the Chinese delegate has made, and that our view of the incident is entirely different from that which he has laid before the Assembly.

I am able to agree that the matter is the subject of negotiation in China, and it is to be hoped that a peaceful and friendly settlement will be reached. I cannot pretend to think that such a statement

as that just made by the Chinese delegate is in any way likely to assist in obtaining a peaceful and friendly settlement of the question.

After Viscount Cecil had spoken, the President said :—

It is impossible to open a discussion on a question which is not on the agenda. I therefore close the present discussion.

It is well-known that though, according to Viscount Cecil, "the matter (was) the subject of negotiation in China" in September last, peace has not been concluded between China and Britain; on the contrary, British war vessels and troops are on their way to China.

The President of the League closed the discussion on the Chinese Delegate's statement on the technical ground that the question was not on the agenda. But four months have passed after that incident in the Assembly meeting, yet the matter has not been placed on the agenda of any League Council meeting, so far as we are aware; in any case the public does not know that the League has done anything to secure a peaceful and friendly settlement.

Had China been a European country and had Great Britain not been the most influential and powerful member of the League, it might perhaps have made some efforts for a pacific settlement.

India and the League of Nations

Politically, one of the objects of the League of Nations is to maintain the *status quo*, to see that the territorial integrity of any of its member states is not impaired. And, according to its Covenant, it cannot interfere in the national or domestic concerns of any member state. Now, India being a part of the British Empire, the League cannot directly or indirectly help India to sever her connection with the British Empire and become independent, because thereby the territorial integrity of that empire would be impaired. Nor can the League do anything to improve the political status of India, by, for example, obtaining home rule or dominion status for her; for India's political status is a domestic or national concern of Great Britain and India. Besides, even if there had not been any technical difficulty in the way, the League would not have dared to do anything disagreeable to Great Britain.

Article X of the Covenant of the League

as the pivot of the whole institution. It runs as follows:—

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

If may be argued that as the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and *existing* political independence of all its members against *external* aggression, therefore it is not bound to do anything to prevent *internal* rebellion, whether violent or non-violent,—neither being just now within the range of practical politics—for obtaining independence. Moreover, as India does not enjoy any *existing* independence, Article X does not exactly apply in her case. But assuming that the interpretation we have suggested here is correct, the League could at best remain a non-interfering spectator in case India made any active effort to be free, as it (the League) has done in the case of Syria; India can never expect the least help or sympathy from the League in any fight for freedom.

In fact, though, not being thought-readers, we do not know the chief object which its principal founders may have had in the depth of their hearts, there can be no doubt that it is calculated to perpetuate the political and economic dominance of the European nations and other nations descended (partly or entirely) from Europeans. For, look at the present list of members of the League. Of these fifty-seven states, only seven, namely, Abyssinia, China, India, Japan, Liberia, Persia, and Siam, are purely non-European, and would be in a hopeless minority even if they combined. And Afghanistan, Nepal, some kingdom in Arabia, Turkey, Mexico, Russia, and the United States of America may also become members. In that case, out of sixty-four members some eleven would be purely non-European. Even supposing they could combine, they would be in a hopeless minority against the European and the wholly or partly European-descended group of nations. And the cases of Morocco, Syria, and China have shown that, where European interests are pitted against non-European liberty and just rights, the League will not go out of its way to exert its influence in the cause of justice and freedom.

As the majority of the peoples of the earth, who are the peoples of Asia and Africa, are at present politically and economically subject to the European and European-descended peoples, and as the League is bound to maintain the *status quo*, it may without injustice be considered to be *in fact*, if not in intention also, an organisation for the maintenance of European or white and semi-white supremacy in the world. Where in former times three or four or five nations entered into a treaty to defend themselves and their unjustly acquired foreign territories or interests as against others, here in the League is a combination of fifty to perpetuate the present political condition of the world, which means the maintenance of the despotism of the dominant nations and the slavery of the subject peoples. This may or may not have been the original intention of the powerful and subervient members of the League. But intention or object has to be inferred from the natural results of any organisation. And we have shown that the natural result of the League organisation is the perpetuation of the enslaved condition of the majority of mankind in the greater portion of the inhabited surface of the earth.

Some persons think that though politically India might not be a gainer by being a member of the League, she may derive some advantage from the hygienic and other humanitarian organisations of the League. Our reply is that India may derive such advantage without becoming a member, if her Government so desires, as Russia, Turkey and the United States have done. Our reply also is that India has so far derived no advantage from the hygienic organisation of the League. This has been shown in an article contributed by the editor of this review to the current February number of *Welfare*, by making extracts from the publications of the League and Reports of the "Indian" Delegation. Our readers are referred to that article for details.

We do not urge that India should give up her membership of the League, which in fact, she is not free to do. To gain experience of world affairs is of great importance to India. One of the ways of doing so is to attend the meetings of the League Assembly at Geneva as delegates. In order that this experience may be of use to India, non-official Indians should be sent to Geneva as delegates, not Government servants or ex-Government servants, British or Indian, and also not

Indian Maharajas. Our legislators should press for this change. Were India self-governing, this change would not be needed. There ought also to be a persistent demand for the employment of more Indians in the League Secretariat and the International Labour office at Geneva. It is in that way that some Indians may acquire some knowledge of world affairs from the inside.

It is not merely for acquiring knowledge of world affairs that we should send some of our best men to Geneva as delegates to the League. If they are men of the right stamp they can by their calibre and personality win for India the respect of the delegates of the other countries of the world. Though no country may give any active help to India in her fight for freedom, it is important to have the world's opinion in our favour. It is beside our purpose to find fault with any or all the men who have hitherto been sent to the League to represent the Government of India. But it may be permissible to say, without mentioning any name, that among the "Indian" delegates who went to Geneva in September last there was one person about whom a Swiss educationist asked an Indian not in any way connected with the League, "Why do you send persons like so and so as your delegates to the League?" Thereupon the reply was given that the people of India were not responsible for the choice of the "Indian" delegates, the British Government of India were responsible. Evidently, the Swiss educationist had met the person in question and found out that he was comparatively an ignoramus, at least according to European standards. It did not make us proud to hear this true story at Geneva.

India and China

China is a member of the League of Nations and India is also a member. Neither country has declared war against the other. The fact, on the contrary, is that Indians sympathise with China's resolve and efforts to be free. There are also immemorial cultural and spiritual ties which bind China to India, which have been recently reviewed by Rabindranath Tagore's mission to China. Yet India is under compulsion made to send troops to China. Can the League of Nations, will the League of Nations make even the least gesture to prevent hostilities

between these two perfectly friendly countries, which are both its members? Every one knows that it neither can, nor will.

There cannot be a greater humiliation and shame for India than that some of her sons would have to fight the Chinese at the bidding of interested foreigners. In the Legislative Assembly and in the Madras Council, motions for adjournment to consider the question of sending troops to China have been disallowed by Government. This stifling of the voice of the representatives of the people itself shows what the voice would have said. But outside the Council Chambers, the people of India are speaking in no uncertain accents. Already many meetings of protest have been held. More, many more are sure to follow. The alien Government of India will treat these protests with contempt. But they will show the world once again that Britain does not govern India with the consent of her people. According to the rules of the constitution or according to some law or other, the Government may be under no obligation to consult the people's representatives in a matter like this. But the Constitution itself, of the law in question itself, has been made by an alien authority, and can not be morally binding on the people of India against their better judgment.

In his address to the Assembly the Viceroy said :—

"Attacks have recently been made on the lives and property in the various Treaty Ports of the mercantile communities, which include many Indian as well as British subjects."

The implication here is that troops are being sent from India partly for the protection of the lives and property of the Indians in the Treaty Ports of China. The Boer war was fought because the Boers oppressed the Indians in South Africa! German East Africa fell to the share of Britain after the world war because Indians had opened that country and it was necessary to give our countrymen there the blessings of British rule! Every one knows, however, the subsequent treatment of Indians in South Africa and Kenya. But British statesmen are blessed with an extraordinary amount of brass, and therefore the protection of Indians or freeing them from oppression is destined to be trotted out as a reason for British action on many a future occasion.

It is noteworthy that the Viceroy did not tell the Assembly how many Indians there are in the Treaty Ports, whether the

life or property of any of them has been actually in jeopardy, and whether in the history of the British Empire, troops were ever sent to any foreign country for the protection of Indians alone residing there.

Whatever the Viceroy may have considered it necessary to say here, in England the exact truth was told. During a speech at Tipton the Solicitor-General said :—

"The Division going to Shanghai goes for the purpose of seeing that the sixteen thousand British women and children who cannot be evacuated are as safe as we can make them."

Addressing the 1st Battalion of the Devon Regiment, who are under orders for China, Sir Philip Chetwode, Commander-in-Chief of the Aldershot Command, said :

"You are going on what is not a pleasant job. There is no state of war existing in China, and it will not exist if we can prevent it. You are going to protect British lives and property which we hold by treaty. In doing so it may be difficult to keep your tempers. There will be plenty of people who will try to tempt you to lose your temper and commit an act of war. I am confident that as British soldiers you will keep your tempers and keep smiling"—(British Official Wireless.)

China knows to her cost that British soldiers have on previous occasions lost their tempers because of her refusal to buy opium from the Britishers, and other highly provocative causes, such as the wealth of the Chinese Imperial Palace, etc. Therefore, there may be plenty of causes to ruffle the tempers of the British military followers of Christ, leading them to do much execution.

There are many more Japanese in China than Indians or British. But Japan has not sent any troops yet, nor is she going to follow the lead of Britain. Australia, a British Dominion, has not sent any troops because she is free. The United States of America, too, has not followed the British example. It is because India is an enslaved country that she must send troops to fight the friendly Chinese people.

The Eight Kings of the British Empire

The reader will find overleaf a group picture of the eight Kings of the British Empire. He may, no doubt, miss the weighty figure of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. The Happy Eight do not miss him, however. Their picture has been reproduced all over the world. That we are not joking will appear from the following extract from the Report of the

Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference, expressly stating the equality of each of the Dominions with Great Britain :

"Nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the Empire.

"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external allegiance, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown.

"Treaty-making rights: "The plenipotentiaries should have full power, issued in each case by the King on the advice of the Government concerned."

"The Governor-General of a Dominion is a Representative of the Crown, not the Representative of the Government in Great Britain or of any Department of it.

"The recognised official channel of communication should be between Government and Government direct.

"It is the right of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs.

"Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny.

The Daily Chronicle asserts :—

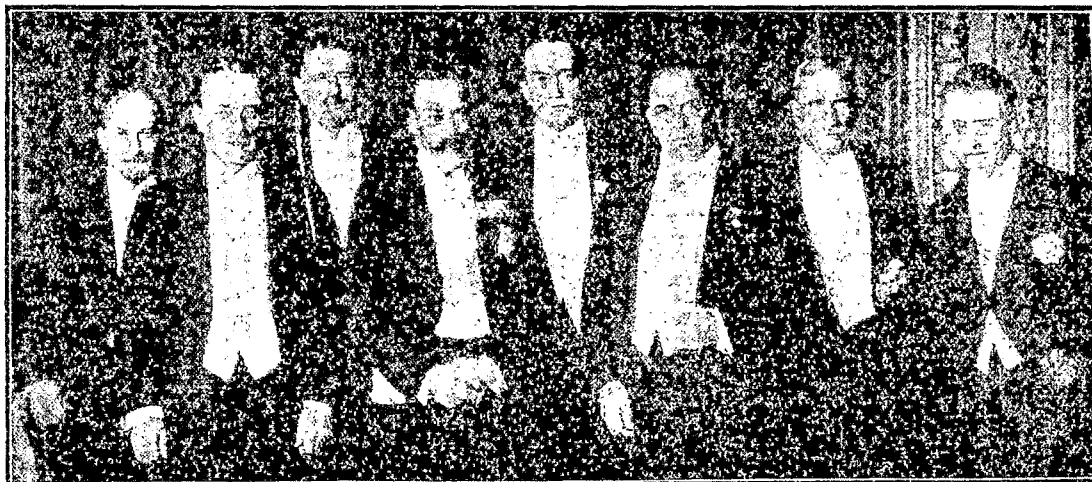
"Each Dominion is entitled, if it choose, to have its separate Ministers at foreign capitals—Canada and the Free State having their own representatives at Washington. The same right applies in foreign affairs and the making of treaties—a treaty will only bind the Empire when it is ratified by all its members."

Though there are henceforth to be eight kings, the Empire remains an Empire still, because the three hundred and twenty millions of India, who are far greater in number than all the other inhabitants of the Empire put together, are there to slave for them all. In future, the Indian who would agree to attend any meeting of the Imperial Conference as a representative, not of India of course but of the Government of India, must possess an extraordinary amount of shamelessness. For in spite of his possibly gilded robes all the world would know him to be the lackey.

Among British newspapers the *Daily Herald*, in a critical leading article, is not so enthusiastic as other newspapers.

It concludes by stating that there is "not a mention of India, not of Malaya, of Nigeria, of Kenya, of the Sudan, of all those colonies and protectorates and dependencies and mandated areas which have no 'free institutions' and know nothing of 'free co-operation.' Not a mention of all the subject peoples of the Empire. Their existence may be profitable, but the recollection of it would be embarrassing at such a moment.

"Therefore, they are quietly ignored, even in the devising of the King's new title. And the Conference, by this act of ignorance, is able once more to reconcile the profession of liberty with the practice of domination."



The King and the Premiers at the Buckingham palace

From left to right: W. Monroe, Newfoundland; Premier Baldwin; J. Y. Coates, New Zealand; King George; S. M. Bruce, Australia; Mackenzie King, Canada; General Hertzog, South Africa, and W. T. Cosgrave, Ireland.

The Daily Herald is not *literally* correct when it states that there is not a mention of India. There is a mention, which, however, is a greater indication of contempt than mere silence would have been; for it practically tells the world that, though Britain has felt the need of coming to terms with her grown-up children abroad, there is no change required in her treatment of those eternal Pariah babies, the Indians. Here is what is said of India in the Report:

"It will be noted that in previous paragraphs we have made no mention of India. Our reason for limiting their scope to Great Britain and the Dominions is that the position of India in the Empire is already defined by the Government of India Act of 1919."

Of American comments, we extract the following from the *Washington Post* :—

"The British Empire survives in name only. Had the Government in George the Third's day possessed the wisdom of the Government of George the Fifth there would have been no declaration of Independence and the United States would now be part of the British Commonwealth."

Nepal and the League of Nations

Nepal is not a member of the League of Nations, and had been making preparations for the abolition of slavery a decade before the establishment of the League. Yet Sir William Vincent claimed for the League

credit for the abolition of slavery in that independent kingdom. The hollowness of this claim has been exposed in this Review, but nevertheless it finds place, unaltered, in the "Final Report of the Delegates of India to the Seventh (ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations (1926)". We suggest that some future "delegate of India" should claim that the abolition of slavery by Great Britain and by the U. S. A., in the last century was due to the retrospective influence of the League.

A Novel Proscribed

A novel named "Pather Dabi," or "The Path's Demand," by Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, has been proscribed by the Government of Bengal, and copies of it, wherever found, would be confiscated. Babu Sarat Chandra is a leading novelist of Bengal. This particular work of his appeared serially for a long time in a Bengali monthly published from the residence of the late High Court Judge Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee by one of his sons, who is a High Court Vakeel and Fellow and member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. The Government said nothing so long as it appeared serially, but now it has found something very seditious in it, though what that is the public has not been told.

It will help our readers to understand the position of Babu Sarat Chandra as an author if we tell them that at Villeneuve, Switzerland, M. Romain Rolland told us in the course of our conversation with him that he had read the Italian translation of the English translation of Sarat Chandra's *Srikanta*, and he observed that the author was a novelist of the first order. As M. Rolland does not read or speak English, he had to form his judgment of Sarat Chandra's quality as a novelist from a translation of a translation : yet that was his opinion. But some underling of the Bengal Government has scented sedition in one of Sarat Chandra's works and so it is a book dangerous to society ! Or is it to the bureaucracy ?

Mr. B. K. Chakravarti as Minister

Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti has accepted office as one of the two Ministers of the Bengal Government and has consequently given up his connection with the *Bengalee* as its editor-in-chief. In his farewell to the readers of that paper, he says among other things, with regard to the present Constitution :—

It has not, it is true, given much real power or control to the elected representatives of the people. But we cannot deny that through administration of what are called the nation-building departments, such as education, sanitation and local self-government, the legislature, working through Ministers responsible to it, has opportunities, not indeed of directly wresting power from the present bureaucracy, but surely of creating and strengthening in the nation that force of character and capacity for organization which alone can ultimately secure Swaraj. It is in this view that I have agreed to utilize the opportunity of serving my countrymen by putting on the yoke of office.

Our views on the present Constitution do not require repetition. While not agreeing with those who make high claims for it, we have never denied that some little good may be done by working it, though at the expenditure of a disproportionately large amount of time, energy and money. We, therefore, do not hesitate to admit that there is some truth in what Mr. Chakravarti says. In any case, as dyarchy has been revived in Bengal, it is best that a very capable man should become a Minister. Mr. Chakravarti had a brilliant university career as a student and was for years professor of such subjects as English, Mathematics and Physical Science. In England he received education and

training in agriculture at the Cirencester College, besides being also admitted to the Bar. His intellectual equipment for the education portfolio is, therefore, perhaps unsurpassed by any other member of the present Bengal Council. And one feels sure that he will not allow the communal canker any entry into the education department. It would have been quite appropriate if he had been placed in charge of agriculture and industries, because he knows agriculture and is an industrialist. But, unlike Bottom the Weaver, he cannot play all the parts. And for reasons which need not be stated, it is good that he has been placed in charge of the Excise and Public Works Departments. What we urge is that he should go in for total prohibition—through the halfway house of local option, if necessary. As for education, he ought to prepare and give effect to a courageous scheme for the free education up to the elementary stage, of all children of school going age in Bengal.

The Bengal Political Detenus and Journalists

The Indian Journalists' Association has formed a committee to take measures for giving the widest publicity to the grievances of the Bengal political detenus through the press and different news agencies. This is undoubtedly a proper step to take. The grievances may thereby be made very widely known. But something else has to be done to rouse the conscience of the Government in order that the detenus may have just and humane treatment. The difficulty, however, is to locate that conscience. For nobody knows *who* the Government is or are. Should it be a collective personality, the attempt to locate its heart or its conscience in any particular human body would be quite futile. Leaving that question aside, one has to observe with sorrow that though the jail department writes every year something about the health of prisoners, the detenus continue to suffer from various maladies. Some of them fall a prey to such diseases as phthisis. There are no data for concluding that any particular person or persons are interested in the lingering death of any of the detenus. One may, on the contrary, be quite ready to ascribe the best and most humane intentions to those in charge of the detenus, provided it can be shown that their ailments are not

born of any preventible causes. By the by, if so large a proportion of them be naturally sickly, what are the reasons for the C. I. D. to think that heroic revolutionaries are made of such stuff as they ?

Bengal Detentions and Discoveries of Bombs

By the discovery of bombs in a Sukea Street house in Calcutta and the conviction of the inmates of the room where the discovery was made, the police officers concerned have proved to the satisfaction of the Government that some terrorist association or other is still very much alive and kicking. Therefore, when a few days after the conviction of the accused the Viceroy spoke as follows in the Legislative Assembly, it at once became clear what great service some police officers render the Government at a pinch :—

Before releases can be sanctioned Government must be satisfied either that the conspiracy has been so far suppressed that those set at liberty even if they so desired would be unable to revive it in a dangerous form, or, if the organisation for conspiracy still exist, that those released would no longer wish to employ their freedom to resume their dangerous activities. The Government have always made it clear and I repeat to-day that their sole object in keeping any men under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages and that they are prepared to release them the moment they are satisfied that their release would not defeat this object.

The pity, however, is that it has never been proved that the men detained without trial had ever anything to do with any organisation for conspiracy. So the Viceroy merely begged the question and it was only his autocratic powers which saved him from discomfiture. The last sentence in the passage quoted above implies that the detenus may be released on their giving an undertaking that they would not in future join any terrorist organisation. But that would be to admit their past guilt. How can men who have never been brought to trial and must be presumed to be innocent expected to incriminate themselves in this way ?

S. N. Mitra's Futile Election

Babu Satyendranath Mitra, one of the Bengal detenus, was duly elected to the Legislative Assembly. But the Government would not allow him freedom to come to the Council Chamber and take the oath and perform his duties. To draw attention to

and discuss this matter, an adjournment motion was moved in the house and carried by a large majority. That practically amounted to a vote of censure on the Government.

The Government's position seems to be briefly this :—The electors are told, "You knew that we won't allow this person to enter the Council Chamber ; so you are to blame for electing him." The electors' reply may be stated thus : "You, O Hazurs, knew that you would not allow him to do the duties of a legislator. Why then did you not invalidate his nomination paper and nip this futility in the bud ? That would have saved much time and waste of money and energy."

The fact is, autocracy requires no other argument but that might is right. And it is being proved again and again that the Government of India is an autocracy and rules without the consent of the people.

South Africa and India

Very pleasing reports have come from South Africa relating to the agreement arrived at between the Indian deputation and the representatives of the South African Government. But we must not say anything before seeing the text of this agreement. One must not shout before one is out of the woods. Remembering what happened to the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, we have to repeat the Bengali adage", জোচ্চোরের বাড়ীর ফলার, না আঁচালে বিশ্বাস নাই," "When one is invited to a feast in a swindler's house, one can not be sure of it until one has washed his mouth after enjoying the feast,"

Satyagraha at Patuakhali

The Hindus at Patuakhali in the district of Bakharganj have been trying for the last five months to maintain their right to lead musical religious processions along public roads. Batches of volunteers go every day once or twice up to the point in a public road where the prohibited area begins and are arrested and sent to jail. Volunteers have been coming from such distant places as Cawnpore, Benares, etc. The volunteers have been carrying on this struggle in quite a non-violent manner. But recently there has been a fracas in the local jail and outside between Hindus and

Musalmans. As this has taken place after the publication of a somewhat one-sided communique issued by the Bengal Government, a suspicion has been expressed in some quarters that the fracas might have been due to instigation on the part of some persons who wanted to please the Government by providing it with an excuse for suppressing the satyagraha at Patuakhali. This movement of civil disobedience is perfectly legitimate. We should, however, be glad if an amicable settlement of the differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans were speedily arrived at. For every movement of civil obedience not only causes much suffering but creates much bitterness of feeling also. Moreover, there is also much expenditure of time, energy and money which might be utilised for other beneficent purposes. If, according to any local understanding, the Hindus used formerly to stop music before an old mosque, they should continue to do so now, provided the Musalmans on their part agree not to try to stop music before newly-built mosques. Non-Musalmans cannot accept any General claim that music should stop before all mosques, old or new, irrespective of local practice. For the acceptance of such a claim would give the Musalmans a stranglehold on the religious and civic rights of non-Musalmans relating to musical performances and processions.

Sir Kailas Chandra Bose

Sir Kailas Chandra Bose, who passed away in his Calcutta residence on the 20th of January last at the age of 77, was one of the most successful medical practitioners of this city and was the first doctor to be knighted. He had great influence over the local Marwari community who looked upon him as their trusted adviser. He served them in various ways. He was the Vice-President of the All-India Medical Congress held in Calcutta in 1894 and was one of the Plague Commissioners. He was the oldest member of the Faculty of Medicine of the Calcutta University and the oldest member of the Calcutta Corporation. He was the president of the Anti-malarial Society and the Calcutta Medical School and one of the founders of the Tropical School of Medicine, the only research medical institution in India, where a ward exists in his name. Many institutions, such as the Veterinary College, the

Marwari Hospital, the Pinjrapol, the Leper Asylum, owe their existence partly to his exertions and influence.

Women's Conference in Poona

The women's conferences held in December last in various parts of the country led up to the First All-India Women's conference held in Poona on January 5, 6 and 7, which was attended by delegates from all parts of India. As chairman of the Reception Committee the Rani of Sangli said in her address that the time was now ripe for women to help in formulating the basic principles of educational policy and programme. It should be of great help, she thought, if women themselves declared what they should have their children taught. Whatever the policy and plan of female education laid down by the Conference as a result of the discussions, she was emphatic that Indian culture, Indian tradition and all that was best in the past of Indian womanhood would have to be preserved and secured in any future scheme.

The presidential address of the Maharani of Baroda was a rousing call to action. Some of its salient points are noted below.

"A few decades saw the curse of *suttee* removed from our land. With a like determination these social evils can all be overcome," she declared after a brief review of the many social practices retarding women's advance, "Women of Turkey broke from these bonds; so can we." A noteworthy feature of the rapid progress women had made recently had been the sincere co-operation of the sterner sex in contrast to the experience of other countries.

Referring to physical training she said that girls should receive it.

Turning to the subject of co-education, the Maharani observed, though, it must be admitted that separation of sexes was in itself artificial, separation was also required in order that a peculiar type of mind, of personality and of culture which constituted the attraction of womanhood might be developed. There was thus a definite need for separate schools and colleges for girls and women in which life and not merely courses of study shall have reference to the nature of pupils and character of women we wish to cultivate."

On compulsory primary education what the Conference had to consider was not the necessity of such a measure but the *ways of removing difficulties* in the application of an educational policy which they desired.

Coming next to the economic value of education the Maharani said there was a tendency to retard, even to oppose, urgent reforms in women's education because it was believed that for women's education to have economic value it must be on

the same lines as that of men. The Conference must show it to be false.

The whole question of the legal status of women in marriage with regard to property, divorce, control of children and many other matters, should be systematically enquired into and proposals discussed.

A preamble to the resolution adopted maintained that

The present system of education was thought out primarily in the interest of the boys and was formulated by men. The time has now come for women to revise and reform this system and resolutions hereinafter to be adopted would offer a constructive programme to those who had already shown a sincere desire to promote advancement of education.

Resolutions were also passed advocating compulsory moral and physical training and urging that in the education of girls and women, teaching in the ideals of motherhood, beautifying of homes as well as training in the methods of social service should be kept uppermost.

In some respects the boldest and most important resolution passed was the following:

"This Conference deplores the effect of early marriage on education and urges the Government to pass legislation to make marriage below the age of 16 a penal offence. It demands that the age of consent be raised to sixteen. It wholeheartedly supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill which is to come before the Legislative Assembly this month as a step towards raising the age of consent to sixteen and sends a deputation to convey to the Legislative Assembly the demand of this Conference on this vital subject."

A standing committee was appointed consisting of the Maharani of Baroda as President, Rani of Sangli, Mrs. Naidu, Lady J. C. Bose and Rani of Vizianagaram as Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Cousins as Chairman and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Secretary, with 14 other members with powers to co-opt.

Brahmo Samaj Anniversary in Calcutta

Besides the separate celebrations of the Brahmo Samaj anniversary last month by the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj, a joint celebration was this year attempted and carried through successfully in the City College grounds. The elders of the three sections are to be congratulated on the encouragement which they gave to their youngmen to whose zeal and active exertions the success of this joint *utsava* or religious festival was mainly due. A day was set apart for the ladies, the leading parts being taken by the Dowager Maharanis of Cooch

Behar and Mayurbhanj, Lady Abala Bose, Mrs. Hemlata Sarkar and others. A large number of Hindu ladies were present throughout and took their meals with all present without any regard to caste divisions. One practical outcome of this day's worship, discourses and conference has been that many ladies, headed by Lady Bose, have come forward to work in unison for promoting the cause of the higher liberal education and vocational education of girls and women and other activities conducive to women's progress. The young men of the Brahmo Samaj had also their day, on which some of them themselves spoke. Their speeches were followed by an eloquent, learned and inspiring address by Babu Bipin Chandra Pal. On the last day, mostly some elderly gentlemen spoke and conducted divine service. Among the speakers was Sir R. N. Mukherjee who paid a tribute to the good work done by the Brahmo Samaj, saying that as an outsider, though not quite so, he could claim to speak impartially. Lord Sinha sent the following brief paper, which was read by one of the youngmen:

MY MITE

"In this season of stock-taking of ideas and ideals, I am asked to send my contribution. I feel acutely how poor my own stock is, and yet my mite might prove useful. So I send it, with much fear and in trepidation.

"What should be the motto for our League of Youth? I can think of none better than the motto of the Shaftesbury family in England: viz,

"Love and Serve"

"Simple words, but how hard to carry out!

"Has that been the motto of India too? I do not know. And yet, is not India the land of Gautama? Did not Bengal give birth to Chaitanya? And who has ever taught the doctrine of love better than those two? Yet it seems to me, for some reason or other, the doctrine of loving service has not taken root in Bengal--it has not become a part of our everyday life, in the same way as it has in England, the country in Europe I know best and love most. I grieve to think of our poverty in this respect. Why have we not got any names which we can proudly compare with those of Lord Shaftesbury, George Peabody and Arnold Toynbee, to mention only a few of the glorious host?

"It seems to me one of the reasons, if

not the chief reason, of our spiritual poverty. It is due to the fact that we of the Brahmo Samaj at least have been paying greater heed to *religious creed* than to *religious life*. Why else have we got 3 Samajes, where there is no essential difference?

"We may perhaps go further and trace the mischief even further down. Is our sense of *humanity* as large as that of England, notwithstanding our lip service to "Daridra Narayan." Is not our idea even of salvation only for our own individual souls, as isolated units, and not for the soul of humanity at large.

"Here perhaps I am going beyond my depth into regions of theology and of metaphysics, which to me are as unfamiliar as they are repellent. I ask myself, have I any practical, any tangible suggestion to offer, how best we can carry into practice the doctrine of *Love and Serve*. I can only think of one: "Form a band of volunteers, who will go out into the stricken villages of Bengal to love and serve *the people* who are dying of disease and dirt and dearth." How will these voluntary missionaries live? I don't know. Let love find out. In what way will they *serve* the people? I do not know. Let love find out.

"The Brahmo Samaj has done immense service to Bengal. If the acerbities of caste are less in Bengal than elsewhere in India, it is due to the influence of the Brahmo Samaj. If the women of Bengal are better educated on the whole than before, it is due to the influence of the same Samaj. If women are free to enjoy the sun and air more than before, it is due to the same potent influence. The ideals of the Brahmo Samaj have permeated the people in general; what matters, if the number* of enrolled members is stationary or even decreasing? The whole of Bengal has become *Brahmo*. Praise be to God.

"I appeal therefore to that Samaj once more to lead the way. I suggest that steps may be taken to call for volunteers who, without any promise or even hope of financial support, are willing to go forth into the wilderness, so to speak, and by love and service, help to make the lives of the people in the villages of Bengal a little less unhappy.

"The times are propitious, the signs are encouraging. For many years the Rama-

krishna Mission has been by their beneficent work shewing us the way. Thousands of young men have distinguished themselves by loving service in times of famine, fire and flood and fairs. Societies for helping the depressed classes and Leagues for Social Service are steadily, though slowly, gaining public support. The spirit of service is abroad. It only requires organisation to harness this spirit and curb our tendency to fitful work under feverish excitement and direct our energies along a perennial stream of daily beneficence. I can think of nothing more useful towards that end than a scheme by which a fairly large number of young men from all our Samajes who hear the call of the villages should be recruited every year. They will take the place of curates, rectors and vicars in our National Church of Holy Service. *Can we do it?*"

It may be mentioned here incidentally that, owing to Lord Sinha's political opinions being somewhat different from those of many politically-minded Indians, the educational and other social service work which has been carried on in his native district and elsewhere through the help and encouragement given by him, has not received the appreciation that it ought to. We write this, not with a view to give publicity to the good work done by him, directly or indirectly, but only to assure the young men whom he has urged to hear the call of the villages, that he has himself heard the call and has responded to it in a practical manner. It is perhaps permissible to hope and believe that, though the professional and political careers of Lord Sinha may be at an end, the career of Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, the social servant, has just begun.

Professor Raman's Convocation Address

The last convocation address of the Hindu University at Benares was delivered by Professor C. V. Raman of Calcutta. Convocation addresses are generally taken advantage of to place before youth noble ideals, so that they may devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge and the service of humanity. But Professor Raman made a new departure by disparaging the work of and making unworthy insinuations against a scientist whose name is known all over the world. For this reason a well-known Madras daily has called him "a green-eyed scientist" and

* The number has been steadily increasing, though not by leaps and bounds, Ed., M. R.

subjected him to much, not undeserved, criticism.

We will merely remind Professor Raman that when he gave up the prospect of becoming at least an Accountant-General and accepted a professorship which carried a much lower salary, because it would give him opportunities to do original work in science, he showed that he could respond to the appeal of idealism. Let him strengthen that earlier impulse in his nature, instead of giving way to baser impulses which are unworthy of the vocation of a teacher of youth. One can become truly great only by making the fullest and noblest use of one's gifts and opportunities, not by trying to pull others down to a level lower than what one himself occupies.

Professor Raman desires very much that Government should not make any grant to a particular scientist. He forgets that scientists of far greater achievement and celebrity and other men of far higher distinction than himself have urged Government to do exactly the opposite. Or perhaps the memorial of these Fellows of the Royal Society and of well-known authors, journalists, and educationists like Sir Michael Sadler may have stimulated Professor Raman's unscientific self into activity.

One discovery of Professor Raman, which he has published through the medium of his convocation address, we can unreservedly accept and praise. It is of the truth, "Self-praise is scientific suicide." Professor Raman's friends and admirers need have no anxiety now that there will be any scientific *felo de se* in the Calcutta Science College.

Dr. Raman is known as an original worker in some branches of physics and chemistry, and in these we laymen can accept his authority. But when he trespasses on the biologist's province and asserts dogmatically that "a scientific man after the age of sixty, even when apparently active and energetic, is in reality living on his reputation," he will excuse us for treating his dictum as we would that of an impostor or a pseudo-scientist. We do not know the data on which his dictum is based. But we find his and our next-door neighbour, Sir P. C. Ray, who is nearer seventy than sixty, still making original contributions to chemistry, either singly or in collaboration with his pupils, in spite of his pre-occupation with *khaddar*, as the Report of the Indian Chemical Society for 1926 shows. Dr. Raman may not be

willing perhaps to admit anybody's claim to be a scientific man who is not an F. R. S., though there are numerous European, American and Japanese scientists of the front rank who are not F. R. S.'s and do not care to be, and there are also British F. R. S.'s whose scientific achievement is quite insignificant. Let that pass, however. Dr. Ray's neighbour Sir J. C. Bose is an F. R. S. and is in his 69th year. But last year saw the publication of his *Nervous Mechanism of Plants*, and within the last few years his *Ascent of Sap*, *Photosynthesis*, and other works have been published. This year at least another work will be published shortly. The hundreds of experiments on which these works are based were not performed in his 25th, or 35th, or even 50th year, but after he was 60.

If Indian examples be not acceptable to Dr. Raman, may we mention the name of the famous scientist and inventor Edison, who is eighty, and still active in his scientific researches and inventions? May we mention the name of Lord Kelvin? May we mention that of Darwin, whose *Descent of Man* appeared when he was 62, *The Expression of the Emotion in Man and Animals* when he was 64, *Insectivorous Plants* when he was 66, *Climbing Plants* when he was 66, *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilisation in the Vegetable Kingdom* when he was 67, *Different Forms of Flowers in Plants of the same Species* when he was 69, *The Power of Movement in Plants* when he was 71, and *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms* when he was 72? But we have already given Professor Raman's irresponsible utterances greater importance than they deserve and must stop.

The Indian Chemical Society!

We are glad to find from the Report of the Indian Chemical Society for 1926 that it is making good progress and that its promoters and workers devote to it not only their time and intellectual powers but their money also. Another matter of satisfaction is that chemical research is no longer confined to Bengal, where Sir P. C. Ray's school of chemistry was born, but claims its votaries all over India. The third annual general meeting of the Society was held at Lahore on January 6 last. The Presidential address by Sir P. C. Ray was read in his absence by Mr. Priyadarshan Ray, M. A., of the

University College of Science, Calcutta. The subject was 'The Variability of Valency of Elements with special reference to that of gold and platinum.' The author, as the result of his investigation during the last seven years, has prepared a large number of compounds of these noble metals. It is found that gold and platinum can have any valency of combining power from one to eight. In the light of this fact the existing notions as regards valency have to be revised. The author also shows that Werner's co-ordination theory, which has hitherto been generally accepted, is inadequate. The investigation bids fair to open a new chapter in theoretical chemistry.

A Lady Deputy President of Council.

A constituency in Madras, by not electing Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal as their representative in the Madras Council, lost the credit which it might have had and which was earned by the Madras Government which nominated her. The Madras M. L. C.'s have, however, earned praise by unanimously electing her as their Deputy President. In Bengal, women have not yet got the right to be elected members of council.

Stiffening the Law Relating to Offences against Women

We are glad to read in the papers that Mr. K. C. Neogy intends to introduce a bill in the Legislative Assembly to stiffen the law relating to the abduction of and assaults on women. It should be made the bounden duty of the police to investigate such cases on their own initiative and to bring offenders to book. As for punishment, it should be considered whether, in addition to rigorous imprisonment, flogging may not also be administered in very flagrant cases. If we remember aright, in some states of America vasectomy is performed in the case of some convicts as a curative and remedial measure. We think it should be prescribed in India also.

The Indian National Movement and the British Memorandum on China

Major Graham Pole, Honorary Secretary to the British Committee on Indian Affairs,

points out, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, the vital importance to India of the British Foreign Office Memorandum on China, addressed to the representatives of the nine "Washington Treaty" Powers interested in China. After stating that it has "met with practically unanimous approval in" Great Britain, he goes on to observe:—

One wonders, however, if there is enough co-ordination in the British Cabinet to cause them to think what the effect of this Memorandum must be on India. China for many years, has, to a considerable extent, been under the dominion of foreign Governments. This British Foreign Office Memorandum refers to the growth in China of "a powerful national movement which aims at gaining for China an equal place among the nations, and failure to meet this movement with sympathy and understanding would not respond to the real intentions of the Powers towards China." Can our Government not similarly look facts in the face with regard to India? There has been (especially since India took her place and obligations as an equal in the Great War) a growing and powerful nationalist movement in India also, with the aim of gaining for India an equal place among the nations. One would fain wish to see something of that sympathy and understanding with the movement in India, for the government of which we are alone responsible, that the British Government expresses towards China, where we are only one of nine interested Powers.

While agreeing entirely with all that the writers say, we may be allowed to point out here that the causes of the British "sympathy and understanding" in the case of China are obvious. The Chinese have shown by inflicting very heavy pecuniary losses on the British people by their boycott of British goods that they are not to be trifled with. They have also compelled the British to evacuate some settlements and have proved that they possess some military strength. Besides, Britain knows she cannot expect any help from any of the great powers in the adoption of a coercive policy towards China. So what was left for her but to make a virtue of necessity and profess sympathy for the Chinese national movement? It would be easy for Major Graham Pole and other intelligent persons to see that if India could have extorted "sympathy and understanding" like China, Great Britain would have been equally ready to profess them for her.

But let us return to the Major's letter. Says he:—

The Foreign Office Memorandum goes on to say that his Majesty's Government desires to go as far as possible towards meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation, and then adds

the significant words that the Powers "should abandon the idea that the economic and political development of China can only be secured under foreign tutelage.....They should expressly disclaim any intention of forcing foreign control upon an unwilling China."

But why China more than India? Charity begins at home, and our declarations, as a nation, would have much more force in the eyes of foreign Powers if they saw us carry them into practical effect in India, where we can do so without the necessity of their consent or concurrence.

The Memorandum calls upon the Powers to make a declaration that they "are prepared to consider in a sympathetic spirit any reasonable proposals the Chinese authorities may make, even if contrary to the strict interpretation of treaty rights."

We are a curiously unimaginative nation, and seem to divide our thinking and our policies into water-tight divisions, without realising, or trying to imagine, the effect that, for instance, this declaration with regard to China must have on the 320 millions of Indians, who are much more under foreign tutelage than are the Chinese, while they are no less fitted for looking after their own affairs.

Here again Major Pole is right; but he has put it very mildly when he says that the British are a curiously unimaginative people. Possibly they are, though we are not convinced. For, has not Britain produced Shakespeare and some of the other greatest poets of the world? How could an unimaginative people produce such imaginative writers? Our reading of the British character is that there is plenty of imagination in it. Only some sufficient stimulus must be applied to make that faculty active: China has been able to apply the stimulus, India has not. Examples may be given from British Empire history, too. In Canada in the thirties of the last century there were two rebellions, and supplies were also refused. During that period, therefore, the British powers of imagination and "sympathy and understanding" found expression in Lord Durham's Report, which led to Canada's obtaining the real beginnings of self-government. We write all this, neither for bluffing, nor for suggesting that India should get upon armed rebellion; for a successful armed rebellion does not appear to us feasible. Some other way has to be found out. What we want to assert is that it is perfectly futile to appeal to the sense of justice and generosity of the British people. They will agree to our having self-rule only when they find that they will otherwise themselves lose and suffer.

Major D. Graham Pole concludes his letter thus:—

The British Memorandum goes on to point out that in 1921 "it was natural" that the Powers should demand guarantees for the due fulfilment of the purpose of the Washington Conference; and adds, "But what might have been practicable in 1921 was no longer possible in 1926." Can our legislators imagine that this applies only to China?

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme was passed through the British Parliament in 1919, and inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught, on behalf of the King-Emperor, in India in 1921. What might have been considered practicable in 1921 is certainly in 1926 no longer practical politics as an instalment to India of self-government. The pity of it is that we so seldom do the right and generous thing until it is too late to have any real value. There is in India a movement for complete independence and separation from England. It is small; it is entirely ineffective at present, but it is growing, and it will continue to grow. The only thing that can effectively curb or kill such a movement is a big and generous grant to India of real self-government. And nothing could so effectively ensure the permanence of the connection between Britain and India.

But there are very large numbers of Britishers—perhaps they are the majority, who believe that they can rule India for ever as they are doing now and that India, too, can never do without British rule. These Britishers are determined to rule for ever if they can, no matter whether it is just to do so or not. It is for us to prove practically—not merely in words, that they cannot. Then, but not till then, will their imagination, sympathy, sense of justice, generosity, understanding and every other vaunted virtue and faculty come into play.

A Swiss Anthropologist on Neglect of Anthropology in India

As announced in the last issue of this journal, Dr. Hans J. Wehrli, Professor of Ethnography in the University of Zurich Switzerland, has arrived in India to collect ethnographical objects from various points of anthropological interest in India. Nineteen years ago, Prof. Wehrli made an extensive tour in Indo-China and India in company with Rudolf Martin, whose death a year ago has removed the most distinguished student of Anthropology in Europe. During this tour Prof. Wehrli was able to study various tribes in the Burmese frontiers and the unexplored regions lying between Assam and Burma. His investigations, specially on the anthropometry of the Kachins, when published will go a long way in clearing up many obscure points in the anthropology of these regions.

Prof. Wehrli paid a visit to the Calcutta University and was introduced by Dr. Kalidas Nag to the members of the anthropology department. At the request of some of the members, Prof. Wehrli spoke of his experiences among the Kachins and their probable relationships with other tribes on the Assam borders, specially the Nagas. At the end of a couple of hours' interesting discussion Prof. Wehrli suggested that one way of co-operation between the Universities of Calcutta and Zurich would be by exchange of ethnographical objects useful to both. At the suggestion of Dr. B. S. Guha, Prof. Wehrli promised to send a representative collection of ethnographical objects of the Swiss Lake Dwellers in exchange for ritualistic and cult objects of the Indian people.

Prof. Wehrli also paid a visit to the Indian Museum and was taken over the Ethnographical Gallery and shown the recent consignment of artifacts and human skeletons from the Indo-Sumerian sites in the Indus valley by Major R. B. S. Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha. Prof. Wehrli was greatly impressed by the latter and their great importance for the early history of Asia, but expressed surprise that very little appeared to have been done in the matter of exploring the vast anthropological resources of this country, either in the way of prehistoric research or the cultural and physical affinities of the present inhabitants. He was disappointed to find that the Ethnographical Gallery of the Indian Museum had received very few additions since he last visited it 19 years ago. If systematic efforts are not made to collect ethnographical objects now, the process of contact-metamorphism that is taking place among the primitive tribes all over India, will see the complete extinction of these ancient institutions in a few years' time, before any record of them could be made. This is one of the reasons why he is visiting India to collect ethnographical objects, before it becomes too late. Prof. Wehrli spoke of the activities of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum in this connection, whose collection of Indian ethnographical objects far surpasses anything that he had seen anywhere in India, and he had no doubt that unless immediate steps are taken, Indian students would have to go to Europe to study the institutions of their own people! He did not understand why the Government of India had no whole-time trained officer to take charge of the Ethnographical Gallery in the Indian Museum

who could make systematic enquiries and collect materials on the primitive institutions of Indian aborigines which are fast dying out. It would be a great loss to science if no efforts are made to record these vanishing customs. He appealed to the Government of India as well as the authorities of the Universities to take serious steps at once for systematic investigations into the cultural and physical characters of the primitive folks of India, so that their great importance to the students of human institutions may not be irreparably destroyed. The interest shown by the Government and Universities of the West should open the eyes of Indians as regards the profound importance of anthropological studies in India.

Faculties of the Calcutta University

Every living organism operates differently through each of its different organs. If one organ were to usurp the functions of another or dominate all the rest, there would be chaos in the body. This chaotic condition had marked the Calcutta University in recent years. Like other universities it has the Faculties of Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering. But since 1917 all sorts of men have been given seats on two Faculties at the same time, so as to swamp the Faculty of Arts with non-Arts men and turn this Faculty into a miniature Senate composed of chemists, physicists, lawyers and medical men! There were last year quite 40 of these pluralists in a Senate of only 100 Fellows. It was amusing to study the Faculty list and find among the pluralist members of the Faculty of Arts one professor of philosophy, two of chemistry, two of physics, eight practising lawyers, more than one doctor of science and so on and so forth—all these being also members of certain other Faculties to which they more legitimately appertained. Sir Asutosh Mukherji's young sons and a son-in-law were each double Faculty men. But this year there has been some return to decency, and, as we find from the papers, the Senate has had the sense to reduce the number of pluralist Faculty men to fourteen.

Major Pole on Congress President's Plea for Self-rule

In the article on "India's Claim to Freedom," contributed by Major D. Graham

Pole to the London *Daily Herald*, occurs the following passage :—

India ultimately must be a Federation, a single unity, to embrace what is now known as British India and the present Indian States.

There can be no question of the justice of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's proposition that self-government is a mere travesty of the actual fact so long as full control of the Civil Services, the military, naval and air forces, and political relations with the Indian States were denied to the Indian Legislature.

The progress towards such an ideal is slow under a Conservative Government, and one is tempted to believe that they see no future, even far ahead, when such an ideal would be either realised or even considered desirable.

Major Pole on Indian Liberal Federation President's Address

The same article in the *Daily Herald* contains the following paragraphs on Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar's Presidential Address to the Indian National Liberal Federation :—

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar's Presidential Address to the Indian National Liberal Federation is equally important, for his appeal to Indians to allay the apprehensions of Britain that the grant of responsible government might be accompanied by a desire on Indians' part to injure British interests or to sever the British connection. [But no Indian political party ever had or expressed any such desire, Ed. *M. R.*]

If self-government were demanded for the purpose of injuring British interests, there might be quite understandable opposition here. But it is equally understandable—and it should be quite frankly faced—that full self-government is India's legitimate goal quite apart from the possibility that British interests might quite conceivably be injured.

"India for the Indians" is quite as legitimate a slogan as "China for the Chinese." And if India is to have full Dominion status within the British Commonwealth of Nations—as I sincerely hope and believe she will have—she must be as free to break the connection if, in India's interests alone, she deems undesirable so to do as is Canada or South Africa.

My own firm belief is that India will be stronger and Britain will be stronger, and the peace of the world will be more secure, by India being a full-free partner in the British Commonwealth at the earliest possible date with every right and privilege of every other partner in that Commonwealth of Nations.

The 1917 Declaration

In his address to the Legislative Assembly the Viceroy said :—

Every British party in a succession of Parliaments elected on the widest franchise and, therefore, representing in the widest possible manner the British

people has pledged itself to the terms of the 1917 declaration. They have implemented those terms by legislation and thus given practical proof of their sincerity by introducing wide and far-reaching changes into the structure of the Indian Government. From those undertakings no British party can or will withdraw, and although the British race may lack many excellent qualities, they can afford to remain unmoved by charges of bad faith which their whole history denies.

The Viceroy will pardon us for reminding him if he ever knew or for informing him if he never did, that the course of British history, so far as India is concerned, is strewn with broken pledges. Has he never heard of Lord Salisbury's famous confession relating to breaches of promise made to India?

The 1917 declaration, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Government of India Act of 1919 nowhere say definitely that India shall have self-rule. And the implementing of the terms of the 1917 declaration is not such as to lead inevitably to self-rule.

Right of Parliament to be Arbitrator

The Viceroy has discussed the right of Parliament to be the arbiter of the fashion and the time of India's political development. He might as well have spared himself the trouble. The *de facto* right of Parliament nobody denies or can deny unless India can overthrow British rule by force ; for a fact is a fact. It is the moral right of a foreign people to determine the manner or pace of our advance which we emphatically deny. Even in the case of the most oppressive tyrant no one can question his right *de facto* to do as he likes ; it is only his moral right that is questioned.

What makes the assertion of Parliament's right in this matter both tragic and ridiculous is that the vast majority of its members have never taken any interest in Indian affairs. The Indian Debate has been always a signal for the emptying of the benches. Repeatedly have members rushed in to prevent a count-out, and have left the chamber as soon as the counting was over. Never were a responsible body of men guilty of greater irresponsibility and criminal neglect of duty.

Bengal Detentions and Constitutional Advance

The Viceroy's speech also contains the following passage :—

It is said the alleged sincerity of Parliament receives practical contradiction on the one hand by the arbitrary executive acts such as the detention of certain men without trial in Bengal, on the other by the reluctance of Parliament to give a firm time-table for the completion of its loudly professed purpose of making India herself responsible within the Empire for her own government.

The first question concerns the exercise of that executive responsibility which must rest upon any administration, however constituted, and though I am well aware of its political reactions, it is a question which must be dealt with on its merits and has no direct relation with the general question of constitutional advance, for constitutional forms may vary widely but the maintenance of law and order is the inalienable duty of all those on whom falls the task of Government.

This is very curious reasoning indeed. How can there be any constitutional advance if the Governor-General possesses and exercises the power to make ordinances, having the effect of statutory laws, by virtue of which any men, including the leaders of the struggle for constitutional advance, may be deprived of their liberty without any trial? It seems, we must admit the sincerity of Parliament's professed desire to give India self-rule on the Greek calends even when it says in effect: "You may go on making speeches appealing to our sense of justice and generosity in order to obtain the boon of self-rule, but remember that our highest functionary in India can shut you up if you are inconveniently serious about winning self-rule." And we must also admit that those British kings who worked the Star chamber and made Hampden and Pym and the Seven Bishops famous were sincere and direct promoters of the cause of British freedom.

"Coerce or Convince"

His Excellency went on to say :—

Those anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce Parliament or convince it. He could not emphasise too strongly that Parliament would not be coerced. It would resent such an attempt and would be gravely disquieted by language appearing to be inspired by hostility, not only to legitimate British interests, but also to the British connection.

We admit Lord Irwin has placed us between the horns of a dilemma as it were. For, though we believe it is possible to coerce the British nation, because it is composed of ordinary men, not of superhuman beings, we have at present no power to coerce it; and as for convincing it, none are so blind as those who *will* not see. How can we convince those whose interest it is for the time being not to be convinced? If Canada

in the last and Ireland in the present century were never told, "Parliament would not be coerced" why are those words addressed to the mild Indian? Is it because he is mild and weak?

In the opinion of Lord Irwin,

Parliament would like to examine the practical success achieved and while it would be prepared to introduce improvements, it would not understand the argument that because the present foundations were alleged to be at fault, this must necessarily be remedied by immediately asking those foundations to bear the entire weight of the whole edifice.

No, my lord. We do *not* want "those foundations to bear the entire weight of the whole edifice". We want other, stronger and more stable foundations to bear it.

Parliament in inviting India to co-operate in the working of the constitution, did not desire any party or individual to forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition but it wanted Indians to show whether the ultimate structure it was seeking to erect would suit Indian conditions and Indian needs.

If it saw a large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian self-government, steadily adhering to obstructing machinery, Parliament was more likely to see in it evidence that the application of Western constitutional practice to India might be mistaken, than proof of wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility.

Yes, Parliament is quite sincere in its desire for the exercise of the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition; only such exercise must be tempered by the Government's right to imprison the critics and opponents without trial.

Is not even the most steady adherence to obstructive machinery included in "constitutional opposition"?

The last sentence in the passage quoted above is a threat, though it is not couched in such blunt language as has previously been used by other British politicians to tell us that unless Indians "co-operate", that is, were subservient, they would not have any further rights. So it is quite polite and wise and just and natural to try to coerce us, but it is blasphemy to think that Parliament can possibly be coerced.

"The interference of the British Government was fiercely denounced by the French politicians and a rebellion broke out in Lower Canada in 1837. The year 1838 witnessed another rebellion. This time the infection spread to Upper Canada as well." (*Towards Home Rule*, part iii, pp. 104-5.) There was also the refusal of supplies in Canada mentioned in a previous note. All these

did not appear to British statesmen of these days, particularly to Lord Durham, to be "evidence" of Canada's unfitness for self-government. Ireland's long and often bloody resistance to the working of such home rule as Great Britain gave her, did not also furnish such evidence. The comparatively mild criticism and bloodless opposition of some Indians, however, do furnish such evidence!

Lord Irwin further observed :—

Parliament itself had spent hundreds of years in extending its powers by custom and precedent. There was the instance of Canada, where differences between Protestants and Catholics were supposed to constitute an absolute bar to full self-government; but after a few years, owing to the good sense of the Canadian Legislature, the British Parliament's very real powers were silently allowed first to fall into disuse and then to disappear. Parliament knew too that by this means everyone of the Dominions had obtained fully responsible self-government.

It is absurd to argue, as the speaker did by implication, that because the British Parliament took centuries to arrive at its present condition, India must also take as long a time. The beginnings of the steam engine are traced to Hero's apparatus, constructed in 130 B.C. Must a young man who wants to build a steam engine now be born again and again in locomotive works for 2057 years to be entitled to build one? But we need not argue from analogy. Japan has evolved and is working Parliamentary institutions in less than 50 years, and we have been under British rule for more than thrice as long a period.

Of the introduction and establishment of self-government in Canada and the other Dominions, Lord Irwin has given an entirely misleading account—whether owing to ignorance or any other cause, we cannot say. Those who want to know the true story in brief may read the present writer's *Towards Home Rule*, part iii, pp. 104-112.

University "Affairs"

In connection with the recent developments in Calcutta University affairs *Forward*, the Swarajist daily, has been making unfair attacks on some members of the Senate. In a recent editorial of that paper we read the following unctious lucubration :—

We think that the University is a nursery of genius and culture and is a sacred institution. The *noxious fumes of party strifes and party intrigues* should not be allowed to vitiate its atmosphere. (*Italics ours*).

A systematic attempt is being made to officialise the University, in fact to convert it into a wing of the Secretariat.

We had occasion to notice that members of the Senate had to attend a conference at the Writers' Buildings; etc., etc.

We strongly condemn such overt references, as the above words doubtlessly are, to eminent scholars like Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee and Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee. What if the former is approaching the Government frequently for reappointment to his Minto Professorship? What, again, does it matter if the latter is attempting, as Dame Rumour has it, to give up his practice at the Vakils Bar and devote his life to important educational work? We do not think that, in the interest of social progress, modesty should deter meritorious men from claiming their due place in the scheme of things. Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, who, as we know, got into the Syndicate this year with the help of friendly votes, naturally feels grateful to his patrons and has accordingly done his little to pay back his debt of honour. One good turn calls for another. *Forward* may lose sight of the first principles of human gratitude and mutual service, in her blind and ferocious anti-governmentalism; but we cannot blame Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee for developing new friendships, specially when it is likely to be so satisfactory financially and when the legal profession is no longer as lucrative as it used to be once upon a time. X. Y. Z.

ERRATUM

January 1927

Page 123 right col. lines 1, 2, 3, in place of Dr. Egon von Eclesbedt read Dr. Egon von Eickstedt. The name of the artist of the frontispiece for January 1927 should be Mr. Bishnupada Ray Choudhury and *not* Satyendranath Banerji.

February 1927

P. 184, col. 1, l. 3	for	sectarian theology	read	Aryan prehistory.
" " 2, l. 8-9	"	send his first of volume	"	sent his first volume of
" " 1. 33	"	uncomprising	"	uncompromising
P. 185, col. 2, l. 3	"	<i>Esprit</i>	"	<i>Esprit</i>



GURU GOBINDA SINGH
By Sj. Manindrabhusan Gupta, Colombo

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THE SUDRA HABIT

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

EVEN where no artificial barriers are set up in the way of the individual choosing the means of his livelihood, fate in most cases does not leave him free. The man who is entitled to dream of becoming Prime Minister may, as a matter of fact, be forced to sweep the streets for a living. In such case he cannot but be in a state of inward rebellion.

The mischief is, that while the State cannot do without the services of the sweeper, all honour is accorded to the Minister,—honour which clings to him even when he holds only the office, but has no duty to perform. If, on the one hand, fate had been good enough to join hands with individual ambition in regard to its freedom, and all sweepers had become ministers, not only would the work of sweeping have come to a standstill, but the business of statesmanship would not have flourished either. On the other hand, the work of the sweeper being indispensable, his sense of degradation due to a compulsory acceptance of his fate, has to remain.

India of old had solved the problem thus arising, by making occupation hereditary. In compulsion by the State lies the insult of servitude that leads to brooding rebelliousness. Here the compulsion was of *dharma*,—to follow the occupation of one's caste was enjoined as a religious duty.

Dharma asks of man renunciation,—a renunciation, however, which is not a deprivation, but is glorious. The Brahmin was required to give up all desire for wealth and luxury, but he was compensated by the award of ample honour. Had that not been so, he would not have been able to perform

his function in the social system. The Sudra was likewise compelled to renounce a great deal, but on him no honour was bestowed. Nevertheless, reward or no reward, he had his compensation of self-satisfaction inasmuch as his inglorious state was accepted for the sake of *dharma*.

To look upon one's livelihood as *dharma* is only possible where the good of society is recognised to be superior to the good of the individual. If the Brahmin can uphold his ideal in its purity in spite of his acceptance of external poverty, then though such profession of his may be the means of his livelihood, it also transcends it, because he thus serves society. Even in the case of the cultivator, since the mass production of food is essential for a social life, the acceptance of such occupation as his *dharma* cannot be called false, unsustained though he be by any hopes of thereby being elevated in status, as the Brahmin is. The principle, that occupations demanding the exercise of man's higher attributes must naturally win the greater respect, was accepted by all concerned, open-eyed.

In countries where the earning of livelihood has nothing to do with religion the fact nevertheless remains that society cannot get on without the performance of the work of the lower orders, and therefore the greater portion of the people have still to go on doing such work. There the social structure remains intact only because, owing to stress of circumstance or lack of other opportunity, there happens no dearth of such workers. When the instability of this equilibrium is now and then brought home to the idlers, the parasites,

or the intelligentsia by some protest of the labouring classes, an upheaval takes place. Whereupon efforts are made, here by concession there by increased rigour, to maintain the *status quo*.

We may, therefore, claim that, in our country, by making the distribution of duty and status a matter of *dharma*, the very root of such tendency to discontent and disruption had been cut away. But the question has to be carefully considered how far by this means our national efficiency has or has not been achieved.

Certain types of work are not a mere matter of external habit, but depend for their proper performance on intelligent initiative. It does not make for efficiency to relegate these to some hereditary caste, for they require individual capacity. By confining them to a particular caste the outward paraphernalia may be retained, but the inner living quality of the work is inevitably lost.

The mental and moral qualities of Brahminhood demand personal power and effort,—it is only the external observances that belong to tradition. The practice of these latter, generation after generation, may conduce to a rigid perfection of form, as well as an overweening sense of importance, but such killing of the spirit cannot but lead to a defeat of the original object. The *upanayana* (ceremony of initiation), for instance, was at one time a reality for the Aryans,—the education, training and attitude of mind it implied were all suited to the attainment of the ideals of the time. Now that these ideals have died out, the sacred-thread investiture has been reduced to a farce. The Kshatriya is in the same plight,—in fact, he is nowhere to be found. The caste which goes by that name keeps up only some of the old rituals in connection with births, marriages and deaths.

The words of our *shastra* still ring in our ears,—*Better death in one's own dharma, for the dharma of another is even more to be dreaded*. But this has come to mean that each caste must at all costs follow its traditional rules; which, again, in practical effect, is reduced to this, that the fixed external observances must be kept up, without reference to their significance or utility, whatever may be the individual loss due to such curtailment of freedom. That is why it becomes possible for the woman who indulges in ceremonial baths on any and every occasion, to nurse a feeling of contempt for her betters judged by this standard of observance, though

it is *she* who has thereby lost the ideal of a higher inward striving for purity. And for the same reason is the display of vaingloriousness by those who regulate their conduct according to the dictates of their orthodox leaders so unmeaning, so intolerable.

To go on, generation after generation making pots, or pressing oil, or rendering menial service to higher castes is not a difficult matter,—rather, the greater the consequent deterioration of the mental faculties, the easier it becomes. But to make improvements, even in the products of manual labour, the application of mind is necessary. When that is destroyed by hereditary pursuit of the caste avocation, man is reduced to a machine, and can but keep on repeating himself.

Be that as it may, the *dharma* of the Sudra is the only one that is as a matter of fact extant to-day in this land of India,—a state of things complacently accepted by the orthodox believers in the perpetuation of the *dharma* of caste. And so we often hear Anglo-Indian ladies, who have long eaten of and been eaten by India's salt, complaining when they return home that nowhere are such servants to be had as in the land of their exile. Where else, indeed in all the world can be found the like of those whose very *dharma* has reduced them to hereditary slaves? Neither hurt nor insult can make them shrink from clinging fast to this *dharma* of theirs. Never have they known what it is to demand or receive respect; through the ages have they deemed themselves fulfilled by sheer persistence in the duty of their Sudra estate, in all its purity. And if, to-day, the modern spirit imported from abroad occasionally causes them to forget themselves, the orthodox leaders are there to administer correction for their uppishness.

As I was saying, the Sudra obsessed with the observance of his own *dharma*, forms the vast majority in India, which has thus become the land of the *Sudra-dharma*. Under the oppressive burden of this Sudra habit groans the Hindu bowed in abjection. Any achievement of welfare, demanding intellect, knowledge or character, that we may attempt, must struggle through this deadweight; any gain that we may still make must be entrusted for its safe-keeping to this ubiquitous blindness. This is what we are now called upon to ponder over.

Of the many pictures of degradation that we come across in this Sudra-ridden India of

ours, I have lastly to speak of one of the most deplorable.

On my first journey to Japan, when our steamer touched Hongkong, my head was lowered in shame; for I caught sight of a Punjabi-policeman on the landing place, taking hold of a Chinese by his queue, on some trivial pretext, and kicking him. In India I have often witnessed the same kind of treatment accorded to its people by their liveried brethren in government service; it was my lot to see a repetition of it here, on this distant shore, showing how true the Sudra remains to his *dharma*, both at home and abroad; how proudly, nay joyfully, he stretches the doctrine of loyalty to his "salt" beyond all conscionable limits. These were the people who had helped England to wrest Hongkong from China, and many a scar of their dealing disfigures the fair breast of our neighbour,—the China who once treasured within her heart the footprints of the Buddha, the China of I-Tsing and Huen-Tsang

War clouds lower to-day over the sky of humanity. The cry resounds in the West that Asia doth prepare weapons in her armouries of which the target is to be the heart of Europe, and nests are being built on the shores of the Pacific for the ravening vulture-ships of England. True, Japan of the furthest East is already awake. China, in her turn, is being roused at the sound of robbers breaking through her walls. It may be that this gigantic nation, also some day, will be able to shake off the weakness of repeated blood-letting, the fumes of opium, and become self-conscious. And of course those who have been engaged in rifling her pockets will be bound to look on this as a menace to Europe.

But what will then be the function of Sudra India? India will once again be the bearer of chains forged in the factories of Europe, for fettering the limbs of her friend of old. She will slay and be slain, with no question on her lips of why or wherefore, for that is forbidden by her *dharma*. She will say: *Better to die in one's dharma,—to deal death in one's dharma!* She neither receives nor expects respect in any part of

the British empire. Everywhere is she the bearer of menial burdens in a service that has neither meaning nor justification. Those whom she rushes to attack at the behest of her British master are not her enemies. And, as soon as her fighting is done, she is hustled back into her servants' quarters.

So, as I was saying, in this work of the Sudra there is neither self-interest, nor any higher interest, much less any glory,—all that there is in it is the shibboleth: *Better to die in one's own dharma*. Opportunity for such death he does not lack, but what is even more fatal for his manhood is the belief, which he accepts so easily, that it can be his duty, at the call of others' self-interest to be the instrument of others' undoing. If at any time, by decree of Providence, Britannia should lose India, her wail will be: *I miss my best servant*.

There is a report in *The Nation* (of America) on the recent strike in Shanghai, by Paul Blanshard. From it I reproduce the deposition of a witness who is described by the writer as "A Chinese graduate of Glasgow. His English is faultless. His labour library is the best I have seen in the East. His pictures are hung in international exhibitions":

I am a pacifist but I shall tell you a story that will show you how I feel about this strike. It will show you how hard it is to be a pacifist in China to-day.

There is a park here in Shanghai which is paid for chiefly by Chinese taxpayers, but no Chinese person is allowed to enter it. One day I was walking by the park when I saw a Sikh policeman chase away a group of ricksha-men from the gate, curse them, and deliberately tip over one of the rickshas. He had lost his temper, because one of the men had come too close to the forbidden territory. He took the license of the ricksha-man away from him, while the poor fellow stood in the road with the tears streaming down his face.

I walked over to the Sikh policeman and said: "If I were hired by the British to police India for them, I would never treat your countrymen as you are treating these ricksha-men."

He cooled down very quickly, and was about to give the license back to the riksha-man, when two Englishmen came up.

They said to me: "What are you doing here, interfering with the policeman? Don't argue with us. You have no business here. You're nothing but a damned Chinaman. Get out of here."

They said that to me in China.

(Authorised translation for the *Modern Review*, of an article published in the *Prabasi* of October, 1924; Kartik, 1332 B. S., about two years ago.)

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

By PROF. S. C. GHOSHAL, B.A., B.SC., LL.B.

THE Indian Census Report of 1921 affords interesting material for study to students of education. It would appear from that report that while the percentage of literacy in British India excluding Burma is 6.5, the proportion of the people in the Central Provinces, who can claim to be literate, form only 4.3 percent of the total population of the province. This is indeed a deplorable state of things. This means that educationally we are one of the most backward provinces in India, there being six provinces who are ahead of us in regard to spread of education. The seriousness of the situation becomes more evident if we remember that British India cannot hold her head high as regards literacy if her educational progress be compared with that in other countries. Not to speak of countries in the West or America, the place of India is very low indeed even when compared with some of the advanced Indian States, as will appear from the following table:¹

Province or State.	Percentage of literacy.
1. The Central Provinces	4.3
2. British India, excluding Burma	6.5
3. Baroda	14.4
4. Cochin	21.6
5. Travancore	28.0
6. Burma	31.1

Figures for Japan are not available, but the following gives an approximate idea of educational expansion in Japan. "Very few Japanese are found unable either to read newspapers or to write simple letters."² When it is remembered that the literacy test in India does not include the capacity to read newspapers,³ and that even with this lower test, only about 4 to 7 persons out of every hundred can be called literate, one can form an idea of the depth of ignorance prevailing in the country.

After what has been said above, the great urgency of the need for immediate and rapid expansion of primary education in India in general and in the Central Provinces in particular, does not need to be advocated. Under the Reforms Act of 1919, certain powers and privileges have been transferred

to the people and their representatives. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to ascertain if these are of a substantial nature or not. But it would appear that important rights can be exercised in the field of the transferred departments by the Ministers acting in consultation with the majority parties in the provincial legislatures. Within the limits of the budget allotment, large sums of money can be spent on appropriate heads, more money can be raised by fresh taxation, new policies may be initiated, administrative machinery can be controlled, overhauled, on the requisition of the majority in the Legislative Council and with the final approval of the head of the government. Whether the powers and opportunities of the Council are large or small, seems to be a debatable matter on which unfortunately, political opinion, at the moment of writing, is sharply divided. But the exercise of these powers under the Reforms Act is dependent on the selection of the right type of men for the Councils.

Now it has got to be remembered that the electorate which elects these representatives is an extensive body, including within itself not merely the educated or the landed or the moneyed section of the population, who can be assumed to have some fair sense of responsibility, but it reaches up to the lowest strata of social life—it includes those who are wholly illiterate and devoid of any culture and incapable of forming any idea of the great responsibility of their votes. It is true that in the history of the civic evolution of all countries, the widening of the political franchise has been always attended with grave risks; but the fact must be taken to heart seriously by our leaders that the political sense of the electorate must be developed if any real progress is to be made. The ultimate control of the Councils is in the hands of the masses and the type of the Councillors, their achievements are dependent on the right exercise of discretion by the people in electing their representatives. Mere electioneering lectures cannot educate the people. The task is harder than that. The question of wide-spread primary education

must be taken up immediately, seriously and practically.

It is said that real India lives in her villages. The village population has but one profession—agriculture and this of a primitive kind. Adoption of modern methods of agriculture is out of the question for the Indian peasant on account of his extreme poverty. Agriculture has a great contribution to make to the wealth of India and for this, scientific agriculture is urgently wanted. There are two possible solutions of the peasant agricultural situation: Large scale agriculture by western methods may be taken up by capitalists; this would deprive the peasant of his holding and with it eventually of his freedom and reduce the whole agricultural population of the countryside to the position of wage-earners. This is not at all a pleasant prospect to contemplate. Systematic agriculture can, however, be pursued by the existing village peasantry on their own account on a co-operative basis. The co-operative system alone can save the cultivator from the clutches of the moneylender and enable him as an active part of an economic organism to adopt gradually intensive agriculture by scientific methods. Experience has shown that the co-operative system can be successfully worked only by an educated village population. The economic salvation of the country is thus dependent on the education of the masses.

Mass education is not merely necessary for the political or the economic amelioration of the country. It is urgently needed for providing a moral tone to the life of the people. Anybody who has come into contact with village life in India, will have been struck by the absence of any positive spiritual force in the lives of the masses. The old ideals of honesty, truthfulness, service and sacrifice are not kept alive and illustrated in the lives of living saints and holy men. Elements of morality and religious ideas, which used to be invariably associated with the *toles* or the *mukhtabs* of the old self-contained village units, do not form a part of the curriculum of today. Institutions like the *kathas*, the *kirtanas* the *maulood shareefs*, which were great shaping forces of character among the people and at the same time the means of innocent enjoyment, have become rare comparatively. While the ancient traditional vehicles of education have been destroyed by the forces of time, the chief method of education in the modern world

through the spread of literacy and the provision of facilities for reading has not yet much advanced in India. It is therefore no wonder that although we inherit an ancient civilisation and have a hoary tradition replete with great educative potentiality, the life of our people is marked by a sad spiritual poverty. Whilst our ancestors proclaimed to the world the identity of the individual soul with the universal soul—'*Tut Twamasi*' thou art He', '*Soham*, I am He', '*Vayam amritasya putra*, we are the children of immortality' the average educated Indian of today is said to be more conspicuous for his lack of self-confidence than his self-assertiveness and the villager too often will surprise one by his total lack of self-respect. While the old *Rishis* were keenly conscious of their heritage of joy in this life—*anandam*, to them, was one of the chief characteristics of the soul—it is sad to find the dreariness of the life lived by the vast majority in our country. The continued starvation of the soul from childhood onwards, the total lack of culture and the consequent absence of opportunities for higher enjoyment seem to deprive the soul of the capacity for enjoyment and to reduce it to the condition of an automaton, incapable of sustained emotional experience, irresponsible to the environment and bereft of that creativeness which distinguishes man from a lower state of existence. Life has sunk deep into the grooves of a mechanical routine which was purposive in the remote past, but altogether out of tune with the present environment. A return to the past is impossible. Nothing but an active adoption of a scheme of universal education, suited to the genius of the country, can restore the spiritual life of the people and awaken them from their age-long stupor.

In most countries in the world, the widening of the political franchise has invariably led to a rapid speeding up of primary education. Examination of the state of primary education in India does not lead to encouraging results in this respect. The primary school enrolment in Japan is 14·5 per cent of the whole population.⁴ Of every hundred children of school-going age in Japan, 99·03 are attending school. In England and Wales, the enrolment of children aged between 5 and 13 years in elementary and middle schools is 15 per cent of the whole population.⁵ Educational enrolment in the primary schools of India in

the year 1924 is said to be less than 3 per cent of the whole population.⁶ This means that in the matter of mass education, through schools,—let alone various other agencies which are at work in the advanced countries for the enlightenment of the people—India is at least five times as backward, numerically speaking, as Japan or England.

It may be conceded that literacy in some parts of India was probably more advanced before the British rule. "Even in the first decade of the nineteenth century, after a hundred years or more of rapid decadence and decline, darkest India showed a fairly illumined chart of literacy, witness the census of 1815, witness also Munro's minute on indigenous education and Elphinstone's on the Dakshini grant of the Peshwas. Even in that *fin de siècle*, not less than 30 percent of the boys were at school.⁷ Assuming 26 percent of the population to be of school-going age,⁸ i.e., from 5 to 15 years of age, this would show 7.8 per cent of school enrolment compared to less than 3 percent of the present times. But this subsequent decline is at least partly due to the fact that the country has been passing, till towards the end of the nineteenth century, through a transition which affected all the phases of national life. The method of education, the curriculum, the agency for imparting elementary instruction and its organisation have all undergone a radical change; a new scale of values of education and life has displaced the old ideas; the very outlook on life, social, economic, political and religious, has been transfigured. Adaptation to a new order of things involves dissipation of means and national energy and to a certain extent, the decline and delay in the process of mass education during the British period in certain parts of India, may be attributed to this cause. It has also to be remembered that a large number of those who attend primary schools in India lapse into illiteracy owing to unfavourable environment.

Whatever may have been the cause of the stagnation of elementary education in the past, the last six years offered an enlarged field and new opportunities for work in this direction. By the Reforms Act of 1919, Education is a transferred subject and the Ministers with the Councils are at liberty to initiate such measure as they consider urgent in the interests of mass education. It is open to them to raise money for this purpose by taxation if they consider it

necessary. In this connection, the following remarks by Prof. Rushbrook Williams will be read with pleasure by all.

"The proceedings of the local legislatures clearly reveal the keen interest aroused by educational problems among the Indian intelligentsia. Almost every province is displaying great activity, and it is a testimony to the clear vision of those who now direct instructional policy that in most places attention is being directed to a concerted attack upon illiteracy."⁹

But with all this it must be confessed that the progress of primary education has not been rapid during the years education has been under popular control. The following comparative figures bearing on this problem for the years 1923-24 for the Central Provinces and two of the most advanced provinces are interesting¹⁰ :—

		Province. Enrolment in educational institutions of all kinds per 100 of the population of age between 5—15 years	
		1923.	1924.
Bombay	19.31	19.92
Madras	16.89	19.25
Central Provinces	8.92	9.15

It will appear from the above that the spread of literacy, even in the advanced provinces of India, has been slow during the last six years. At the rate of expansion attained by Madras as indicated above (this is the most rapid rate of the three), it will take India forty years to fall in a line with modern countries as regards literacy. In the two provinces in India where the popular representatives were in an absolute majority in the councils, viz., in Bengal and in C. P., there has been an actual set back in the progress of education during the last six years. In Bengal, the enrolment in the high schools fell from 236, 479 (males) in 1919-20, to 211,208 (males) in 1923-24, while in C. P., the figures are as follows:—¹¹

	1919-20	1923-24
Number in primary schools	240,641	231, 577
(males)		
Number in high schools	3896	3854

This is regrettable, especially in the Central Provinces, where elementary education compares unfavourably with most of the provinces. It is significant, however, to note that while the progress of primary education has not been what might be desired during the British period, the records of secondary and university education tell a different tale. During the year 1924-25, enrolment in secondary schools in India was not less than 6 per cent of the whole population. "This", says Prof. Rushbrook Williams,

"is a proportion far greater than the corresponding figures for England and Wales." ¹² Again the percentage of matriculates undergoing university education is much higher in India than in England. The overcrowding in the universities in India tends to lower the standard of university education.

The keen appreciation of secondary and university education among the middle classes in India has been due to the utilitarian value of such education. Till now such education has bought wealth and social position through the practice of the learned professions and through government service. The time is however fast approaching it has already arrived in some of the provinces—when higher education cannot fulfil the expectations of material advancement to any large extent. It is, therefore, essential that the popular view of the monetary value of higher education should be replaced by a conviction of its cultural advantages as affording a sound general training for life. It is also highly desirable that the field for vocational education should be widened, both to provide for counter-attraction against the rush for university education and the learned professions as well as to prevent a widespread discontent with education by the creation of fresh fields of employment.

The popularity of secondary and university education in India would seem to show that educational activities have hitherto benefited only one section of the population, the middle classes. While the middle classes in the country have been modernised in some respects by contact with western thoughts and western institutions, the masses of our people have remained in abysmal ignorance. The reformed Councils have thus a clear and a solemn duty towards the illiterate section of the population. The vast majority of the Coun-

cillors are drawn from the middle classes. As representatives of a section of the people who have so far thoroughly benefited by the system of education in vogue, our Councillors owe it to themselves to see that the benefits of elementary education are brought to the homes of the silent and illiterate poor, who toil patiently and honestly to contribute perhaps the largest quota of the public revenues. To quicken the expansion of primary education by the courageous adoption of a system of compulsion, to resuscitate village life by the liberal infusion of a judicious blending of traditional ideals and the new light, to broad-base the political activities of Indian national life on the secure foundation of the awakened consciousness of a literate electorate—this is the sacred task of the custodians of popular liberties in our Councils. If they rise equal to the need of the times, the future of India is bright and assured.

1. Indian Census Report, 1921.
2. From 'The World Tomorrow' quoted by *The Modern Review*, August 1925.
3. "Those only were to be considered literate who could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it." Census of India, 1921, Volume I, chapter VIII.
4. The 45th Annual Report of the Education Department, Japan 1920-21 quoted by *The Modern Review*, 1925.
5. Education in England and Wales, Report of the Board of Education, 1920-25; the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1926.
6. India in 1924-25, Prof. Rushbrook Williams.
7. Convocation Address by Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal to the Bombay University, August 1925.
8. The Indian Census Report, 1921.
9. India in 1924-25; by Prof. Rushbrook Williams.
10. *Times of India Year Book*, 1926; Indian Census Report, 1921.
11. *Times of India Year Book*, 1926. The Indian Census Report, 1921.
12. India in 1924-25, Prof. Rushbrook Williams.

INDIAN ART IN PRAGUE

By SIGRID L. KUBA

THAT is: not directly in Prague. As if it would not dare, it appeared modestly in the "Russian Circle," being thus a guest of our guests.

On the walls were fourteen medium-sized guach paintings, and loosely strewn on tables were many reproductions of works of the same craftsmen. There were drawings

so varied that one could hardly give limits to the cunningly combined colours and shades, now-sharp, almost *eclatant*, now dumb. They represent always a fancy, dream or meditation, or a fairy tale: "The Song of the Rain," "The Vanishing Day," "Krishna and Arjuna."

Mrs. Adair gladly gave any information and the interested listeners added their thoughts and comments. Our Sculptor Bilek sees in these paintings not only a synthesis of an ancient Asiatic culture but feels also a sort of relationship with the slow orthodox East. He even connects it through Russia with the Balkans and he deplors that the cult of Byril and Methodius came so soon to an end, for otherwise this grand line might have reached even as far as Bohemia. The Byzantologue Professor Okuniev remarks that the faces in the pictures show more the Iran than the Mongolian type, although the latter type traditionally is more valued.

We find that on the old works the names of the masters do not appear, as such a signature in ancient Hindu thought was regarded as misplaced vanity. Thus this art having grown ancient, reaches a kind of monumentality, irrespective of size, as every anonymous art does, becoming in that way a collective art, like national songs, Gothic architecture, etc. The pictures of the living masters already show names. We meet here one

of the foremost: Nandalal Bose. On one of the compositions in a quiet harmony we notice the name of Tagore and we learn that the artist is a relative of the renowned Indian poet.

The flames and decorative effect connect the pictures with Japan and China and the watch-word "Away from realism" leads them sometimes even to an inverse perspective. Here and there one can recognize Western influence (compare: "The Vanishing Day" and Bocklin's "The Silence in the Woods").

The greatest interest and enthusiasm were roused by the rich and splendid compositions of the frescoes from the Ajanta caves, of which there were several reproductions. Very interesting also were the reproductions of 16th and 17th century miniature paintings with all their sharpness and clarity still so tender. It looks as though they had inspired Oscar Wilde's illustrator, Beardsley. We noticed two types, Mughal and Rajput.

It gave one the impression of listening to the tales of a Thousand and One Nights, when suddenly from the adjoining room resound the tunes of ancient Russian and Persian Songs. We then have tea in Russian fashion and a grand-daughter of Tolstoi, showing a remarkable resemblance to her great grand-father, sings with her inherited strength of temperament, the passionate airs of Moscovian gypsies.

ROSARY

By GEORGIA DONGLAS JOHNSON.

I strung my beads of memories today,
On bended knee I picked them one by one
From old forgotten grottoes where they lay,
Flung lightly in the years long past and done.

I strung them on a shining, silver strand,
Upon my lips the nun-like mystery
Of wordless prayer, which none may understand
Who do not wear a phantom rosary.

WEMBLEY, AS STUDIED BY A GERMAN SCHOLAR

By PROFESSOR DR. HERMANN M. FLASDIECK,

University of Goettingen

IF it were possible to summarise modern life in one word, that word would be "Speed". Reviewing Wembley, to many of my readers, may seem to be behind the times. The British Empire Exhibition was opened on St. George's Day, 1924, with splendid ceremonial. A long time has passed since the curtain has fallen upon the great festival (November 1, 1924). The Wembley of 1924 is but a memory ; it is a subject for historical writers.

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The newspaper press of Great Britain, in their panegyrics, define Wembley as "a landmark in the history of the Empire", "the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire"; etc. We must wait and see, what will come of it. But there cannot be any doubt that Wembley places before the public a living picture of the history of the Empire and of its present structure, that it unfolds an adequate picture of its activities and potentialities, that it gives an intimate acquaintance and a most impressive revelation of the Empire ; in short ; that it is a complete microcosm of the Empire. Moreover, it cannot but prove an eye-opener to the peoples of the outside world, revealing to foreign visitors the reality of the Empire. Wembley is an event of paramount importance in international politics as well as in international economics, and that is the meaning of Wembley far beyond 1924-5.

In spite of its failure from an exclusively business point of view—expenses of establishment and management not being covered—Wembley has been reviewed with patriotic enthusiasm. Articles have been published in memory of Wembley which are typical of the English frame of mind. It has been ascertained that within 166 days—the attendance averaging about 100,000 a day—17,500,000 people came to see the Exhibition, and these numbers have been commented upon as exceeding the population of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the

white Africa by more than 2,000,000. But the total attendance is only a "record" as far as exhibitions in England are concerned. It has been passed over in bashful silence that in round numbers 5,000,000 of them were school-boys and school-girls under the care of their teachers, and, what is more, that it was estimated that between 25,000,000 and 30,000,000 people would visit it. It is just the same with other hard facts of statistics ; it is passed over in silence that Wembley falls short of the numbers recorded for Chicago (1893 : 21,500,000) and Paris (1889 : 32,500,000 ; 1900 : 39,000,000) or that Wembley does not mean a remarkable advance when compared with the first exhibition of 1851 (6,000,000). Instead of that, it is emphasised that the visitors came from all over the world and from the most distant parts, that they were members of some 40 nations, all nations of Europe and America being represented as well as nearly all nations of the Far East ; and it is not left unsaid that 4 kings and 5 queens were among them.

"He thinks it's a dreadful place", interjected a member of his family, when, after paying his very first visit to the British Empire Exhibition, G. B. Shaw was surrounded by interviewer.* It is indeed, and the figures of the heavy costs involved, fantastic as they are to Central Europe—it is estimated that £12,000,000 has been expended upon it—give but a small idea of the magnitude of the effort crystallised in Wembley. It is a rather exacting task to do justice to the vast array of exhibits in palaces and pavilions, thronged with crowds. The exhibition is overdone, makes the boring impression of being much too higgledy-piggledy. One feels as if strolling through a great warehouse rather than a show-room. And too much of a good thing is good for nothing. The museums up and down the country have been plundered : e.g., the 848

* Comp., e. g. *The Evening Standard*, Saturday, October 4, 1924, p. 7.

different specimens of wool in the Australia pavilion are lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the carved Maori-house at the side of the classic white New Zealand building was stored in the crypt of the same museum. Side by side at the stand of perfumes there is an elderly lady preaching theosophy and puffing literature. By the side of the Nobel explosives, manufacturing of cream-tarts is demonstrated, and immediately afterwards you have to bear bath-rooms!

Goods are dinning into your ears, so to speak, and you must be glad that there are no "touts." In the palace of Engineering, 406 exhibiting firms, all of them aiming at placing before the public as much as possible, must be content with 278 stalls—you may imagine with what results! Engines are treading on each other's heels, so to speak. Wherever you look, you get the same impression. The whole grounds are bespangled with advertising kiosks and bungalows of Goodwill Societies, etc.

Nevertheless there is one spot which affords a comprehensive general survey: the Empire stadium, "the largest arena in the world," which can house about 125,000 spectators. Situated on the southern eminence of the grounds, it is a most massive and impressive, though somewhat gloomy and prosy building, towering above all others. The stadium dominates the landscape. It was here that the 'Pageant of Empire'* was presented, occupying three successive evenings from beginning to end, a dramatic representation by 12,000 performers, bringing home to man and child a lesson in Imperial history and the meaning of the Empire, transforming into living reality episodes that up till then had been mere history-book affairs, suggesting the thrilling deeds of modern heroism along with those of the older time, the whole winding up with an apotheosis of Empire. In a word, the Empire stadium is a spot where to take a bird's-eye view of the exhibition as well as to catch something of its innermost meaning.

This is not the place where to describe exhibits in detail, nor is it worth while to produce an exhaustive description. There are two sets of pavilions of entirely different character. The larger half of the whole area is crammed—thanks to the lavish scale of the

display—with exhibits of *English* industry, of *English* agriculture, of *English* scholarship, of *English* arts, of *English* Government. But it may be mentioned by the way that they have the effrontery to exhibit stolen goods: among the interesting models of famous passenger-ships shown by the White Star Line (in the Palace of Engineering) there are those of the "Majestic," the world's largest liner (56,500 tons), formerly the "Bismark" of the Hamburg-America Line, and of the "Homeric" (34,600 tons), formerly the "Colombus" of the North German Lloyd.

The Palace of Engineering, the Palace of Industry and the Amusement Park constitute the bulk of the English half of the Exhibition. The "non-English" part of Wembley is a world by itself, a picturesque compilation of buildings of all sizes, a bewildering variety of styles. The peoples of the British nations all over the world, representatives of many races, can be met with here. From the four corners of the earth, the Empire has sent its treasure, its wonders, and its wealth, the endless variations of which can only be seen in a series of visits, and no "capitalist" would be rich enough to buy all the things offered for sale. Even the very attempt to describe them would be an encyclopaedia of the "Imperium Britannicum."

Meanwhile let us try to form an adequate idea of the whole! From a purely aesthetic point of view, it is true, you may say, it is a want of taste to pack within a comparatively small space—the whole of the area covering 216 acres—buildings of various styles; you may say, it is bad taste to put the white silhouette of India Pavilion against the background of London mist and drizzling rain. But you must bear in mind that these are insufficiencies as yet beyond the sphere of human strength. And you never will get rid of the impression that all Wembley is but a theatre, an image and a simile of far-off zones the intrinsic being of which cannot be transferred to the Thames. Nay, too many of the sacred things of foreign parts have been vulgarised and profaned at the all-British fair,—though a very distinguished sort of fair. It must be abundantly clear to anybody who has seen the exhibition that there is some distinct purpose in it: the native and indigenous character of the far-off parts of the Empire is not allowed to come to daylight.

Let me give as an instance what must

* Cp. a number of articles devoted to the Pageant of Empire in the third special section of the *Times*, July, 29.

impress itself on all who ever have seen it: the Indian pavilion with its court-yard, its fretted tracery, and aspiring minarets reaching skyward. The architecture breathes of the East; it is designed on the basis of the Moghul architecture of Northern India in its 17th century prime, Dravidian and Saracenic features being harmonised into one consistent whole. But upon entering the courts, the visitor feels disappointed. There *are* elephant tusks, there *is* a section devoted to the wild life of the jungle, showed by the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, it is true. But there is a strange contrast between the placid dignity of the outer court and the picture presented within. There *is* plenty of convincing and ocular proof of India's industrial life and her commercial resources, there *is* an effective representation of modern factories,—but whoever went there in order to experience the soul of India, must turn his back on Wembley and seek elsewhere for his knowledge; nay, he is positively thankful that the mysteries of India could not be freighted across the ocean. It is in vain that he looks for documents of that spirituality which in remote antiquity, thousands of years ago, procreated a full-bloom culture, and which, perhaps, is just now mobilising for a new "challenge". Wherever he bends his steps, to Bengal or to Madras, to the Punjab or to the North-West Frontier, he is always shewn the same thing; nothing but what is *English* in and about them. English plants, English Government buildings, English barracks and English naval bases—all of them manifestations of a culture which, as yet, has not produced evidence to support its pretence of posing in the *role* of superiority to India's culture of old.

The same statement holds good for Burma as well. Outside, it is the most picturesque of the many pavilions, "wrapped in the enchanted atmosphere of the East", but inside there is nothing but evidence of Burma's progress towards "modernisation", of her industry and her commerce.

Whatever may be their occupation, English people return home from India after a few years; it is only a more or less flying visit they pay to her. The same holds good with regard to India's Pavilion at Wembley. India's true character is overshadowed by England. The English symphony rings out in buzzing melodies, and only to and fro, fine and delicate sounds of the Far East—like the temple bells of Burma—are intermingled.

Whoever has come to Wembley hoping to catch the soul of India or of Ceylon, or of Hongkong, has returned in utmost disappointment. He was shewn nothing but England in these dependencies and colonies, and this picture, indeed, has been presented to him in hundreds of wearisome rehearsals, so that it *must* impress itself on him, so that he cannot shut his eyes nor pay no heed to the mighty impression. The British Empire could not be built up save by pioneers never losing themselves in foreign manners and customs, never drawing in the sweet poisons of the tropics, never assimilating the un-earthly ideas of Buddha, but adhering staunchly to their inborn principles, being always the same, remaining Englishmen, and thus by their steadfast and unswerving will, calling into existence another Britain out of and in the far-off parts. This characteristic feature of Empire-building is adequately demonstrated in Wembley. The visitor is shown England in her colonies and dependencies, and that appears to be all the average Englishman knows of them; therewith he pretends to have a real knowledge of the most secret folds of their hearts. In fact, he knows nothing of the inmost soul of those venerable cultures which are to be superficially inoculated with a 'British-made' sham civilisation.

There are pavilions, it is true, where England is generous and indulgent: wherever she comes across primitive cultures which cannot mean any danger to her at all. The natives of New Zealand and the Negroes of the Gold Coast, they are allowed to exhibit their thatched huts, their mysterious drums, their wooden idols, their canoes and their side-arms, yea, to exhibit themselves and to display a picture of their life true to the nail—so much the more the English culture stands out in bold relief against theirs.

Wandering further afield in the Exhibition you run against a pavilion where the dominions and colonies do their utmost in order to produce an exhibition of their respective works of art: the Palace of Arts one-fifth (!) of the total space, being given over to the artists, the painters and the sculptors, of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Burma. But if you expected to realise that in new countries art is an expression of new life, you have to correct erroneous ideas. All is based upon certain models and follows certain conventions. There is an alarming want of originality and individuality—so much

the more of conventionalism, and, *e.g.*, what is exhibited by Indian and Burmese painters is nothing but "trash" in comparison with the wonderful collections of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

And how is it with England herself? The galleries are arranged with remarkable skill, but if the visitor to London wants to study British art, he must turn his back on Wembley and seek elsewhere for his knowledge: he is disappointed by its triviality and inanity. No important and commanding individualities stand out, all has been petrified by tradition, nothing but lull and stand-still and stagnation. Catalogues say a good deal of the 'Ultramodernists,' of the 'Impressionists,' and the 'Post-impressionists,' and the 'Cubists,' but, judging from the samples, Expressionism seems to have past by without a lasting impression, nor do Neo-classicism and Verism make themselves felt but very superficially. It is not the present day that has to tell something to the visitor, but it is the past as represented by the Retrospective Loan Collection and the 'Six Ages of English Furniture,' a series of six apartments starting from the period of Hogarth.

The Palace of Arts in itself is by no means a favourite place for English visitors; and yet, there is one side-wing that houses the holy shrine of all English pilgrims to Wembley who are enthusiasts of arts. Queues are waiting throughout the day for admission to the special gallery given up to the Queen's Doll's House, "the most remarkable achievement of British Art and Craftsmanship" (Official Guide, p. 59), a miniature palace about 4½ tons of weight, designed in the style of the last generation. Furniture, decoration, and architecture are designed on the scale of 1 inch to the foot, *e.g.*, a four-inch gramophone, the records being rather smaller than a half penny. Nothing has been forgotten in this Royal residence, and round the huge plate-glass case flows a never-ending stream of visitors. Nearly two thousand artists of every kind are said to have assisted Sir Edwin Lutyens in his work in the Palace of Arts, however, it is out of place. Nothing is more typical and expressive of the *naïveté* of the true-born Englishman, as regards his artistic taste. It is just the same with the other most popular exhibit, attracting the lion's share of attention in Wembley: the representation in butter of the Prince of Wales and his ranch in Canada. But you

cannot say you have been in Wembley unless you saw it.

In bad taste though they are, both of these exhibits give expression to the deep significance of the British Empire Exhibition in a form which is sure to appeal to the simple man in the street in the most direct way: they are not held by the bond of a written constitution, their only tie is their common loyalty to their King and the Royal Family. And thus it is easily accounted for why all visitors go to see the Queen's Doll's House and the Prince of Wales made of butter.

In fact it is not the Palace of Arts which demonstrates the inmost meaning of the Empire. The moral ties which link together the wide-spread units of the Empire are elsewhere revealed to the foreigner, in a pavilion which is far off the Stadium but is far from being the least important: the British Government Building, a building of massive dignity, 6 concrete-cast lions in front, including the apartments set aside for the King and Queen and members of the Royal family. Here the Government exhibits whatever it has to show. Though it seems to have serious reason to complain of the attendance, it is most instructive and highly important. On the lower level of the 'Court of Honour' there is sunk a well containing a large-scale contour map of the world, on the familiar Mercator projection, set in miniature liquid oceans, where tiny model ships are going up and down the Empire ways. Branching off from the court are the exhibition galleries where are modelled a series of British battles from Hastings to the period of the Great war. In the lower part of the Pavilion there is also the 'Admiralty Theatre' where stories of military campaigns are staged, the Raid on Zeebrugge proving an exceedingly popular spectacle, far more than the bombing of London by night shown by the Air Ministry.

In short, it is in the British Government Pavilion that the foreign visitor can realise and must realise the moral ties of the Empire. Neither the Palace of Arts nor the culture of the subjugated peoples as represented in their respective pavilions, are the main purport of Wembley. England's power is the culture of the British Empire just as Rome's power was the culture of the Roman Empire. "Power" is the leading idea of Wembley as a whole, and considered from this point of view, there is no doubt that it can hardly

fail to strike even the least complacent citizen with a deep patriotism and a moving pride of race, being, as it is, a true reflexion of how England has moulded the globe and how she is preparing to model it henceforth.

And what else are the inner meaning and the original purposes of Wembley?

Unwillingly we cast a backward glance at the first exhibition of 1851 the opening scene of which has been enthusiastically described by Thackeray; and more than once, exhibits of 1851 are put side by side with those of 1924 (e. g., model needle-making and a kitchen range, both of them in the Palace of Industry). 1851 symbolised England having successfully surmounted the dangers of 1848 as implied above all in the Irish and the Chartist problems. 1924 symbolizes England having successfully overcome the most threatenig perils which the Empire up to this day has ever faced.

When declaring the Exhibition open the King said:

"I pray that by the blessing of God it may conduce to the unity and prosperity of all my peoples and to the peace and well-being of the world". (Cp. e.g., Wembley Guide—Daily News Ltd., p. 8)

The League of Nations Union, however, so profusely commented upon in the Anglo-Saxon countries, visitors really need trouble to find; it has a very very poor kiosk behind the most impressive British Government building. This contrast, is it intentional?

"The peace and well-being at the world"—well, but as England conceives it. And how these complimentary words *are* interpreted, is best illustrated by the official souvenir:

"The design of the Gold casket gives eloquent expression to the Spirit of Empire. The World resting on four British Lions is indicative of the importance the British Empire wields in the affairs of the World." (Official Guide, p. 36).

The task of naming the streets and avenues in the Exhibition grounds, picked out with globe lanterns, was done by Rudyard Kipling, "the Poet of Empire," and Kipling has specially written "the Song of the Bridge" which holds together the various events in the production of the Pageant of Empire.

From a purely political point of view, the purposes of the Exhibition, as set out in the official literature, were as follows:—

"(1) To make the different races of the British Empire better known to each other, and (2)

to demonstrate to the people of Britain the almost illimitable possibilities of the Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies overseas."

First of all the purpose for which Wembley was started was to bring home to the Empire a deeper sense of the kinship of the peoples of the League of British Nations, and therewith to strengthen the sentimental ties of tradition and service that bind together the many and wide-spread units of the whole.

During last summer, larger numbers of visitors from the Dominions and Colonies overseas have been drawn to England than have ever before come to that island in any one year. From the four corners of the earth they have come with the big liners of the various shipping groups; they have come from the uttermost parts of the ocean, from the whole of the English-speaking world. Wembley has produced an intimate exchange of ideas, of opinions, and of points of view, which is likely to prove far more worth than the occasional and formal conferences of a few leaders. It has led to the renewing of old ties and the formation of new ones, to the development of mutual friendship and knowledge. Representatives from the British countries of the old and the new worlds have come to mutual sympathies and mutual understanding.

But the main purpose as set out in the official publications was to bring home to the *heart* of the Empire what the Empire is and what it stands for. In fact, Wembley afforded a splendid opportunity of diffusing information concerning territories of which the average English public hitherto had little knowledge. To many millions of people the very names of the various colonies of the British Empire were altogether unknown. When stepping inside the doorway of many a pavilion they stood appalled at the measure of their ignorance. Many millions came by water and land to learn of things surpassing the knowledge of all but a few economic and political students; they all have lighted upon something of which they previously were not aware. Wembley may be supposed to have an educational influence of far-reaching character even upon the most casual visitors. Hundreds of special trains in addition to an augmented

* Cp. e.g. *The Times* No. 43,770 (September 30), p. XI; an article by Lord Stevenson, Chairman of the Exhibition Board.

normal service have been run in order to transport millions of people from the English towns and the English country-side to the pavilions pouring out the wonders of the far-off parts and the wealth of distant lands. Many manufacturing firms brought their work-people and office-staffs by special excursion, that they might obtain, from their own experience, a clearer view of the assets of the Empire as a whole. And they were taught a great object-lesson of the latest achievements of Imperial history. Wembley has at least rubbed into them the actual knowledge that they *do have* a world-embracing Empire, that they truly have a great heritage. It has brought home to them a sense—however vague—of the responsibilities which citizenship of the British Empire involves. It has brought a fresh realisation of the great work yet to be done and of the problems which are still ahead. And if it has done this work of education, that in itself is no small thing.

From an educational point of view Wembley has been an experiment on a large scale. Both old and young can make the grand tour of the Empire, they indulge in passing by boats on the Lake from India to New Zealand, to take breakfast in Australia, to take tea in HongKong and to find a very pleasant haven of rest and dinner in the dining-car on the "train" to the west of the pavilion of South Africa. Wherever you look, there is machinery in motion, and the wheels are going "wound."

Wembley has realised the value of the cinema as a recruiting agency. Nearly all the pavilions have their attendant cinema theatres at which, for the purpose of propaganda, programmes of special films are continually showing, illustrating every aspect of life and industry in the Dominions and these "free shows" have been crowded each day.

Quite apart from the Imperial Scout Jamboree, which took place in the Stadium from August 1 to August 8, there were always serried ranks of small boys and girls under the care of their teachers. It is estimated that over 5 millions of school children came to see Wembley. For months before the Exhibition opened, a Bulletin of Empire Study was issued reaching within a few weeks a circulation of about 150,000 a week which formed the basis of lessons on the Empire. There was a special scheme run by the Ministry of Education which provided

not only for reduced railway fares and admission, but for recognition of the visit as an item of education. Special hostels were prepared at Park Royal and Dollis Hill in order that they might thoroughly study all the things which were often dealt with very tersely in their school books.

I content myself with these illustrations of the educational aspect of Wembley.

The success is still to be proved. For the moment it is of course, an intangible thing and it remains to be seen whether the seed will bear the destined fruit. It cannot be overlooked that there seemed to be some slackening in allegiance to the Empire and that the imagination of the Empire was a little slow in catching fire for Wembley. But it seems not unreasonable to believe that the ties of sentiment that bind the peoples together have been strengthened again, and that the imperial idea, inspite of all party intrigues, has been stabilised once more.

It is for the future alone to give answer whether Wembley has created a more active interest of the ordinary citizen in matters of Imperial concern. The Empire needs active service. Wembley was started as a practical and a most instructive emigration agency. One of the main objects of the Pavilions of the Dominions is to demonstrate the advantages of over-sea settlement and to further it as much as possible.

"Britain—to the Empire"!* The emigration movement has, of course, its bearing on the problem of British unemployment. The labour markets of Great Britain are already crowded and overstocked. Therefore, it is argued that now is the time when the Mother Country has to quicken the interest in her rich domains as a home for her surplus population; that England, unable to find profitable employment for great numbers of her people, should make greater efforts, efficiently directed and controlled, to settle some of the qualified unemployed in the wide, empty spaces which are waiting for them, at the same time consolidating the structure of the Empire.

Discussions of parties and statesmen have resulted in the Empire Settlement Act, which became law in May, 1922. It is entitled. "An Act to make better Provision for furthering British Settlement in His Majesty's

* Title of a poem by Alfred Noyes printed for the first time in the second special section (May 24) of the *Times* of London.

Oversea Dominions" and provides far-reaching schemes for assistance in respect of passages, initial allowances, training and otherwise. For the encouragement of emigration, the Act provides a sum of £3,000,000 a year for the next 13 years. In actual fact less than half a million pounds has been spent and progress is painfully slow.

All Dominions and Colonies are crying out for settlers. There is an embarrassment of riches—all they lack is population. Their white population needs re-inforcement. There is a present need for a more equitable redistribution of the Empire's white population. The empty spaces overseas must be peopled with British citizens of energetic and enterprising character. All of the Pavilions place before the visitor the opportunities open to emigrants and the hope which undeveloped countries hold out to settlers from the old country. They try to awaken in them a desire of seeking a new life. Everywhere there are settlement bureaux complete with veritable pyramids of pamphlets setting forth the living conditions: "Living expenses are lower!" "rents and foods are cheaper"! and last not least—the public finding the British rate of income-tax oppressive—"light taxation"! In short the discussion is running mainly on emigration as an expedient for ameliorating existing adverse conditions, thus appealing to the purse-instincts of the true-born English middle-classes of Puritan descent.

The centre of the propaganda is met with in the Over-sea Settlement Gallery of the British Government Pavilion, including models and designs illustrating the progress and prospects of Empire settlement. Free hand-books are available regarding the various dominions, and experts are in attendance to give information and advice to enquirers. It is driven home to the visitors that there are to the square mile in the United Kingdom 482 persons, in South Africa 3'2, in Canada 2'4, in Australia 1'8, in Southern Rhodesia less than 1.

Pictures show graphically the migration movement during the years from 1884 to 1913. From 1904-13 one-third of the persons leaving the United Kingdom settled in the United States of America. In 1923, the total of skilled tradesmen in the metal and engineering trade leaving for the U. S., was nearly 500 in excess of the men who left for other parts of the Empire. Henceforth no emigrant ought to go to foreign

countries and be lost to the Empire. "Forsake the foolish idea that British Dominions are foreign countries!"

Owing to the climate a good lot of territories, tropical or sub-tropical, is quite unsuitable for permanent settlement by the inhabitants of Great Britain. Opportunities are almost entirely in the Dominions: Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Rhodesia.

To judge from my personal experience, Australia and New Zealand make especial appeal to the British settler, displaying a most extensive propaganda by means of an infinity of leaflets. Though in Australia there were strong opponents to immigration, mainly representatives of the Labour Party and trade-unions, the British and Australian Governments have come to an agreement that British settlers, with a minimum capital of £300, may obtain prepared farms in Australia, the necessary further money for stock and equipment being advanced by the State Governments. Western Australia runs a big scheme for organised group or community settlement, being in operation for about 2 years, but rather costly in its initial stages, it is hoped to settle 75,000 people within 3 years. Rhodesia sets forth the low rate of her income-tax: Married persons whose income is less than £1,000 per annum, pay no income-tax. The Dominion of Canada, "the granary of the Empire," absorbs now-a-days the lion's share of British settlers. The Canadian National Railway Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the twin pavilions of which flank the Dominion Pavilion, have signed an agreement in accordance with the terms of the Empire Settlement Act for the settlement of families on farms of their own on the routes of their railways. New Brunswick and Ontario make a free grant of 100 to 200 acres of forest-land on conditions of residence and cultivation to any settler over 18 years of age. In Canada, there is a special Soldier Settlement Act, 1919, providing highly favourable terms for Imperial ex-servicemen. A most important branch of the Over-Sea Settlement Committee is the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, taking care of house-hold workers, hospital nurses, home-helps, etc., even advancing loans in specially approved cases to help with the passage money. At present domestic servants under 17 receive free passages to New Zealand while Canada

assists them by way of a loan up to the whole cost of transportation if necessary; all through the Dominions, there is a clamour for efficient domestic help. A number of schemes have been arranged with various Philanthropic Societies, who are dealing with special classes of persons, *e.g.*, the Catholic Federation, the Methodist Brotherhood, the S. P. C. K., the Y. M. C. A. Nor has the Salvation Army been laggard since in October, 1903, the Emigration Department came into existence. The Church Army is making plans for an extension of Church Army Overseas Settlement work in Australia. All of these private agencies aim at giving the necessary "human touch" to the machinery of emigration by arranging for reception and introduction, etc.

An infinity of leaflets and handbooks have been distributed among the visitors, making appeal to the one or the other class of would-be settlers, *e.g.*, single men, single women, adult emigrants with their families, widows with families, boys and girls—all of them are subjects of attention.

But the especial appeal is to the farmer who can make a much better start on a given capital in the Dominions than in Great Britain, while mechanics, labourers, and factory hands, both skilled and unskilled, are warned against leaving in search of employment; they are only occasionally in demand on special requisitions. The Dominions being in the main agricultural countries, openings for artisans or industrial workers of any kind are few. They all oppose strongly an influx which, quite apart from the dwelling shortage, might disorganise the congested local labour market. They aim at counteracting the tendency of settlers to drift into the already overcrowded big towns. They are keen to fill the prairie and the bush, the virgin lands. Land which has lain dormant for years and years, is to be put under the plough. Those unexperienced in farm work may undergo a course of training often provided free in order to gain experience and knowledge of local conditions, *e.g.*, the "1820 Memorial Settlers' Association" (of South Africa) offers a free course to intending settlers with capital, thus trying to carry on the work started by Cecil Rhodes.

There is a very great demand for young men able and willing to work upon the land. "Boy wanted!" is the title of a leaflet suggestive of adventure and romance. It is realised that young trees are transplanted

more successfully than old. There are special organisations for promoting the emigrations of lads and boys, who can be employed and trained by selected farmers, the boys being under Government supervision, and ultimately are hoped to run their own farms and to become farmers on their own account.

In short, the immediate transplantation of settlers is emphasised as a matter of vital importance, which must take place if the Empire is to continue its achievements. And indeed it is a problem deeply affecting the existence of the British Empire, a problem with whose solution it stands or falls. *

It is no easy matter to say whether Wembley has proved a migration agent or not. Many millions, it is true, have had actual contact with the other Britains beyond the seas and have taken away with them, to read at leisure, literature concerning them. Representatives, *e.g.*, of Australia and South Africa have made a great fuss about the many enquiries from would-be settlers, about people who have either gone to the colonies since the Exhibition opened or who notified them of their intention of so doing. But on the whole English newspapers reviewing Wembley with exaggerated praise, are curiously silent as far as oversea settlement is concerned. It may be brought back to the reader's mind that life in the Dominions in no way means little work and high pay, that farm work is hard and means long hours, that wages are low at first, that life on isolated farms is loneliness, that only strong and sound people are fit to rough it. After all is said, we may doubt whether Wembley has prepared the way for the greater efficiency in the distribution of the population and therefore may be hailed as a success. Whatever the future holds in store, it is a starting point, rather than a winning post.

Empire settlement is impossible without Empire trade. As not being an expert, I shall not give a detailed account of the purely commercial aspect of Wembley, and commercial results will be more difficult to survey within the near future than political. Wembley was, in the words of the Prince of Wales, "the shop window of the Empire."

* It may be mentioned by the way that of course all 'not of British birth and parentage' are excluded. Whether, *e.g.*, as regards Australia, this limitation proves far-sighted from the European point of view, is another question, which, however, does not interest British Imperialists.

The Economy Conference being held in 1923, Wembley was to be a second and an unofficial Conference of the British nations, all the more efficacious.

Lord Stevenson, Chairman of the Exhibition Board has stated the commercial purposes as follows :

(1) "To find, in the development and utilisation of the raw materials of the Empire, new sources of Imperial wealth." (2) "To foster inter-Imperial trade and open fresh world markets for Dominion and home products."*

In the first place, the immeasurable wealth of raw materials in the colonies is to be utilized, is to be turned into hard cash. The Dominions are clamouring as much for capital as for settlers. England, though endeavouring to develop the value of her colonies by means of her big finances, though, e. g., building up the whole of the Indian railway system with her money,† has not yet done what she ought to ; finance is an eternal bug-bear in most of the Dominions. It is estimated that there is now invested in Canadian industry \$ 350,000,000 of British as against thrice as much of American Capital. All of the Dominions make efforts towards the attraction of Capital for the development of the resources by showing the capacity for investment. They try to bring home to the financiers their potentialities as a field for investment as well as for speculative adventure ; experts are in attendance to answer all enquiries. The latest of the British self-governing colonies, Rhodesia, which in addition to being a large producer of gold, is exporting more chrome ore than any country in the world, displays a splendid propaganda. South Africa, the mines of which are producing sixty percent of the world's gold, impresses the visitor no less by the cool matter-of-fact character of her leaflets. New Zealand makes good use of the newspapers as far as possible. Ontario points out her mineral wealth, giving away cartloads of very well designed mineralogical maps. St. Helena, Ascension, Tristan de Cunha (in the South African Pavilion), small as they are, all of them are distributing large numbers of informative pamphlets, issued very often in co-operation with the respective shipping companies. Attracting capital by means of appealing to the tourists and sportsmen is another peculiar feature of some leaflets. Newfoundland, selected by the late Lord

Northcliffe as the site for the giant mills at Grand Falls which are to supply paper for the various Harmsworth publications, dwells on her place, as "the Norway of the New World." As far as my experience goes, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth are foremost in advertising.

Of just the same importance and still more emphasised is the other point of commercial purposes "to foster inter-Imperial trade and open fresh world markets for Dominion and home products," as Lord Stevenson has it. That is the reason why you are told so many stories of railways, of ports and of shipping lines. Communications and transport are matters of the uttermost moment to the British nations. First of all *English* agriculture and *English* industry is to be promoted. Let me give a few examples of sections that make especial appeal to the visitor. There are the breeding of poultry and the output of eggs ["use British Eggs !"] there are British toys and British musical instruments ; there are the industries of British Silk [Leek] and of British lace [Nottingham, Ayrshire], there is a display of British-made boots and shoes. The chemical section has involved an expenditure of £100,000. They had some reason in doing it, indeed. In 1922 the imports to India of German dyeing stuff was 8 times as big as the amount brought from the United Kingdom. India on the whole appears to be the sore point of the commercial as well as the political system.*

Both the United States and Canada are felt as competitors to British industry with ever increasing returns of goods exchanged with India. The amount of American film imported to India is enormously in excess of that brought from any other country in the world, including Great Britain.

The furthering of English industry is only one aspect of the question. Within the vast expanse of the British Empire practically all the raw materials required are to be found in sufficient quantities. Goods which England cannot supply are to be exchanged within the bounds of the component parts of the British Commonwealth. First of all it is England herself that is taught henceforth to order nothing but from within the

* Visitors of course are not shown anything of the struggles and the strife that are threatening to rend the land, neither of Nationalists nor of Swarajists, neither of Akali disturbances nor of Cawnpore Bolshevik conspiracy.

* *The Times*, no 43,770 p. XI.

† This statement is not quite correct. Ed., *M.R.*

Empire. The frieze in the Oversea Settlement Gallery makes it clear that the population of the United Kingdom is largely dependent on outside sources, mainly foreign countries.

Some figures may be quoted to demonstrate the imports coming from foreign countries. Of the total imports of sugar, about 75 p. c., came from outside the Empire, of foodstuffs in cans and bottles more than 80 p. c., of cotton more than 95 p. c., of tobacco 95 p. c.; of bananas 88 p. c., of wood and timber 85 p. c., of citrus fruits 83 p. c., etc. Wembley is devoted to the extension of trade between the Mother Country and the various Dominions and colonies. Immense propaganda is made for Indian tea and Canadian apples. Australia is fighting to get into the British market and to drive out the "best Danish" and the "best Dutch." There is an Australian vineyard in full bearing, etc.

In a word, Wembley is an effort to realise the idea of a self-supporting Empire. 'The doctrine of a self-contained Empire' is perhaps, above all, the great lesson of Wembley. It is the moral that may be drawn from the messages of the various Prime Ministers.*

The attainment of such objectives will not be one of the first fruits of the Exhibition; it must of necessity be spread over a period of years. The Empire is not at present self-sufficient. Only a fraction of the supplies of Great Britain comes from within the Empire. In many of its territories, it is confronted with a most aggressive trade competitor: the United States—represented by a particularly strong contingent of visitors—possess an overwhelming preponderance. A special advertising campaign had to be carried out in South America by bombarding with letters the important buyers. The increasing control by America of cane sugar supplies is proving the principal factor in the post-war development of British industry. It is fighting hard against American trade-rivalry in the very territories of the Empire.

It is a commonplace to assert that international trade is a most delicate and complex organism. It looks rather questionable whether Wembley, the advertising propaganda of which in publications all over the world has been carried out on the most lavish scale, will be a success as regards the extension

of markets for all-British goods. Visit from abroad, it is true, have come to see products put in the shop window. Representatives from the pavilions have made a great fuss about orders received and specific trade enquiries made by buyers from without the Empire; they are making confident comments concerning the future trade. It cannot be doubted that there have been many concrete examples of the actual trade during the exhibition. But it would be ill-considered to measure the results by the actual business done. It is a question for the future to determine whether Wembley has been productive of lasting good in extending markets for England and her colonies.

And the same holds good with regard to the development of inter-Imperial trade in its ramifications. For the moment, Australian wines are gaining in prestige and popularity, for the moment there are remarkable returns relating to New Zealand butter. A strong committee has been appointed to organise a scheme which will bring together sellers and buyers of the Empire. Future success depends largely on tariff-policies the principles of which do not appear to be settled. In 1923, preferential tariffs have been promised, which are based on a protection system. And as yet, free trade is the one worshipped by the largest numbers of the English people. On the other hand, the young industry of India clamours for effective protection against British competition. Canada, the woollen manufacturers are demanding higher duties against British imports, and is also claimed that the boot and shoe industry is seriously affected by British competition. The problem of an all-British-customs-Union seems to increase in difficulty instead of approaching solution.

To sum up: I have tried to give a rough sketch of Wembley as well as a general review of the results achieved. British newspapers have defined it as "the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire". At present it is impossible to assess the results with any degree of accuracy. For the time being it may be supposed that the Unity of the Empire has been strengthened and that reciprocal trade of its component parts has been stimulated. It will be sometime before one can gain some idea as to whether success will go far beyond. We must wait and see whether direct advantages have been derived from a most extensive propaganda of Empire settlement, whether the demand for investme

* *The Times*, No. 43633, p. XIII.

of capital will be answered, and, finally, whether the all-British commercial unity will be vigorous enough to open fresh markets of the world. The British Empire appears to have a future, but it is a future that will

have to be won. At all events, Wembley has revealed to the world which are the schemes for the future. "He that hath an ear, let him hear."

March 20, 1925.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

II

A WILD BOYHOOD

IT should have been stated at the outset of the chronicles of my early impressions that life in the mofussil is very different from town life, and I recall my wild recklessness as a boy with considerable trepidation. Most of the mischief in which we revelled was innocent, but it was full of serious bodily danger to which we never gave a moment's thought. I was always the most daring and careless in our set. I was born at Motihari, the sadar station of the Champaran district near the Terai of Nepal, and my father was again transferred to this station when I was about eight years of age. My mother died here after a few months. We lived in a house belonging to the Maharaja of Betiah and called the *chhaoni* (camp) of Betiah. In front of the house was a big *maidan*. In Motihari small ponies are used as pack animals in the same way as donkeys and bullocks are used elsewhere. Caravans of small traders used to bring these ponies to the *maidan*, and the men removed the packs, turned the animals out to graze after hobbling them with a bit of rope tied round the forelegs and then marched off to the bazaar with the packs. The moment the men were out of sight I used to let out a war whoop, and that was the signal for the ecstasy of joy rides, the only price for which was a number of falls from our circus horses. I rode bare-back with the rope transferred from the feet to the mouth of the horse for reins, and I fell off half-a-dozen times every day, with no worse effects than a swelled limb when the frightened horse happened to place one of its unshod hooves over some part of my

body. Those were my first lessons in riding and later on I became a fearless rider when I had ponies of my own. I carry honourable scars of the teeth of dogs and a monkey, and of an operation under chloroform, when a piece of wood was extracted from my armpit.

At Bhagalpur, when I was some years older, my constant companion in wild frolics was my cousin, some years younger than myself, J. N. Gupta, now a senior Bengal Civilian and Commissioner of the Presidency Division. There was a funny priest from the temple of Burhanath, who always hailed us with a quaint blessing, "B.A. pass, M.A. pass, Z. A. pass !" We lost no time in obtaining these degrees by jumping down into *Kankar* pits half full of loose, red earth, the idea being that the deeper the pit the higher the degree to which we were entitled in the University of Pitsden ! Later on, when it came to the real thing my little cousin got the M.A. degree all right while I suppose I got the Z. A. degree, for I never obtained any other ! I have no regrets however, for to this romping, out-door life I owe my health and my love of nature.

OUR PUNDIT

In my ninth or tenth year I joined one of the lower forms of the Government school at Chapra in the Saran district in Bihar. There was nothing to complain of as regards the teachers with whom I got on very well, but the Pundit, who took our class in Hindi, was a more difficult proposition. He was a dominie of an approved type, corpulent, shabbily dressed and loud-voiced. He was a

martinet without any idea of discipline. He used to scratch various parts of his body constantly and made extraordinary contortions and grimaces during the operation. I have no idea of his learning but I do not think it was very profound. He was certainly very much lacking in worldly wisdom and average commonsense. His son, a big, hulking lad several years older than the other boys and a promising replica of his father, was in our class and generally at the bottom of it. He was without doubt the dullard of the class, and did very badly in all examinations, but when it came to Hindi his father, who was the examiner, gave him the highest number of marks in the whole class with unvarying impartiality. When the Pundit entered the class room some of the mischievous boys in our class used to greet him with joined hands raised to the forehead and the words, "Punditji, pronoun" (for *pranama*), and the prompt reply was, "*benchopary* (বেঞ্চোপরি) stand up on the bench!" The Pundit did not know the meaning of the word "pronoun," and he never inquired, but he was convinced that it was a disrespectful word. He was alliterative while scolding the boys. When he found any boy inattentive he used to say, "*purrh pash* (পূর্হ পশ) read, you brute," though brutes have never been known to read a book. Some sly imp of mischief would ask, "Punditji, what is the *sandhi* (compound) of *gagari* (গগরি) an earthen chatty, and *ubahan* (উবহন, a rope)?" A rope is tied to a chatty for drawing water and that was the real *sandhi*, but the Pundit, who never had any sense of humour, would blandly reply, "It is quite a simple *sandhi*, *gagaryubahan* (গগরীউবহন)!" When excessively annoyed with any boy he threatened to report him the *হেডমাস্টার* (headmaster), but he never did so for he was as timid as a rabbit and was more afraid of the headmaster than the boys themselves. When the Inspector of Schools who had the alarming habit of examining the teacher as well as the boys, came to inspect our school the Pundit disappeared and was not seen till after the Inspector had left. His explanation was perfectly natural for he laid the whole blame for his regrettable absence on nature!

A ROLAND FOR AN OLIVER

The Joint Magistrate of Chapra at this time was a young Civilian named Cook. He

was a short young man who had a big notion of himself and was said to be very offensive in his ways. One afternoon Mr. Cook was driving in his trap to Revilganj, a small town a few miles to the west of Chapra. There was a Mahomedan fakir sitting by the roadside, and because this man did not get up and salam the Magistrate Saheb Mr. Cook slashed him across the face with his whip as he drove past. The fakir remained sitting without any word of protest or complaint. He had in his hand one of those gnarled and twisted horns so frequently carried by men of his order. Mr. Cook returned after a couple of hours, and the fakir jumped up in front of the dogcart, yelling in an unearthly fashion and shouting curses and flourishing his formidable weapon. The horse shied violently and came to a dead stop, and before the syce could come to the help of his master the fakir struck Mr. Cook a violent blow in the mouth with the horn in his hand, cutting open the magistrate's cheek and knocking out two of his front teeth. It was getting dark at the time and Mr. Cook's assailant coolly disappeared after avenging the unprovoked assault upon himself. Mr. Cook returned home bruised and bleeding, and had to keep to his room for several days. The police made a diligent search for the fakir, but the man was never found.

THE FALL OF THE MIGHTY

At Bhagalpur we had once for a guest an Inspector of Police from Bengal. He was a fine figure of a man, portly and broad-fronted, his broad face stamped with the high authority of the police. On the day of his arrival I had to entertain him as my father had to attend to his duties in court. Our guest recounted to me his exploits as a police officer and his smart captures of notorious thieves and daring dacoits until he loomed before my unsophisticated imagination as a veritable paladin of romance. The conversation then turned to the few sights of Bhagalpur and how Mr. Roy (that being the name of the guest) proposed to see them. I had two ponies to ride at that time: one was a white gelding, somewhat bigger than a galloway, sleek and well-fed; the other was a little bay pony, purchased for a few rupees during a famine. Both were quiet animals. The only vice, if it can be called a vice, that the white horse had was that

he objected to a new rider by lowering his head and neighing shrilly, but he neither bucked nor reared, and never tried to throw off his rider. I asked Mr. Roy whether he would like to go out for a ride and whether he was accustomed to riding. He flared out at once at this question. A crack police officer like him not used to riding? He would like to see the horse that could unseat him. Was not much of his time spent in the saddle, and did he not break a fiery stallion which his brother officers were afraid to ride? That settled the question and in the afternoon when my father asked Mr. Roy whether he would go out for a drive Mr. Roy replied that he preferred to ride. Accordingly, after my father had left in his carriage the two ponies were brought out and I mounted the "famine" pony. I had my suspicions when I saw Mr. Roy climbing on to the saddle with difficulty with the help of two syces. Tragedy quickly followed. I was as lean as a jockey and a nimble lightweight, and the horse had seldom known any other rider. Bewildered and outraged by the tremendous mass of avoirdupois on his back the horse expressed his indignation in the usual way, but he did not stir a foot and made no other movement. But the shrill neigh was enough for Mr. Roy, whose eyes protruded with terror as if a lion had roared in front of him. He threw away the reins, his feet slipped from the stirrups, and he fell slowly but heavily to the ground. I jumped off my pony and rushed to his assistance, but the moment I touched him he screamed out that all his bones were broken and he could not bear the touch of a finger. It required considerable persuasion and five or six men to lift and carry him to the sitting room, where he was laid on a heap of cushions. I had to listen to his lamentations and to repeat my expressions of sympathy until my father arrived and was soon followed by the doctor. Mr. Roy was moaning and groaning all the time that the doctor examined him. The doctor then came out of the room accompanied by my father, and beckoned me to follow him. In the next room the doctor asked me, "You were with Mr. Roy. Did the horse throw him very heavily?" I replied that Mr. Roy had thrown himself, for the horse had not moved a step and had done nothing to unseat even an ordinary rider. The doctor and my father smiled and the doctor said, "The man is more frightened than hurt. There's nothing the matter with

him." At dinner time Mr. Roy protested that he was so grievously hurt that he could not swallow a morsel of food, but he was persuaded to eat a little and ended by taking a hearty meal. In a few days he was moving about as usual and was profuse in his expressions of gratitude, but the subject of riding was taboo. Mr. Roy was one of my early disappointments, for that burly policeman was a fraud, if ever there was one, and my lion, proved to be the other animal that had donned the lion's skin.

THE INVASION FROM THE JUNGLE

In a previous paragraph I made a brief reference to the presence of wild animals in the town of Bhagalpur when the Ganges was in flood. Some details of this curious invasion from the jungle may be found of interest. The Ganges frequently shifts its bed, but between 1874 and 1877 while we were at Bhagalpur the river ran just below the town to the north. One Mr. Sandys, a retired Civilian who at one time had been District and Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur, had settled at Bhagalpur and lived in a large house with an extensive compound just to the east of the Court houses. Mr. Sandys owned another fairly big house close to his own. The house was lying vacant when we arrived at Bhagalpur and my father arranged with Mr. Sandys to occupy it. Repairs were about to be taken in hand when, one noon, some cowherd boys, who were in the habit of playing in a room of the house, discovered a large leopard, which had devoured a calf, sleeping peacefully in a corner of the drawing-room. The boys had the presence of mind to close the door softly from the outside, and then they ran for their lives and reported their fearful discovery to some European officers living in the neighbourhood. Three of them took their rifles and shot the leopard from an opening in the wall. The result was that my father gave up the idea of taking the house, which was never occupied as long as we lived at Bhagalpur.

On another occasion while we were playing in front of the Government school during the recess for luncheon we saw a wild boar a tusker, rushing up in our direction. We fled on the instant to the safety of the school rooms. The boar was pursued by the Superintendent of Police and some others on horseback and was ultimately shot.

On a third occasion I had just returned home after a bath in the Ganges when I heard a fearful uproar in the Post office close by, and the servants told me that a wild pig had got into the closed yard behind the Post office. I at once loaded all the six chambers of our bolt revolver and ran to the Post office. Passing through the office I reached the yard, which was closed in by a mud wall with a rickety door at the rear. The Post master was a Eurasian and some of his sisters were staying with him. The young ladies were peeping through the venetians of the closed doors and were shrieking hysterically. A number of men were standing on the wall and were trying to hit the pig, which was scampering wildly round the yard looking for an exit, with anything they could lay their hands on. Some had crow-bars, others had nothing more lethal than stones. I clambered on to the wall and whenever the pig, which was not yet a full-grown animal, passed in front of me I took a shot at him. I emptied my revolver and probably three or four bullets found a true billet. At this time some one pushed the door of the yard from the outside and the pig bolted through the opening. It ran a considerable distance along the bank of the Ganges pursued by a clamorous crowd and then dropped and was killed.

During the rains the Ganges is always in flood. At Bhagalpur the southern bank behind which the town stands is fairly high and so the flood extends entirely to the north, which is lowland covered with jungle. In this jungle are to be found herds of wild pigs, prowling leopards and the dreaded wild buffaloes locally known as *arna*, whose great horns are sometimes six feet from tip to tip. A tiger will rarely venture to attack an *arna*, which is more dangerous than a tiger when wounded and tracked by an imprudent huntsman. Driven out from their haunts by the rising waters these animals swim straight for the other bank and sometimes stray into the town.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE

In 1876 or thereabout there was a severe outbreak of famine in Bihar. Sir Richard Temple was at that time Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Parts of the Bhagalpur district were severely affected and Sir Richard Temple promptly came to Bhagalpur for a personal

and local investigation. He arrived at Bhagalpur by the Government steamer *Rhotas*, which anchored in midstream in the Ganges quite close to our house. The local officials and some Rajas and wealthy landowners in resplendent clothes waiting at the ghat in two separate groups. Sir Richard Temple with two or three other persons got into a boat and rowed ashore. There was a good deal of excited curiosity among the Rajas about the identity of the Lat Saheb. Sir Richard Temple was very carelessly dressed and was pulling an oar, while his Private Secretary—I think it was Mr. Buckland—, faultlessly dressed in a frock coat and a tall, silk hat, was holding the tiller. I had seen likenesses of Sir Richard Temple and spotted him at once, but the Rajas would not believe me. "How can the Lat Saheb pull an oar," they said, "and how can he wear such clothes?" They decided that the more correctly dressed and more dignifiedly occupied personage was the ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. When the Lat Saheb was not at the helm of the State he was at the helm of his boat. When the party landed and Sir Richard Temple stepped forward, and was respectfully greeted by the Commissioner and the Collector the astonishment of the Rajas knew no bounds. Just at this moment a wild-looking and unkempt individual standing in the crowd rushed forward with uplifted hands and crying, "Insaf, Lat Laheb, insaf!" (Justice, Lat Saheb, justice) was about to fall at Sir Richard Temple's feet when the Private Secretary quickly interposed his umbrella in front of the Lieutenant-Governor and others caught hold of the man! The Commissioner shouted, "Police! police" and the police at once came up and removed the man. There were no anarchists in India at that time and bombs were unknown but the memory of the assassinations of Sir Henry Norman and Lord Mayo was quite fresh, and the excited and haggard appearance of the man justified the alarm that was felt. I was looking keenly at Sir Richard Temple and I admired his coolness, for he stood unmoved and did not fall back a single step when the man rushed up to him. It was this courage that saved him from what might have proved a fatal fall down the Khud at Darjiling when his horse became restive and went over to his death while Sir Richard Temple with admirable presence of mind leaped lightly from the saddle on to the road. The man,

who had ventured to approach him so unceremoniously, believed—a delusion that others have shared with him—that he might obtain justice by a personal petition to the ruler of the land.

Sir Richard Temple was a phenomenally ugly individual. His complexion was so sunburnt that it was almost dark copper-coloured, he had a thick, bulbous nose, prominent jaws, while his mustachios, as Protap Chandra Majumdar once wrote, curled up like the horns of a Kathiawar bull. Sir Richard Temple was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay, but he resigned that appointment after some time to become a Member of Parliament. In the House of Commons he used to fall asleep sometimes and *Punch* published a cartoon describing him as "the Sleeping Beauty." Sir Richard Temple was a man of extra-ordinary and tireless energy and he was a terror to the district officers, who were usually ease-loving people in those days and found it impossible to emulate the energetic activity of the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, was an indolent man, while Mr. Taylor, the Collector used to smoke a gorgeous *hookah* of crystal in his chamber in the office. Sir Richard Temple would frequently remain on horseback for hours together and he never knew fatigue. I remember one morning Sir Richard Temple was to inspect the Central Jail at Bhagalpur and some other institutions accompanied by the Commissioner. When Mr. Barlow came up harrying and panting to the steamer he found that Sir Richard had already left, and the Commissioner had to follow him as best he could.

DURGAGATI BANERJI

Durgagati Banerji was Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Patna and a great friend of my father. He was one of the ablest men of his time in the Provincial Executive service and was the *de facto* Commissioner of the Patna Division, for the Commissioner of the Patna Division whoever he happened to be, left everything to him. Durgagati Banerji was black as ebony, with a noble forehead and bright, clear eyes, and the nickname given to him was *Kala* Commissioner. I may note in passing that the Indian Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council are called "Kala Councili" by the rickshawalas and others in Simla. There was a story that a Collector once

sent for Durgagati Banerji under the usual formula of sending him his salams. Durgagati replied by sending *his* salams to the Collector! The latter in high dudgeon complained personally to the Commissioner, but to his great chagrin the Commissioner took the part of his Assistant and explained that Durgagati was not an ordinary Deputy Magistrate, neither was he a subordinate of the Collector. When Sir (then Mr.) Stewart Bayley was appointed Commissioner of Patna he heard of the immense power and influence wielded by his Personal Assistant, and with a view to curtail them desired Durgagati to place all papers before him. Durgagati promptly followed his instructions. Mr. Stewart Bayley, in spite of all his industry, saw that the work began to get into arrears, while the heap of files on his table went on steadily growing higher. At length he was compelled to call Durgagati Banerji to his help and the arrears were cleared off in no time. Later on, Durgagati Banerji was appointed the first Indian Collector of Calcutta.

THE RETORT COURTEOUS ?

Sarat Chandra Mukerji was an able Munsif and afterwards became a District Judge. While at a mofussil station he had once before him the District Engineer, a European, as a witness. His name was Mr. Seely. Thinking that under all circumstances a European is equal, if not superior, to an Indian, he coolly walked up to the dais on which the Munsif was sitting and sat down on a chair. Mr. Mukerji did not know the man and was much surprised, but still he politely asked him his business. The reply given in an offensive and superior tone was that the visitor was no less a personage than the District Engineer and he was there as a witness. The Munsif required from his Peshkar and the Pleaders, and after verifying Mr. Seely's statement asked him to step into the witness-box. Mr. Seely angrily enquired why he could not be examined where he was sitting. "No," replied the Munsif sharply, "Your place is the witness-box and you had no business to come up to the bench. If you do not go into the witness-box at once I shall proceed against you, for contempt of court." Cowed by the words and the attitude of the Munsif Mr. Seely went into the witness-box and proceeded to take the usual oath. The Munsif was thorough-

ly roused by this time and began to examine the witness. "What's your name?" "Seely." And then followed the astounding question, "How do you spell your name, Mr. Silly?" The veil of oblivion over the rest of the story need not be lifted. Mr. Seely emerged from the court a very much chastened, withal, a somewhat angry man.

MRS. MALAPROP

At Arrah the Jailor was a European, a man who had been in the army, and his wife was an Englishwoman evidently from the lower classes. She was a newcomer to India, and used to visit us sometimes, either alone or with her husband. One day she brought her sister, who had just come out from England, with her, and eagerly introduced her to our ladies, "*yuh hamara bhains hai*." She meant to say *bahin*, which means sister, but the word she actually used means a buffalo, and what she said was, "This is my buffalo." We had great fun after our visitors had left and the word *bhains* was bandied about a good deal.

NO PUBLIC LIFE

Up to 1878 when I left Bihar for Calcutta there was not the faintest conception of public

life in Bihar. Wealthy people as a rule led a thoughtless, gay life. The Rajas and Maharajas, and I saw several of them, were generally possessed of less than average intelligence. One Maharaja in Behar once got into serious trouble because, after entertaining a number of European officials at a banquet at which a Lieutenant-Governor was present, he remarked, "*Rat to Khub Kacharkut bhail* (last night there was a good deal of devouring)". These words were reported to the Collector and the Maharaja was severely rebuked and had to apologise for his levity. Lawyers are an intelligent and independent body of men, and in large and important districts like Patna, Mozufferpur, Bhagalpur and Saran the leading lawyers were Bengalis. They had no other thoughts than those of earning and amassing money, and enjoying themselves. The one exception was Guru Prasad Sen at Patna, who edited the *Behar Herald* in addition to his large professional work as a lawyer, and who joined the Indian National Congress as soon as it was established. There was no urge of a patriotic ambition anywhere, no one secured to feel that Indians were being kept out of their birthright, no one apparently dreamed that he had any other duty beyond that of following his daily avocation in life.

THE BHILS OF GUJARAT

By MADHAV PRASAD N. MAJUMDAR

Navasari.

THANKS to the kindness of the Bhil Seva Mandal, working in the forest region of the Panch Mahal District, I recently got an opportunity to get glimpses of the aboriginal tribe known as Bhil. According to the census figures of 1921, there are about 18 lacs of Bhils in India. They are not a compact population, but are scattered over wild, unhospitable regions in Gujarat, Ahmednagar, Central India and Rajputana and even South Sind. Gujarat alone shelters about 5 lacs of Bhils, all untouched by the rolling tides of civilization and unaffected by the passing waves and tempests of political, social and religious revolutions that swept over India

since the age of Rama. The whence and the wherefore of their arrival in India has been a matter for much anthropological speculation. Some have supposed the Bhils to be the "Pygmies" of Ctesias (400 B. C.); others have assigned them to the Kolarian Race; and others still, like Grierson and Max Mullar have agreed in classing them as "Mundas". (The Tribes and Castes of Bombay; by R. E. Enthoven: Vol. I, pp. 152-153.). This much seems to be scarcely open to dispute that they are among the one crore and sixty lacs of Aborigines in India today, direct descendants of the pre-aryan invaders or immigrants into India, who have not been assimilated

with their successors the Aryans who conquered, dispossessed and pushed them away to the hills and barren fallows.

The five lacs or more of Bhils that live in Gujarat are to be found in two separate groups, one in Southern Gujarat (mainly in the Dang forests and the regions adjoining it), and the other—and larger—in the hilly regions of the Panch Mahal district in North-Eastern Gujarat and the Revakantha Agency territory adjoining it. The latter is an uninviting territory, bristling with hills and hillocks and wavy uplands that rise over a thousand square miles or so, like measles on the face of mother Earth. Huge rocky boulders are scattered over a large surface and they forcefully suggest some volcanic eruption at some period or other. Some of the rocks present a surface appearance of a mass of boiling liquid cooled-down but yesterday, and the sockets of the frozen froth and bubbles are curiously fresh and picturesque. Other parts of the territory are covered with dark forests of *Khakhar*, *Babul* and *Nim* and other trees, not unpopulated by tigers, wolves and similar dwellers of the forests. The climate is mildly cold in winter and in the monsoons, the rain is not excessive (from 30 to 40 inches per annum); but the rocky soil does not easily absorb the water it gets, and the resulting pools and rivulets make approach temporarily impossible.

The extreme primitiveness of the Bhils can be seen at the first glance. The Bhil does not live in congregations. Five or six or at most eight hovels are pitched up together, almost always on some prominent rock or hillock and become individualised as a village or '*Falia*', as it is called. The prominent and elevated situation of such a *falia* enables it, on the one hand, to enjoy a wide range of prospect on all sides and meet an outside adversary at an advantage and on the other, to escape the inconveniences which habitation in the low marshes and sunken vales would involve, specially during the monsoons. Each average *falia* is populated by ten or twenty souls

and includes none but the Bhils. Neither carpenter, nor blacksmith, nor the retail vendor of corn, grocery and miscellanea is to be found in the *falia*. The Bhil does scarcely anything except existing, and his needs are little greater than those of the cattle amidst whom he lives. His huts or hovels are made of bamboo, jungle wood, stone or suitable boulders that may be handy and never of bricks or mud walls; and the roofs are more often than not made of grass and leaves and twigs thatched over the substructure. Crude tiles, too, are often used, specially in the regions nearer the habitation of the advanced communities. Few huts are more than six feet at the eaves or cover an



A young Bhil Marksman

area of more than 15 to 25 feet square. The entrance is usually too low for the adult to walk straight in and doors are often left out as dispensable luxuries or perhaps as hindrances. Windows seem to be ruled out of Bhil constructions, and if apertures admitting light are seen here and there, they need not be, supposed to be there by design. In strict justice the Bhil hut is all cracks and crevices and loopholes through which God's light and air freely sport about in gales and breezes and a window would be worse than a surplusage. Each hut has invariably an extra construction attached to it at the entrance, a sort of crude platform made of wood and bamboos, about three feet in height and four feet by 4 feet in area. All the water pots in the Bhil family are stacked one upon

another on this platform, and are never kept inside. Another typical equipment outside a Bhil hut consists of large, cylindrical bamboo baskets, plastered with cowdung and stuck fast into the earth or the props of huts. They are used for storing corn—maize—in very much the same way in which the large earthen jars or casks or similar articles are used for corresponding purposes throughout India. About the little huts may also be seen a plough or a spade and a bamboo tube or funnel through which to sow the seeds. The inside of the hut is usually empty but for a few dirty rags, some smoky earthenware pots and, may be, the jumble-wares that the children may

sists in a little rag to serve as a 'langoti' or loin cloth, and another just enough to wrap round the circumference of the head leaving the whole of the crown uncovered. The trunk, the arms and the legs seldom find a covering. The women are less naked and try to put on a petticoat, a bodice and a sort of *salla*, i.e., a coarse cloth with some colour design in red and blue, worn in lieu of the more aristocratic '*sari*.' The youngsters of both sexes, right up to adolescence and even after, do not usually have even that scanty apparel. Of ornaments, the male has nil. He seems to consider the bow and arrow as a part of his ceremonial dress, and even on peaceful occasions would prefer to be seen with the

weapon than otherwise. The women have a few trinkets made of '*Kathir*,' a white metallic dross formed of some amalgam of tin. The dull jingle of its wristlets and anklets is all that the Bhil woman gets to delight her female vanity. The weight and number of the ornaments vary with the taste and condition of the individual. Both the male and female love to be tattooed and their necks, forearms, legs and convenient limbs are variegated with permanent designs, usually outlines of the prime geometrical figures or of the shape of some leaf, flower or animal.

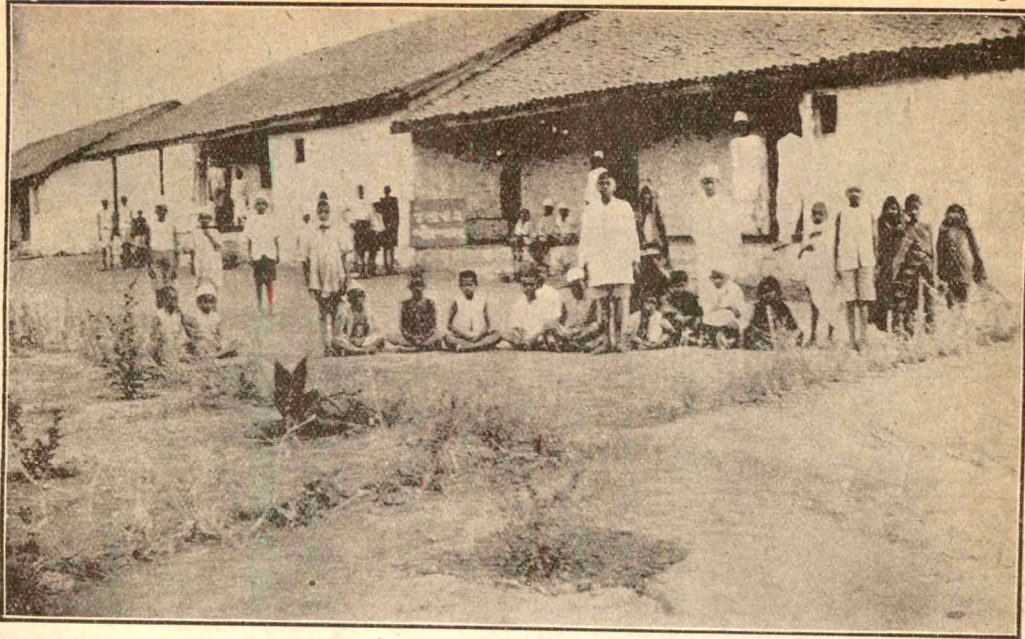


Inmates of the Jesawada Ashram playing Ras

have collected. On the walls or stuck up in the rifts of bamboos in the roofs are bows and arrows, the inseparable possession of every Bhil. The man that has nothing to dress and even to eat has at least his ancestral weapon, the bow and arrow; and though he is now mild and tame and even timid, he does not mind negotiating his enemy, either man or animal, with a creditable pull at the string. Every adult Bhil must have the bow and arrow as his weapon for defence and aggression, and every Bhil boy must have the bow and arrow for his sport.

In clothes, the Bhil male has next to nothing. Even the adult possesses little fabric to cover his nudity, and the only burden that civilization has imposed upon him con-

The appearance of the Bhil as he is, fully indicates the whole circumstance of his existence. The skin is usually scorched and tanned fast black, both in the case of the male and the female. As the Bhil seldom bathes and is always exposed to the inclemencies of climate and to the dust, dung and mud about him, he carries a swarthy presentment from head to foot. The adult male does not keep a beard. But otherwise he fights shy of cleanliness. Even the water that he drinks is not pure or fresh. He prefers dirty water to pure, and if he has to drink at a stream, would even go out of his way to avoid the cleaner side and make sure of a muddier draught. In constitution he is lean and lank and worse than half starved. Ethnologically and by mixture of blood, he does not now differ much from the Aryan in physical traits,



Jesawada Ashram and its Inmates
A Settlement of Bhil Seva Mandal



Bhils at Home:
Their humble Abode forms a Cottage

ugh his nose tends to be rather less developed, bearing out the phrenologist's dictum that all noses and little intellects go together.

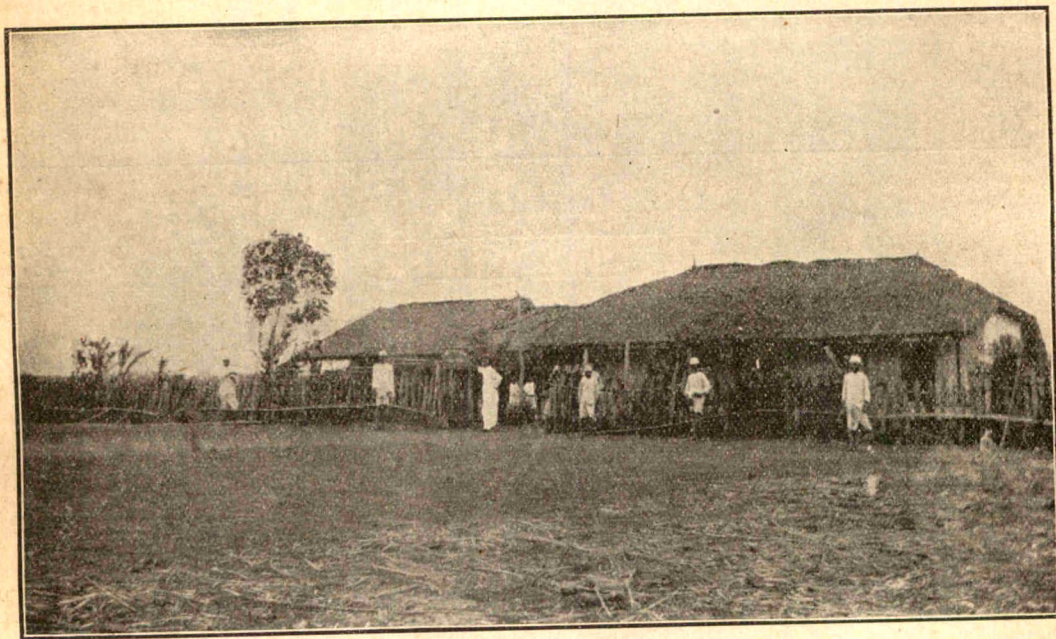
Bhils are so lean, almost famished, in the case of most one can practically

'count the ribs,' i.e., trace the contour of the whole anatomical mechanism. A buxom fellow with ponderous limbs or muscles, perhaps does not exist in the whole race. And this is not to be wondered

at if we remember the low economic condition in which the tribe drags on a miserable existence. When a race either human or of the lower animals, is faced with continuous subnutrition, it does not die out entirely, but gradually becomes shrunken, shrivelled, dull and inert, and this is what has actually happened with the Bhils. The only corn that the Bhils get to eat is maize, and their only condiment is salt. The maize is coarse and starchy, not particularly advantageous as a builder. Eggs, game birds and poultry may at times vary the fare, but on the whole their pauperism keeps them in such utter destitution as few ordinary "*Bhadra log*" would be ready to believe. Very often they

bad in fertility and with proper care might yield better crops. Cereals other than maize might be cultivated. But the Bhil refuses to think even a day ahead. If he has one immediate meal in store, he is neither anxious nor on the look-out for the needs of the morrow. To make things worse, he has a fond pride in the possession of unwieldy herds of cattle, even of worthless cattle that have no economic or other value.

Every Bhil family keeps from 20 to 50 heads of cows, bullocks and buffaloes, all starved and dwarfed and shrivelled as the men themselves. As the Bhil himself cultivates next to nothing, and wild nature yields hardly better, there is little for the cattle to eat. It is always



Mirakhadi Ashram
One of Mr. Thakkar's Settlements

have to pass days together on wild grains, leaves and wild fruits, and in summers and in years of scarcity they can barely scrape up a miserable morsel once in two days or more that just helps to prolong a hungry existence. It is a story of shame and pity. Neither governments, foreign or native, nor the so-called educated people of India can plead innocence on a charge of neglecting, exploiting and dehumanising these—and similar tribes. Perhaps the Bhils might have fared a little better even under existing circumstances but for their native lethargy and unwillingness to work. The land is not uniformly

a problem to maintain the herds, but there is the sentimental pride in the possession of so many heads. To the Bhil, cattle is the best form of wealth, and his ambition is to convert all possible savings into cattle.

This crude primitiveness of the Bhils has been perpetuated by the unholy trinity of the orthodox, the userer and the liquor vendor. The *Sahukar* gets the produce of the Bhils' labour almost for a song, and sometimes for less. His methods are simple, though not straight. The Bhil has never a pie on his hand to buy his seeds or marry his son (for, among the Bhils the bride has to be purcha-

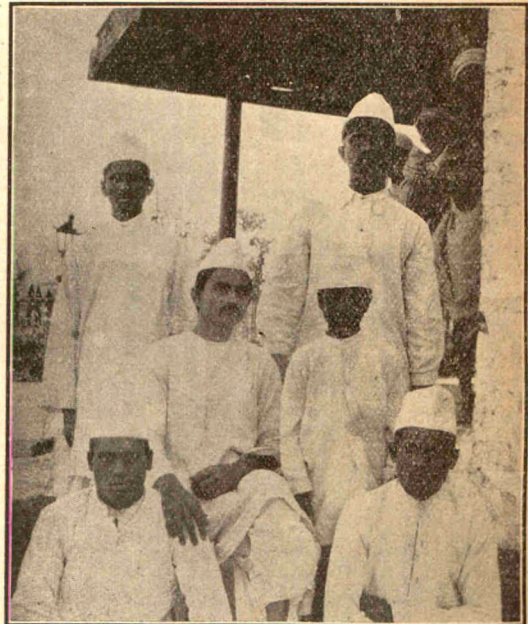
sed at a price) or propitiate his gods and demons. The astute Sahukar has his nets ever wide open for him, and proffers the loan of the small sum required, always against some valuable security. Once a loan is advanced, the poor Bhil is doomed, perhaps for life. A month, two months, three...and presto! by the magic of the userer's arithmetic, the interest alone runs ahead of the original principal. The Bhil naturally tries to pay back his debt by instalments, but often the Sahukar is careful enough to credit none of the instalments paid to him either in cash or kind. Once a debtor, the Bhil is always a debtor.

On the other hand, the Bhil is often a confirmed drunkard. Sometimes he buys his drink from the licensed liquor-vendor, and the liquor vendor is either a regular Sahukar himself or follows the Sahukar's notorious ways of exploitation along his own lines. Besides, the Bhil often prefers to distil his own liquor from Mahuda flowers. Such illicit distillation is carried on at places which command a wide prospect and render surprise attack by the Excise official next to impossible. And if the self-distilling Bhil is arrested by the treachery of some cousin or jealous neighbour and is invited for stay in one of His Majesty's jails, he seldom regrets the arrangement. The fellows that have come out of the jails openly boast of their readiness to return there for the simple reason that, as criminals in jails, they get a more human standard of food and shelter than they can find as free men in their native forests.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SIDE

On the psychological side, the Bhils are dull and unimaginative. They seem to be reluctant or incapable of speaking five continuous sentences with anything like coherence or logical sequence. To a great extent, their wild life and underfeeding through millenia seem to have powerfully reacted to keep them mentally stunted. All possible forces of a glorified civilization have conspired to keep them in that state. Except in so far as they might be conveniently squeezed, the upper classes have practised nothing but disdain and terrorism towards them. Petty officials of Government and the Indian States concerned are perhaps the worst offenders in this respect. The presiding genii of His Majesty's government are not known to have

disturbed themselves overmuch in the interests of the Bhils, and the Indian States, at least the smaller ones, have shamelessly followed a policy of exploitation and, perhaps, of atrocities. The result is that the Bhils stand in extreme dread of the 'civilized' community, and even run off like jungle animals at the approach of strangers. They afford a living study in the psychology of repression as seen to influence a whole tribe. Their appetites and instincts have been stunted by their low economic condition. The social traits have been stunted by their ever painful experiences with the surrounding communities. The emotional tendencies have been utterly distorted into fantastic modes, thanks mainly



Superintendent and inmates of the Mirakhedi Ashram

to the criminal apathy and egoism of the Aryan religions. The Census reports classify them as 'Animists,' and in the sense that "Animism is a convenient term to denote all that residuum of belief which is not known as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity or any other recognised religion" (Census of India Report, Vol. XVII, page 113). They worship rocks, trees and other similar objects as being the embodiments of ultra-human spirits. Demonology has a large place in their faith. The spirits which they worship—or rather, want very much to propitiate—are

mostly evil spirits whose wrath must be averted or bought off at any price. There seems to be a whole galaxy of such spirits, presided over by the greatest of them all, Mha Bhero (Maha Bhairav) who populate the Bhil imagination. The Bhil priests, known as 'Badwas', serve as intermediaries in communing with the Evil Ones. They undertake to perform ceremonies and sacrifices to propitiate the spirits concerned in cases of sickness, theft, scarcity and the like unusual or undesirable events of life. Among the Hindu Pantheon Rama and Hanuman alone, to the exclusion of all others, are the greatest favourites. The Bhils seem quite proud of the two. Images of Hanuman can be seen installed in the most secluded interior, a fact which irresistibly drives us to associate the tribe with races that fought by the side of Rama.

The Bhil is singularly bereft of legend or folklore. Owing to the dulness of his imagination, the absence of historical traditions and associations and, above all, his constitutional inability to think or express cogently even in ordinary conversation; he does not possess the charm of myths and fairy tales which lend a hue of picturesqueness to many other primitive races. The few stories or legends that he just manages to lisp out are about Rama or Hanuman or Valmiki. Valmiki, of course, was a Bhil, and as such, is tenderly revered as an ancestral hero. The tribe does

body crudely and inconsistently the usual ideas and superstitions on death, sin, virtue, hell, heaven, immortality and transmigression. Others are appropriate to tribal festivals, Bacchanalian dances and similar occasions.



Typical Bhil Males



Bhil Agriculturists with their Ploughs on Field

possess a few songs. Some of them have probably come floating across the centuries, though others are indisputably of a modern or even recent origin. Some of them are of a religious or devotional character, and em-

No song or music with an epic twang such as may awaken heroic impulses, fire martial enthusiasm or challenge the Fates, seems to be extant in the tribe. Even in the case of the devotional and other songs, the tone of delivery is torturously slow and plaintive, laden with vague sighs and suppressed yearnings.

In the matter of literacy or rather, of illiteracy of the tribes, I cannot do better than quote Mr. A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, who says that :

'They are steeped in ignorance and poverty and do not know their own rights and privileges, much less their collective and national responsibilities. They rarely, if ever, come in contact with urban people, rarely care to trade with them, and like to remain in their primitive habitat. They have not learnt the art of agriculture, ill-developed as it is in this country, nor have they learnt brickmaking nor stone-quarrying, much less do they know the art of trading, or reading or writing. The Bombay Census figures of literacy show that the number of literate males among the forest tribe of Katkaris is only 3 per 1,000 and of Bhils only 4

as against 28 of Bhangis and 65 of Dheds. Thus in the art of letters they are seven times more depressed than the most depressed Bhangi and 16 times more than the weaving Dhed. In a state in South Central India, wholly populated by aboriginal tribes, the literacy among Bhils was only one per 13,000 or next to zero'. (Article in the *Bombay Chronicle*).

One can only point out that yet a darker picture exists in Rajputana where out of a total population of 480, 679 "Animists", not one blessed soul could be classed as 'literate' (vide Census of India Report, 1921 ; Vol. XXIV, part 1.)

We need not wonder, therefore, when we find that the Bhil can hardly count ten or work out the results of 2 *plus* 3. It is entirely to the interest of the Sahukar, the officials and the Indian States affected to

perpetuate this dense ignorance. So long as this combine of vested interests can help it, the Bhil shall grovel in the same piggish intellect till the crack of doom. Even the less interested sections of society have not bothered themselves about the fate of the tribe. Neither Hindu nor Mahomedan religionists have ever stirred a muscle in its interests, and the lay public has been equally apathetic. The servants of the Cross have, in recent years, begun exploring this vast field for missionary work, and are trying to lift up these wild beings to the level of the human species. The noble band of volunteers of the Bhil Seva Mandal under the capable guidance of Mr. A. V. Thakkar have lately started tackling this problem in all its aspects.

THE STATE OF HUNGARY

By G. E. R. GEDYE,

Late Correspondent of the Times for Central Europe

THE "Kingless Kingdom" of Hungary, where elections have been decreed for December, generally is recognised to be an unfortunate country. If the interests of a people are to be identified with those of its rulers, this judgment would have to be revised. No *regime* in Europe has been more successful in turning national misfortune into personal profit and persuading the world to accept it at its own valuation than has that which dominates the lands of St. Stephen's Crown. The population is indeed unfortunate, but for other reasons than those generally accepted.

Hungary is usually presented to the world as a land of peace-loving, hard-working peasants, crushed by the Treaty of Trianon, yet harbouring no revengeful thoughts. It is a country which has been martyred by Bolshevism, say, its official propagandists, yet which is now wisely ruled and happy in its parliamentary institutions—a country which, if it cannot lay claim to the happiness conferred by lack of history, enjoys the repose implied by its absence from the columns of the foreign Press. Its only desire, apparently, is to be left alone by its neighbours

and eventually to return to the monarchy which it abandoned under pressure in 1920.

It is a cleverly drawn picture, but not one which is recognisable by students and friends of the Hungarian people. They see Hungary as a nation in shackles in part forged, in part re-riveted by its present rulers. It appears to them as a country artificially maintained in a state of almost feudal mediaevalism in the interests of an oligarchy, its Press muzzled, its people forbidden freedom of speech and opinion—a country in which this oligarchy spends large sums in artificially nourishing dreams of revenge on its neighbours and in secret preparations for their realisation. Far from appearing as the guardians of Western liberties against the East, as the Magyar rulers love to pose, they seem to impartial observers to be holding in Eastern bondage an unfortunate subject population which alone of Central European peoples fails to participate in the new liberties acquired by its neighbours.

I do not wish for one moment to minimise the injustice done to Hungary by the

vindictive Treaty of Trianon. Desirable as it was that her non-Magyar subjects should be freed from compulsory allegiance to the Thousand Year Kingdom which in a thousand years had failed to assimilate them, it was not right or expedient that on all debatable points, their wishes should have been made law. The boundaries of Hungary were drawn up with little regard to her national claims or to her economic needs. It may be doubted, however, whether the bulk of the Magyar population thus placed under alien rule has suffered more than those left to the tender mercies of the Magyar oligarchy at home.

In Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, if he has been oppressed in the matter of language and education, the Magyar peasant has shared in the distribution of land which followed the break-up of unwieldy *latifundia*. In Hungary, there has been nothing but a mockery of land reform; the adult peasant labours on the land of his lord from sunrise until sunset for the sum of tenpence per day, his wife and children for sixpence or sevenpence. Yet the Esterhazy family owns more than three-quarters of a million acres of land, of which Count Paul Esterhazy alone owns 300,000 acres. More than eight-and-a-half million acres—33 per cent of all the arable land in Hungary is owned by only 1130 landowners. If you visit any Hungarian landowner, keep your hands thrust deep into your pockets, unless you wish to have them kissed by the first cringing peasant who realises that you are a guest of his lord. Before every motor-car on the rough tracks that do duty for roads in Hungary, the peasant stands with bowed head, hat in hand. That is not yet the depths. An Englishman who had occasion to motor a good deal with a member of the Hungarian aristocracy told a friend of mine that he always knew when they had entered the family estates because instead of standing hatless, the peasants regularly flung themselves flat in the road and kissed the wheel-tracks of the car as it passed.

Count Michael Karolyi, the well-meaning but unsuccessful President of the short-lived Hungarian Republic, is always spoken of by the present rulers as "The Traitor"—and justly, for did he not try to institute land reform and thus betray what its rulers understand by "Hungary" the interests of the oligarchy? Since Bolshevism ousted him and gave place

in its turn to the White Terror, every precaution has been taken to fasten the yoke more firmly on the neck of the peasant. Though school attendance has decreased and school hours have been reduced the number of teachers has been nearly doubled, the additional *personnel* having for its main task the teaching of nationalism. In their free time, the smaller boys learn the elements of soldiering in "Pathfinder" organisations; from the ages of 14 to 21, by the Law of 1923 youths are forced to join the "Levente" and to attend its drills. This organisation is supervised by officers of the old army, and is simply a militia disguised as a gymnastic association. Thus is the prohibition of military training set at naught. Where formerly a gendarmerie post of six men sufficed for six to ten villages, there is now one such post in every village. No wonder that 65 per cent of the national and municipal revenues of Hungary are spent on Government servants.

Liberty fares little better in the cities, where misery invisible to casual visitors who admire the flamboyant beauty of the wealthy quarters—is so extreme that in Budapest alone there were recently 16 suicides in one day. In the courts, prosecutions for speaking against the Regent, Admiral Horthy, are numerous, and savage sentences are inflicted. Perhaps the most useful weapon for stifling public opinion is the law making it an offence to say or write anything which might damage the name of the country abroad. It can be imagined, perhaps, to what an extent this is stretched to cover any utterance disagreeable to the ruling classes. The Press is under special disabilities; the sale of any paper on the streets can be prohibited by a simple departmental order. In the same way, a paper can be suppressed for any length of time; there is no trial in the courts and no remedy.

To glance at three outstanding examples of the work of the law courts in the past twelve months may be instructive. Last year, Edmund Beniczky, a former Home Secretary asserted that the regent, Admiral Horthy, had been privy to the White Terrorist plot to murder Somogyi, a socialist editor; he stated that as Home Secretary, he himself had cognisance of the orders given by the Regent to prevent the punishment of the murderers. Finally, he declared that Count Bethlen also knew of these matters and that his—Beniczky's

statements were absolutely true. He was sentenced to three years' penal servitude after a trial which took place for the most part *in camera*, but was released after a few months. Count Bethlen made no statement on the matter.

Last winter, after strong pressure had been exercised by the French, Prince Louis Windischgraetz, M. Nadossy, Count Bethlen's all-powerful Police Minister, and other Hungarian aristocrats were put on trial for the forgery of franc notes. They declared that they had acted from patriotic motives in the interests of "Hungary" (read "the oligarchy"). Count Bethlen testified at the trial to Prince Windischgraetz, saying: "I know him as a gentleman and I know him to be incapable of having acted from sordid motives. Before the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry, Count Bethlen admitted that he had learned of the proposed forgeries as early as 1921, and had given instructions that they were to be stopped. The sentences imposed on the forgers were amazingly light and have just been reduced.

This summer, Rakosi and Weinberger, two Communist leaders, and their associates were put on trial. These two men had held office under the Communist *regime* in Hungary and had returned from Russia to try to organise a new Hungarian Communist Party. Nothing worse than this was proved against them; they were sentenced to eight years penal servitude apiece, double the sentences imposed on the franc forgery ringleaders. During the trial, prison doctors proved that the prisoners had been brutally beaten by the police to extract confessions; the judge brushed aside the admitted evidence as unimportant, saying to the defence in effect: "Well, all right, they were beaten. What of it? Get on with your case." This torture of prisoners is, in fact, an accepted thing in Hungary. As to the past horrors of the White Terror, these do not bear description. The White Terror murderers are unpunished though they are all known, and one of the worst of them, Ivan Hejjas, who had nearly 200 persons including his own brother-in-law done to death in the wood of Orgovany, is standing as a candidate at these elections.

How is it that liberal opinion abroad knows so little of the real Hungary? Soon after the advent of the present *regime* Count Bethlen received the sage advice: "Get the City and Wall Street behind you, and the British and American Press will be bound

to follow." Every demand of international finance was complied with, and foreign capital attracted to the country. The direction of Press propaganda in Great Britain and America was placed in skilful British hands. Every endeavour was made to propagate the legend of "Count Bethlen, Hungary's strong Man", and to suggest that if he were upset, only Bolshevism would follow and invested capital would be lost. Hence, papers were told, it would be dangerous to publish anything unfavourable to his *regime*. The Hungarians saw to it that any British or American journalist coming to Budapest was carefully "nursed"; lavish hospitality, apparently spontaneous, was dispensed on a regular system, and the visitor shown just what it was desirable for him to see. Some visitors have even found very useful financial tips being tendered them. Resident Hungarian Correspondents of British papers, if they were not already connected with the Hungarian Foreign Office, could always be dealt with by the methods applicable to all other Hungarian subjects. Determined and skilful attempts were made by British agents of the Hungarian Government to discredit with their papers in London and New York, all persons writing on Hungary who were not resident in Budapest and therefore largely immune from the combination of flattery and subtle threats employed there; such persons, said these agents should only be getting their information from Hungarian *emigres*, and were untrustworthy. Every article and every message, even the briefest, unfavourable to Hungary, was challenged openly or privately. The news agencies were supplied with abundant news free of charge direct from Budapest by the Hungarian Foreign Office. These are some of the methods by which Hungary has been—and is still being—made safe for autocracy.

What of the future? Count Bethlen has rushed through Parliament a House of Magnates Act setting up an Upper Chamber consolidating the power of oligarchy, and conferring special privileges on the Hapsburg Archdukes, in defiance of the Hapsburg Dethronement Act of 1920. With the open ballot in 218 out of 240 constituencies, where the peasant has to declare on the hustings before the magistrate, the gendarmes and his "federal lord" whether he is for or against the Government, the latter is sure of another obedient majority. Whether or no Count Bethlen's motive in suddenly ordering

an election for no apparent reason is to try to restore the Monarchy, the people of Hungary will have no chance of voicing their will at these farcical elections. How long they will remain mute and helpless under the heel of the dictator it is impossible to say. Intolerable oppression provokes in time desperate and terrible remedies. Many efforts are made by newspapers and by individual journalists to get the truth known about Hungary, but the interest in that country is not great. This lightens the task of the

propagandists, which is negative rather than positive, and directed mainly to keeping unfavourable news out of print. Liberal thinkers should bear in mind that all moral support afforded to "Hungary" as at present constituted and every penny invested in the country merely strengthen the grip of the oligarchy on the people. International finance should remember that in backing "Hungary"—it is backing a mediaeval tyranny in a progressive Europe. That may be an investment, but is more a speculation.

Vienna. Nov. 17, 1926

THE ART OF MR. C. F. WINZOR

By MANINDRABHUSHAN GUPTA,

Ananda College, Colombo.

ALTHOUGH Mr. C. F. Winzor has been in Ceylon for the last six years as the chief inspector of art in the local schools, his art is scarcely known in India.

Though Mr. Winzor is an Englishman, there is more of a Frenchman in him; for his long stay in Paris and his admiration for the literature, art and culture of France has



The rainy Day in Jaffina—by C. F. Winzor



The Nawtch Girl at Tanjore—by C. F. Winzor

made him almost a Frenchman. He and his art should, in my opinion, be known to the Indian artists and art connoisseurs and I venture to think that they will find them interesting. If an Exhibition could be arranged in Calcutta it would offer a fine opportunity for a real appreciation of his work by the Calcutta public. His pictures have been exhibited in the famous art Exhibitions of Europe, but it is very strange that here in Ceylon he is known only as the inspector of art and beyond that he hardly gets any recognition and appreciation as an artist. His works, which have been much appreciated in Europe, have been under-estimated at the Exhibition, held by the art society of Colombo. Once a French artist wrote to me from Paris, that a Western artist like Mr. Winzor is hardly seen in the East. European artists generally whom we see at the head of Indian art

schools are at best schoolmasters, who are attached there as ornaments. Mr. Winzor is not an artist of that type.

He was in Paris for 14 years and in Italy for two years. During this period he studied art and visited the important art galleries.

He has exhibited several times at the famous Venice international autumn salon and in Paris. He has had several one man's shows in London at Carfax Gallery. Many of his pictures are in private collections in the continent, in England and in America. There are a few also in Ceylon. Exhibitions were arranged in Edinburgh and in London at Chelsea Book Club for his Lithographs alone, which were highly appreciated there. A set of his Lithographs have been kept in the British Museum. Subjects of many of Lithographs are based on Hindoo Mythology, in which Mr. Winzor

is highly interested. He has also done illustrations for many books of the Poetry Bookshop. A book of poems by Flecker has been illustrated with his original Lithographs, "Book on Chinese Drama" by Mr. Johnston, the tutor of the Emperor of China, is illustrated with reproductions in colour of six paintings by Mr. Winzor.



A Kandian Chief—by C. F. Winzor

Mr. Winzor belongs to the modern European school which has left off the beaten track of realism and imitation. The important thing to be noticed in his work is his vigorous drawing and the simplicity of form, which is the quality of all ancient art. In all his work there is a touch of individuality.

The quality of an artist can be well-known from his ordinary sketches, for such a work is uninfluenced by an external motive. In a sketch, the artist can give full vent to the skill of his hand, which is often handicapped in a finished product of the artist. A picture will be a good one, when it can retain some elements of the sketch, which show the work of the hand. The tendency of the sketch should be to create rhythm of form and the harmony of movement.

This natural aptitude of the hand referred to above is some times called Calligraphy or the art of writing. This quality, peculiar to Central Asiatic art is observed in all the famous works of art. One finds ample evidence of it in Ajanta and Sijiria.

Mr. Winzor has acquired the Calligraphic



The Study of a Tamil—by C. F. Winzor

quality to a great extent. There is an oriental touch in his work. When he starts painting in oil, he at once begins with drawing with the brush. So his work is spontaneous and retains the elements of the sketch. His composition and distribution of colour have a decorative effect, which perhaps is the conspicuous element in the works of the modern French artists.

Mr. Winzor is an admirer of Puvis de

Chavanne, Maurice Denis, Crangin, Van Gogh, the famous artists of France. There is perhaps some influence of those masters in his work.

A few photographs of his works are given here, but their real value cannot be judged from these, as they are without colour and indistinct.

A THEISTIC INTERPRETATION OF SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY

II.

INTERNAL POSITIVE EVIDENCES

By PROF. ABHAY KUMAR MAJUMDAR

WE have shown before that in the aphorisms 96 and 99 of the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram the existence of Isvara is admitted. But there are other aphorisms also which are more clear and emphatic in that respect. Consider the aphorisms: 56 and 57 in chapter III, Ibid. The former should be read with two preceding aphorisms in order that its true meaning may be clearly understood. They are, "It is not through the absorption into the cause that the end is accomplished, because, just as in the case of one who has dived there is a rising" again. And, "Though Prakriti is not an effect, or not directed by another to act, yet, the rising again takes place through her being *subordinate*." Now a question arises: To what is Prakriti *subordinate*? Bijanana explains it thus: "Through her being under the rule of the object of Purusa. Under the influence of the object of Purusa in the form of the manifestation of the discrimination (between Prakriti and Purusa), one absorbed into Prakriti is raised up again by her. Such is the meaning." 'Paravasyat' as 'purusarthatvat,' i.e., through her being under the rule of the object of Purusa: this is quite an unnatural meaning. The word 'paravasya' is derived from the word 'paravasa' which means under the influence of another; so that 'paravasya' should mean *subjection to another*. Aniruddha gives exactly this meaning for he means by 'paravasyat' 'paratantratvat,' i.e., on account of subjection to another; and by 'parah' he means 'atma' i.e., the Self or Soul. Now, the question is, who is that Self? The answer is given in the next aphorism: "He is the all-knower and all-doer." The word 'sa' i.e., 'he,' evidently means Isvara, for He only can be all-knower and all-doer. But Bijanana gives a different interpretation: He observes: "For, he who was, in the previous creation, absorbed into the Cause, (i.e. Prakriti), becomes, in another creation, the Adi or Original Purusa, bearing the character of Isvara or the Lord, all-knowing and all-doing; because, by reason of his absorption into Prakriti, it is but fitting that he alone should reach the status of Prakriti." Thus, according to Bijanana, 'sa' i.e., 'he,' refers to Purusa, not to Isvara at all. But by his this interpretation he has committed some serious mistakes. The Purusas, who are absorbed into

Prakriti during the *pralaya*, are those who have not as yet been released, not those who have been already released; and only the *unreleased* Purusas rise in the following creation and act according to their previous instincts. Now the question is, how can those unreleased purusas, those who are still under the bondage and have not as yet attained self-knowledge, can become the all-knowing and all-doing Isvara? Moreover, it should be noticed that 'sa' has a singular number and therefore indicates a *single* Purusa: Now the question is, which one of those numerous Purusas becomes all-knowing and all-doing Isvara? Either all of them, or none, must be so. Again Bijanana himself admits, in his explanation of the next aphorism, that it is universally admitted in the Sruti and the Smriti that there is proof of an eternal Isvara by means of proximity. The aphorism runs thus: "The existence of such an Isvara is proved or admitted." The word 'idrisa' here connects it with the preceding aphorism, and means 'such,' i.e., all-knowing and all-doing. But Bijanana's interpretation of 'sa' makes these two aphorisms quite unconnected with each other; because if 'sa' refers to purusa, 'sarvavit,' i.e., all-knowing, and 'sarvakarta,' i.e., all-doing should qualify him, and cannot qualify Isvara, i.e., Lord in the second aphorism. In that case, the word 'idrisa' will have no meaning, or will have quite an unnatural meaning. These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the word 'sa' refers to Isvara.

Aniruddha also gives exactly the same interpretation to the aphorism 56. He says: "Of what form, one may ask, is the Supreme Self? To this the author replies: He is all-knower and all-doer—such 'abhimān' i.e., self-consciousness arises through its being reflected in Prakriti." He gives this interpretation to the aphorism 57, namely; "Let the agency (of the Supreme Self) be just real (instead of being reflectional): what need, one may ask, of the supposition of (its being a) reflectional? It follows, therefore, that the very Isvara that is conceived in the Nyaya Darsana, exists. In regard to this, the author says: If (you mean to say that the self, as conceived by us, is the Isvara, let it be so. But there is no evidence in favour of the existence of an Isvara as) conceived in the Nyaya

Darsana. And this has been declared in the aphorism (Book 1.92): "Because Isvara is not a subject of proof," and also in the aphorism (Book II, 1): Of Prakriti, the agency or the becoming the procreatrix is either for the release of the released (or for her own sake)." Here Aniruddha clearly admits that the self spoken of in the preceding aphorism (i.e., aph. 56) and as conceived by him, i.e., conceived as becoming all-knowing and all-doing through its being *reflected* in Prakriti, *is the Isvara*, and what he denies is the existence of that Isvara as conceived by the Nyaya Darsana i.e., as conceived to be *really*, not reflectionally, all-knowing and all-doing. Consider herewith also the aphorism 116, chap. V., to wit, "During trance (or absolute absorption), profound sleep, and release (Purusa rests in) the condition of being of the form of Brahman (Isvara)." Here especially mark the word 'Brahmarupata'; what does it really mean? Aniruddha comments on it thus: "The condition of having a similar form with Brahman, on account of non-perception of external objects anywhere, but not the condition of being of the very form of Brahman." Vedant in Mahadeva gives it this interpretation: "the condition of being of the form of Brahman," i.e. "the not-feeling of pain." Bijanana explains it thus: "Brahmarupata is the resting by being full of its own svarupa or intrinsic form, by reason of the disappearance, through the dissolution of the modification of Buddhi (intelligence), of the limitations caused by them as its upadhi or external investment." And he adds: "And in our Shastra the word 'Brahman' denotes conscious or intelligent existence in general, which is all-full, and devoid of limitation, impurity, and the like, caused by the upadhi or external investment: but not, as in the Brahma Mimansa (Vedanta), merely a particular Purusa characterised by being the Lord". In this aphorism, it is admitted at least by Aniruddha and Mahadeva, that the author of the Sankhya recognises the existence of Brahman or Isvara, whose very form, or a form similar to it, the Purusa assumes in trance, profound sleep and release, wherein he is free from any external investment or embodiment which may impose limitations upon him. This also proves that the Purusa does not differ from Brahman or Isvara *essentially*, but differs from Him only when he takes an external investment or embodiment, that is, when he becomes *united* with Prakriti and her evolutes. If we consider these admissions carefully, we can easily find that there is only one Absolute Purusa called Brahman or Isvara, who, by uniting Himself with Prakriti, assumes numberless different investments or embodiments and thereby differentiates Himself into infinite number of *ivvas* or individual purusas. Bijanana's interpretation seems to be erroneous: for, if all the purusas attain *Brahmarupata* as interpreted by him in trance, profound sleep and release, what *distinction* remains between them? Do they not become *exactly alike*, and thereby *one and the same thing*? How can they be exactly alike, and yet remain many? Manyness implies distinction, and without distinction there can be no manyness. So that Bijanana's own interpretation leads to the fact that all purusas are *ultimately one and the same*, i.e. they are only different modes, moments, or differentiations of one and the same Purusa: there is only one Purusa, to wit, Brahman or Isvara who differentiates Himself into, or appears in the

forms of innumerable purusas called jivas. Thus the last part of his interpretation is likewise erroneous.

Vedant in Mahadeva means by 'sa hi' the thing called Prakriti and that alone. This is still more absurd. He supposes that "in the present aphorism the author discredits the view that there must exist some intelligent Being as the superintendent of the Non-intelligent Prakriti, and that He must be all-knowing and all-doing. He further adds: "Because, as it belongs to Prakriti to undergo transformation, it is quite possible for her to transform as the modification of knowledge. Such is the idea". But it is difficult to see how such a supposition arises at all; we have found that in the immediately preceding aphorism, to wit, the aphorism 65, the question arises, To whom the Prakriti is *subordinate*? And that the answer is given in the present aphorism: this is the view of both Aniruddha and Bijanana. So that Mahadeva's supposition is quite unreasonable and irrelevant, because it makes the present and the preceding aphorisms quite unconnected with each other. Another difficulty arises: How can Prakriti, which is non-intelligent, be *all-knowing*? Mahadeva's explanation is curious. He tells us that as Prakriti *alone* is capable of transformation, she can transform herself into being intelligent and therefore all-knowing. But he evidently forgets that Prakriti can transform herself *only consistently* with her essential nature, and that nature being *unintelligent*, she *cannot* transform herself in such a way as to be *intelligent*, because it will thus violate the law of transformation or evolution. It may, of course, be asked: How does then arise the evolute Mahat or Buddhi, i.e., Consciousness or Intelligence, which is the first evolute of Prakriti? If Prakriti herself is non-intelligent, how does she give rise to Consciousness or Intelligence? The reply is, it is a well-known teaching of the Sankhya that evolution of Prakriti takes place by virtue of her *union* with the Conscious and intelligent Purusa; and that the Consciousness or Intelligence of Prakriti is *apparent*, being due to the *reflection* of his consciousness or intelligence upon her, just as the redness of a crystal vase is due to the reflexion of the redness of a flower. Thus Prakriti's consciousness or intelligence is *borrowed* and *apparent*. By her essential nature she is unconscious and unintelligent. (This is only the popular interpretation of the Sankhya view, but we shall prove in the sequel that it has a deeper meaning). But it may still be contended that after her becoming conscious and intelligent, she may also become *all-knower*. But that is impossible, for, all-knower means one who knows everything, and Prakriti as an all-knower must know that before she became all-knower, she did not know anything,—she was unconscious and unintelligent—that is to say, *before she was conscious and intelligent she was conscious and intelligent*, which is absurd and self-contradictory. For this reason we must reject Mahadeva's interpretation and hold that "sa" refers to the Supreme Self or Isvara as is said by Aniruddha, and not to Prakriti.

We may, therefore, conclude that the Self to whom Prakriti is subordinate and under whose influence she rises again to act or create, is none but the all-knowing and all-doing Isvara. Now a difficulty may arise: The Sankhya in agreement

with the Sruti, upholds that Isvara is inactive. How, then, can He be *all-doing*? The reply is, as Prakriti acts under His influence and guidance, He may, at least *indirectly*, be called all-acting or all-doing, or the *ultimate source* of all agency or activity, just as a king, to quote a simile from the Sankhya itself, is called a fighter, although he does not *actually* fight, but his soldiers do so under his order and guidance. This is the common answer; but I shall prove in the sequel that Isvara is the *real doer* and Prakriti is His *instrument* only.

Let us now turn to a more authentic treatise on the Sankhya Philosophy, I mean the Sankhya Karika. Is there any positive evidence in it with regard to the existence of Isvara? I think there is. In two significant verses it is positively declared, that there is *one* Absolute Purusa, i.e., the Supreme Self, as there is *one* Absolute Prakriti. Examine these two verses: "The manifested is caused, non-eternal, limited, changeful, multiform; dependent, attributive, conjunct and subordinate: the 'Unmanifested' is the reverse".—10. "The Manifested has trine constituents, and is indiscriminative, objective, generic, (i.e. enjoyable by all souls), irrational and productive. So also is Prakriti. *Soul is the reverse in these respects as in those*".—11. Mark the last sentence, i.e., "the Soul is the reverse in these respects as in those." This means that Purusa or Soul possesses attributes which are opposite to those possessed by the Manifested; and therefore are these: Purusa is uncaused, eternal, all-pervading, unchanging, *one*, independent, indissoluble, uncombined, self-governed, destitute of the three constitutive factors, discriminative, subjective, specific or individual, rational and unproductive. In this list we should mark one attribute of Purusa, namely, *one*; Soul or Purusa is said here *to be one*; this is a very significant word which has been the cause of much dispute among the annotators. Therefore upon its true interpretation entirely depends the solution of the problem whether Soul is one or many. Gaurapada says: "the Manifested is multiform, the Unmanifested is single, so is Purusa also *single*". Vachaspati gives a different interpretation: "Let it be that Purusa, like Prakriti, is uncaused, eternal, etc.; he, like the manifested, is also *many*: If so, why do you say that Purusa is opposite to the Manifested? For this, it is said (that Purusa is) like the manifested *also*: Here *cha* means *api*." This interpretation of Vachaspati arises as he says, from the verse 18 which declared the multitudinousness of Purusa. The Sankhya Chandrika confirms the interpretation. Prof. Wilson seems to side with Vachaspati and observes: "The general position, that the properties of Soul are the reverse of those of the products of nature, requires, however, some modification in one instance. A discrete principle is said to be multitudinous, many, *aneka*; consequently Soul should be single, *eka*; and it is so according to the Sankhya Bhasya. On the other hand, the Sankhya Tattva Kaumudi makes Soul agree with discrete principles, in being multitudinous.—The Sankhya Chandrika confirms the interpretation, "The phrase *tatha cha* implies that (Soul) is analogous to discrete principles in manifold enumeration" This is, in fact, the Sankhya doctrine, as subsequently laid down by the text, verse 18, and is conformable to the Sutra of Kapila: 'Multitude of souls is proved by variety of condition': that is 'the

virtuous are born again in heaven, the wicked are regenerated in hell; the fool wanders in error, the wise man is set free'. Either, therefore, Gaurapada has made a mistake, or by his *eka* is to be understood, not that Soul in general is one only, but that it is single, or several, in its different migrations; or, as Mr. Colebrook renders it (R. A. S. Trans. Vol. I, p. 31), 'individual'. So in the 'Sutras' it is said, 'that there may be various unions of one Soul, according to difference of receptacle, as the etherial element may be confined in a variety of vessels'. This singleness of Soul applies therefore to that particular Soul which is subjected to its own varied course of birth, death, bondage and liberation, for, as the commentator observes, 'one Soul is born, not another (in a regenerated body)'. The singleness of Soul therefore, as asserted by Gaurapada, is no doubt, to be understood in this sense."

Vachaspati's interpretation seems to be strained and inconsistent with the tenor of the verses 10 & 11. If *tatha cha* means really "like the manifested also", it is very difficult to see why such likeness should be in respect of one attribute only, to wit, *onekalyam*, and not in respect of other attributes as described in the verse 10. If the Purusa resembles the manifested in being many why he should not do so in being caused, non-eternal, limited, etc., *also*? Vachaspati does not explain this distinction. But, yet, it may be contended by others that the attributes of being caused, etc., are not applicable to Purusa: Purusa cannot be conceived to be caused, etc., for if he were caused, etc., he would be one of the manifested: and this would be manifestly inconsistent with the verse 3, where it is expressly said that Purusa is different from both Prakriti and the effects or the manifested. The reply to this contention is, if Purusa is distinct from the manifested, he is also distinct from Prakriti, but, yet, he resembles the latter in being uncaused, etc.; why should he not then resemble the manifested in being caused, etc.? The retort will, of course, be that two contradictory sets of attributes cannot be possessed by one and the same thing. That is not true. One and the same thing may possess opposite qualities. Really there are no 'opposites', but are 'differents'; all things have their own places in the universe, and where they are in their own places, they are perfectly consistent with one another; opposition or inconsistency arise when they are misplaced. So that apparently opposite things may be juxtaposed without contradiction by being placed in their own positions. Thus Prakriti which admittedly *one*, contains the condition of being *many*, for, otherwise, she could not be differentiated into many. If she were *mere one*—abstract one—bare or homogeneous identity coupled and confined absolutely within herself, she could not go out of herself into the mahy. Consequently her *oneness* includes the ground and condition of *manyness*—she is *one-in-many*. Similar is the case with the other attributes she is uncaused and caused, eternal and non-eternal, infinite and limited, etc., at the same time. If she were *merely* uncaused, eternal, infinite, etc., and did not contain the ground and condition of being caused non-eternal, limited, etc., nothing which is caused, non-eternal, limited, etc., could come out of her;—there could be no creation or revolution. But the author of the Sankhya is intelligent enough to maintain that Prakriti is not such a *bare*

unity, but she is a complex unity of various constitutive elements called *Sattva*, *Rajah* and *Tamah*. In fact Prakriti, as the whole, contains attributes peculiar to herself and so far differs from the manifested and also those attributes possessed by the manifested as her parts or evolutes, and so far, resembles them. This view is not inconsistent with the teachings of the Sankhya; the Sankhya doctrine of *Causality* corroborates it: thus, in the verse 9 it is said: "Effect subsists (in the cause antecedently to its operation); for what exists not, can by no operation of cause be brought into existence. Materials, too, are selected which are fit for the purpose: everything is not by every means possible: what is capable does that to which it is competent; and the effect is of the same nature with the cause." In this verse particularly mark 'karanabhabat' i.e. (the effect has the same characteristics as the cause has)—(Gaurapada), or (from the fact that the effect has the same essential nature as the cause)—(Vachaspati). Now, if we apply this doctrine to Prakriti and her products how can we say that she is *merely* one, uncaused, eternal etc.? and that the products are *merely*, any caused, non eternal, etc.? If the cause and the effect are of the same nature they must possess common characteristics, though after the manifestation the effect assumes a new form and comes to possess also some other characteristics by virtue of which it differs from the cause. But this does not imply that those other characteristics are such that their ground and conditions are not in the cause: for, if they were not in the cause, the effect would contain some characteristics the cause of which was not its cause, but *something else*: that is to say, its own cause was not its *adequate* cause and would require to be supplemented by some other cause. What would that other cause be in the case of the manifested? The Sankhya does not recognise any other cause than the Prakriti; so that Prakriti must be recognised as the *only adequate cause*: that is to say, the cause which contains the ground and conditions of all the characteristics possessed by the manifested. This conclusively shows that Prakriti possesses two antagonistic sets of attributes—one set she possesses in her own essential capacity, to wit, as the *whole*, and another set, in her another capacity, to wit, as the products or differentiations.

The above argument shows that a thing may possess contradictory attributes, and in fact, everything in the world possesses contradictory attributes; for instance, everything is *one* thing possessing *many* attributes—everything is a *single whole* constituted by *many* parts of elements; or in other words, everything is *one-in-many unity-in-variety*. The same is exactly true of Purusa; he is *one-in-many*, *uncaused-in-the-caused*, *eternal-in-the-non-eternal*, *infinite-in-the-finite*, etc.: he is *one* Purusa differentiated into *many* purusas; he is *uncaused* cause of all the *caused* effects; he is *eternal*, appearing as and in all *non-eternal* things and beings; he is *infinite* including all *finite* things etc. If the Purusa were a *bare* or *abstract one* a bare undifferentiated identity—there could be no *many* purusas: if he were merely *uncaused* containing no ground and conditions of the caused, there could be nothing *caused* if he were *merely eternal and infinite* containing no ground and conditions of the *non-eternal* and the

finite, there could be nothing that is *non-eternal* and *finite*. Or, in other words, though Purusa is *essentially* one, uncaused, eternal, infinite, etc. yet, he *appears* to be many, caused, non-eternal, finite, etc. And there is an interpretation of "tadviparita tatha cha puman" which confirms the above inference. It may mean that *Purusa is both opposite and analogous to them*. This interpretation seems to me *true and sound*. I shall dilate upon this point in the sequel. The interpretation offered by Prof. Wilson and Dr. Colebrooke that Purusa is one in the sense that he remains 'single' or 'individual' throughout his numerous migrations is evidently absurd.

The whole difficulty seems to arise from the *apparent* impossibility of reconciling the verses 10 & 11 with the verse 18. The latter runs thus "Because birth, death, and the organs are severally allotted, and because activity is not simultaneous and also because the factors are found unequally the multiplicity of souls is established." This verse, it is evident, tries to prove the multiplicity of souls, which is, therefore, apparently inconsistent with the verses 10 & 11, where the unity or singleness of soul is asserted. From this *apparent* inconsistency arises the attempt to modify the meaning of the latter consistently with that of the former. But no attempt has been made to reconcile them without modifying the meaning of either. Are the verses really inconsistent? I do not think so. The truth is, the verses 10 & 11 (we should always read these two together) speak of Purusa in his *absolute* character, i.e. of the Parama-Purusa or the Absolute Soul, while the verse 18 speaks of purusas in their *relative and individual* character, i.e. of *jivas* as associated with external investments or embodiments. Or, in more familiar words, the former speak of Isvara or the Infinite Self and the latter of human or individual souls. It may be objected that the Sankhya recognises only twenty-five categories, one of which is Purusa so that it speaks of only one kind of Purusa, no two; and that one kind of Purusa must be that who is associated with the manifested, i.e., the Consciousness or Intelligence, self-consciousness Manah, the ten organs of sense, etc., and is therefore *multitudinous*. This is certainly not true. We have already found that the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram speaks of two kinds of Purusa, the Infinite Purusa or Isvara and the finite and confined purusas or Jivas. Similar is the case with the Sankhya Karika. It is true that the latter does never even mention the word 'Isvara' in any of its verses, but it is perhaps because the word 'Isvara' bears different meanings and especially it is not used in the Sruti as equivalent to Brahman the truly Absolute Self; or it may be, because the Sankhya Karika does not recognise any essential distinction between the Absolute and the human Soul, the latter being nothing but the individualisation or differentiation of the former. But whatever might be the reasons, it is certainly no sound argument that as the Sankhya Karika does not mention the word 'Isvara', it does not recognise His existence at all. I am going to show that by the word 'Purusa' or the Soul, the Sankhya Karika means sometimes the Absolute and sometimes the Relative Soul, sometimes the Brahman and sometimes the Jivas.

Examine the verse 18 a little more closely and we shall find that the reasons for which it declares

Purusa to be multitudinous, do not really prove him to be so. Birth, death, the organs, activities and the three *gunas*, all belong to or are adjectives of Prakriti, or more properly, of her evolutes, and none of them belongs to Purusa, inasmuch as, being essentially eternal and infinite, he cannot be born, nor die; being all-pervading, he cannot have any organs of sense; being inactive he cannot act, and being non-composite he cannot have the *gunas*. Therefore, what the different allotments of birth, death, and the organs, the unsimultaneous character of activities and the inequality of the three *gunas* really establish, is not the multiplicity of Purusa, but that of the *Upadhis* or external investments in and through which Prakriti manifests herself when conjoined with Purusa. We should be more explicit in this point, because it is the most important one. The concrete man has two sides or aspects: he has a rational side and he has also a non-rational or natural side, the latter including, according to the Sankhya, everything which is found in man except his Self or Soul; or in the words of the Sankhya, he has a side which is represented by the Purusa and he has also a side which is represented by Prakriti in the shapes of the external investments, namely, the Consciousness or Intelligence, the Self-consciousness, the Manah, the ten organs of sense, the five subtle Elements, and the five gross Elements. The concrete man is the synthesis or union of Purusa and Prakriti—of the Self and the Not-Self—of the Subject and the Object. In short, the concrete man is a *subject-object*. Purusa or the Self or the Subject in him is infinite, unchangeable, eternal all-pervading, inactive (in the ordinary sense and beyond all attachment; but Prakriti or the Not-Self or the Object in him is *actually* finite, changeable, temporal, non-pervasive, active and attached. Birth, death, etc., are, therefore, characteristics of the latter side of man, while the former is above and beyond them all. Thus, we find that the verse 18 does not mean to establish the multiplicity of Purusa, which is impossible, but the multiplicity of the *upadhis* or investments in and through which Prakriti becomes associated and conjoined with Purusa, giving, thereby, rise to multitudinous *jivas* or human beings. Furthermore, it is evident that the verse 18 indirectly establishes the *unity* or *oneness* of Purusa, and thus confirms what is affirmed in the verses 10 & 11 with regard to his oneness.

But it may still be asked: As the verse 18 clearly declares the multiplicity of Purusa, how can this be reconciled with his unity or singleness? Or, in other words, *how can Purusa be one and many at the same time?* This is undoubtedly one of the most important problems of metaphysics. This raises the old problem of *the one and the many*. The instance in point is man himself: man himself is one and many at the same time. He is the unity of Purusa and Prakriti—of the self and the not-self; he is a subject-object. In whatever way, whether by proximity or otherwise, these two distinct and opposite realities are unified in man, it cannot be denied that he is a unity-in-variety—an one-in-many. But only this will not solve the problem. We are to prove that there is one Absolute Purusa and that all other Purusas are nothing but His individualisations or differentiations. In this way

only we can solve the problem of the one and the many. What does the Sankhya say about it? Let us consider. In the Sankhya Karika and also other treatises on the Sankhya, Purusa is defined in a general way, although they assert that there are many Purusas; that is, the individual purusas are not *separately* defined, but have a *general* definition. They are all infinite, unchangeable, all-pervasive, eternal, rational, etc., that is, they all have exactly the same set of attributes. Thus they are all *exactly the same*, but, yet, they are distinct and many. How is that possible? That may be possible only on the supposition that there is *really one* Purusa and all other purusas are His *individualisations* or *differentiations*. Or, in the words of the Sankhya, every particular purusa is the Absolute Purusa in so far as He is associated and bound up with Prakriti in a *particular way*. This is the reason why the Sankhya calls every particular purusa infinite, eternal, all-pervasive, etc. No other solution is possible: For, every Purusa is perfect, and yet, there are numerous Purusas—these two expressions are inconsistent, if we suppose them *absolutely different and independent*, inasmuch as they will then limit one another by virtue of their absolute differences, and will, thus, destroy their own perfection. Many beings perfect in the same sense and in the same way, and yet absolutely different, is a self-contradictory assertion.

If we now come to the Sankhya Sūtram we find the same conclusion about this point. After establishing the multiplicity of the Souls (see chap. I, 149, and chap. VI, 45) it says, "From differences of upadhis or investments also arises the appearance of multiplicity of the one Self, as of Akasa by reason of water-pots, etc." Aniruddha and Bijanana suppose that this aphorism represents the view of the Vedantins which the author of the Sankhya means to refute. But there is no evidence to defend their views. Compare this aphorism with the aphorism, "The teaching of the Sruti about the going of Purusa is in respect of his external investment, as in the case of the Sky." (Ibid 51). Bijanana explains this aphorism in this way: "There are, of course, Vedic declarations about going with reference to the Purusa. But these should be regarded as having been made certainly in accordance with the arguments and teachings of the Sruti and Smṛiti about the universality or all-pervading character of the Purusa and, therefore, only with reference to his connexion with an external investment, in the same way as motion may be attributed to the sky. Such is the meaning. On this point the evidence is as follows: As the sky, enveloped within the water-pot, seems to move while the water-pot is carried (from place to place), (whereas in reality) the water-pot is removed, and not the sky, so the jiva, the embodied self, which is like the sky (in this respect).—*Brahma-Bindu Upanishad*, 13." Read this with the aphorism 59 of the chapter vi, which runs thus: "And, in accordance with the Sruti about its going, though the self is all-pervading there takes place, in the course of time, its connexion with the place of Experience, through conjunction of the Upadhi—just as in the case of the sky." Here Bijanana evidently admits that those aphorisms represent the views of the author of the Sankhya that the Soul is essentially one, eternal and all-pervading, but appears to limit

itself by embodiment and thereby appears to be distinct. Thus we find that the interpretation given to the aphorism 150 (chap. I) by Bijanana is evidently mistaken and inconsistent with his interpretation of the last two aphorisms. To avoid misunderstanding we should also read the aphs. 151-154, which are connected with the aph. 150.

The aph. 151 runs thus : "The Upadhi or investment is different, but not the holder thereof." What this really means is, just as the Akasa appears to be different on account of the differences of its *upadhi*, for instance, water-pot, etc., but really it remains identically the same, so the Soul remains essentially the same, though appears to be different by reason of his different embodiments. Aniruddha and Bijanana interpret it in a different way consistently with their interpretation of the aph. 150. But we have shown that their interpretation of the aph. 150 is erroneous ; therefore, their interpretation of the present one is also erroneous.

The aph. 152 is, "Thus, there is really no imputation of contradictory attributes to the Soul which is present everywhere by its unity." This aphorism is an answer to the objection that if the Soul be really one, how can it become multiple, and thereby, can it have contradictory attributes, namely, unity and variety, at the same time? Aniruddha and Bijanana have given to this aphorism a different interpretation ; but our remark on it will be the same as that of the preceding.

The aph. 153 runs thus : Being the property of another, i. e. Prakriti, it (the property of multiplicity) is only imposed upon the Soul, but really it does not belong to the latter on account of its unity or oneness. Or in plain language, the aphorism means to say that the attribute of multiplicity *really* belongs to Prakriti ; but when she becomes conjoined and associated with Purusa who is essentially one, the latter appears to be different and multitudinous. Or, in the words of modern philosophy the One Absolute Soul appears to be differentiated into numerous souls. Aniruddha and Bijanana give a different interpretation ; but it is as mistaken as their interpretations of the preceding aphorisms.

The aph. 154 is this : "There is no contradiction, (by the Sankhya theory of the multiplicity of Purusas), of the Vedic declarations of non-duality (of Purusa), because the reference (in these declarations) is to the *genus* (of Purusa)". This aphorism raises a new problem and suggests a solution of the difficulty raised in connection with the inter-

pretation of the verses 10, 11 and 18 of the Sankhya Karika, as mentioned before. Some suggest that by the unity of Purusa is meant the unity of the *genus*, whereas by the plurality of Purusas is meant the plurality of the *species*. That is to say, when the Purusa is called *one*, it is regarded as the *genus*, and when the purusas are called *many*, they are regarded as the *species* or more properly *individuals*. But we should guard ourselves against the confusion between two meanings of the word 'genus.' In Formal Logic, *genus* is an *abstract notion* representing only the common attributes possessed by a class of objects. Thus *genus* is not a concrete reality, but a group of attributes ; while the *individuals* are the concrete things or beings possessing those attributes. In this sense of genus and individuals, what are *real* and *concrete* are the *individual* purusas, and the One Purusa is nothing but an *abstract notion* expressing the common attributes of the individual Purusas, and has, thus, no existence as a *real concrete object*. This is certainly not the true meaning of the One Purusa, as we have shown before. The term 'genus' has another meaning : In metaphysics 'genus' is not an abstract notion, but a *concrete reality* and the true reality, of which the individual things are only differentiations, modes or moments. (Hegel and the Neo-Hegelians). In this sense of genus and species, the One Absolute Purusa is the true concrete reality and all the individual Purusas are His individualisations or differentiations, and are, therefore, as real as the former. This is the meaning of the terms 'genus' and 'species' with the author of the Sankhya Karika when he speaks of Purusa as both one and many at the same time. It must be noticed here that those, who contend that the notion of the unity of Purusa is an abstract genus-notion, representing only the common attributes of the concrete individual Purusas, completely forget that according to the Sankhya there are no *differentiating* attributes by which the Purusas may be distinguished from one another ; and we have proved already that the only so-called differentiating attributes, to wit, birth, death, etc., are *not* the attributes of Purusas, but of the physical bodies or investments with which they are associated. So that in the absence of any differentiating attribute or attributes, there cannot be *multitude* of purusas : in short, there must be *one and only one* Purusa associated with numberless different investments and thereby differentiating Himself into multitude of purusas or jivas.

(To be continued.)

PRESENT-DAY TURKEY

By INDU M. DAS

THE rapid changes and the radical reforms imposed on Turkey one after another cause even the most liberally-minded people in Europe to doubt whether they would endure. They fear a reaction. In a country where most of the people slumber in ignorance and illiteracy and where most

people's minds are engrossed in religious fanaticism and superstitions, a reaction is not very difficult to bring about. There may be a restoration of the Khalifa. One is reminded of the subsequent happenings of the French revolution. One cannot anticipate parallel happenings in Turkey but one is sure that if

the people are determined to have a popular government, it will be rather difficult to establish the old regime again.

The antagonistic newspapers exaggerate the dangers of the Turkish republic and exult in narrating how Mustapha Kemal Pasha is growing more and more unpopular, so that he does not even venture to show himself in Constantinople. There may be some slight truth in this statement. Kemal Pasha, whoever he may be, a hero, or an adventurer, is not after all a goody goody man. He has friends who side with him, as well as enemies whose privileged interests he has smashed and who are seeking opportunities to strike him down. This is the common story of all great statesmen.

When I was travelling from Sofia to Constantinople I chanced to make friends with several Turkish youngmen who were coming from Vienna. They received their education abroad and it is needless to say that they were very liberally brought up. I had a talk with them and our conversation turned to the subject of the reforms in Turkey. They belonged to the party of Kemal Pasha. They whole-heartedly supported the reforms as indispensable for the growth of the country and declared that a reaction in favour of the Sultan would be impossible, inasmuch as the republican government has been trying to be popular by making the people conscious of their material interests.

The incessant wars and reverses in the past have taught the people of Turkey the bitter lesson that their customary religion is not the be-all and end-all of life. To survive in the struggle for existence they must be at least equal, if not superior, in all points of strength to their European adversaries. It has, therefore, been possible without alienating the people to break with the ruling dynasty and abolish the Khilafat and establish the Turkish republic. These salutary steps have no doubt estranged the hearts of Indian Mahomedans, who sympathised with Turkey during its wars with Greece and who wanted to see the Khilafat strengthened. But Turkey had to choose between its welfare and the upkeep of the Khilafat, which had checked and retarded the progress of the country. It could not sacrifice its welfare to satisfy the religious whims of its foreign correligionists. A republican government cannot afford to let the members of the ruling dynasty remain in the country to foment secret intrigues in order to recover

its lost supremacy. It must look to its safety, and though it was a hard blow to the religious Mahomedans in India, the Khalifa Mahomed Abdul Medjid Effendi and all the members of the dynasty who, as asserted, gnawed at the vitals of the country, were banished altogether. It is with some bitterness that my Turkish friends spoke of the avarice, tyranny and debauchery of the late Sultan.

At present the Fez has been penalised. It has been considered as the symbol of loyalty to the Khalifa. But the abolition of the Fez, my friends said, is not politically so important as it is morally. The Fez is not an ugly thing, but it is simply unbearable that people should still cling to a fashion introduced centuries ago in the blindness of their religious zeal. The fact bears testimony to the stagnation of men's minds unable to conceive new things. The dynamic mind would not suffer an everlasting and unchangeable system of things even in matters of dress.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha suggested the European hat in lieu of the prescribed Fez, and the people spontaneously adopted it. The fact is that Mustapha Kemal Pasha wants Turkey to grow up and be totally like an advanced European country not only in activities but in exterior appearance, too. The tradition has been broken and the women have been relieved of their *borkhas*. A casual look in the streets of Constantinople convinces one that the people are giving preference to European dress. The puffed-up trousers, the many-buttoned coats are very rare. The women have scarcely veils and the long dark robes that covered them from head to foot have totally disappeared. There is a prevalence of blouses and frocks and a predilection for the latest Parisian fashions. This tendency is contemptuously decried as the aping of European culture by many who fear that Turkey will ultimately lose its individuality and be a slave to European fashions. Whether Turkey is justified in copying European apparel or not is not a matter of discussion here. Anyhow these outward apings, or whatever they are called, reflect no credit on the inner culture or progress of the country. Nevertheless, the changes in dress and habits are quite astounding, as they have been brought about in a very short time. It is a joyous sight no doubt to see the women move about freely and go out shopping themselves. Many women are em-

ployed in business houses as typists and sales girls. Undoubtedly it was a cruel affair to shut them up in the harems. The fashion of bobbed hair, I noticed, has not been so profusely introduced in Constantinople. Many of the young women have still long hair and instead of wearing hats, they wind very gracefully a piece of silken scarf of chequered colours on the head and knot it behind beneath their shingles. Still, there are open-armed blouses, short frocks, skin-colour stockings, high-healed shoes and a small leather bag in hand to carry powder and perfumes. The oriental bondage has been severed and it is very doubtful in case of a reaction whether they would let themselves be shut up again without a severe protestation.

In the interior of Turkey where the light of the new era has but dimly penetrated, one meets frequently with the oriental costumes. The women are clad in perpetual flowing *ghagras*, wrapped up in chequered scarfs and veiled with *borkhas* as before. But the men have mostly taken up coats and trousers. The educated people are open to European modes, the women folk of the lower level are still being shut up. One of the observers has attributed their disregard for European culture to their resolute and obstinate character hardened by religious injunctions which no law can ever break, but I think, when the tide has been set in motion, it will sweep away in time their obstinacy of character, if any, and leave them as Europeanised as their fellows in Constantinople. Even in Adana and Mersine the tendency to imitate Europe is distinctly visible.

The republican government has forbidden religion to interfere in any way with the administrative functions. Turkey comprises not only the Mahomedans but also a great number of Christians and Jews. Turkey must consolidate its power and this can only be done by uniting all the people of diverse religions in one national cause. "Turkey first and Islam next" has been the motto. Last February, a new code of civil laws universally applicable to all the communities has been compiled and adopted, through which the state can administer impartial justice and look after the social and economic welfare of the country as an integral whole. If the laws governing a society of different religions derive their inspirations from one predominant religion they are likely to be despotic. On the other hand, if different

laws are promulgated for each of different religious communities, that is, if capitulations are made to the minor sects, the political and social unity of the nation is liable to break up. Already, the smaller communities, who had been considering themselves as foreigners and clamouring for capitulations, are being merged in the Turkish nation and the need of such communal representation, as is in vogue in India, is being smoothly dispensed with.

The Government has also put down the religious institutions called Madrassas and Tekkies, which had been asylums of ignorance, fanaticism and obscurantism, and is establishing state primary and secondary schools for free mass education. Education is not widely spreading owing to the lack of sufficient number of teachers. So great care is being taken to train up teachers first. In villages where the peasants' children have to help in agricultural work, periodical schools have been set up which the children must attend two or three days in the week.

There has been recently a new movement by the literary people to do away with Turkish characters and adopt Roman characters for the Turkish language. The idea is very bold. Even in Europe there is not one uniform set of characters. The German language has Roman as well as Gothic characters and the slavonic languages have partially different characters. The composing of the Arabic types for the purpose of printing is very troublesome. The Chinese, Japanese and even the Indian languages have characters which cannot be as smoothly and as quickly composed as Roman characters. The movement of latinising the Turkish script is being carried on vigorously and the minister of education in Turkey has appointed a committee of specialists, to examine the matter and give their opinion. Already the daily "La Republique" is publishing Turkish texts in Latin characters. The decision of the specialists, if favourable, will create an absolutely new epoch in the history of mankind.

The condition of the public works in Constantinople is lamentable,—the roads are neglected, there is dirt and dilapidation everywhere. Apart from the natural scenery of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, which are really beautiful, Constantinople has nothing to glory in. The ancient mosques with impressive turrets and minars have an environment of squalid houses. The roads

have big holes full of filthy water in wet weather and the narrow lanes are abominable. The transference of the capital to Angora has left Constantinople quite neglected. Still it is a world's metropolis. This neglect has been due to the constant warfare that Turkey waged for a long time and the repairs and mendings are now costly affairs, which Turkey cannot afford at once owing to the lack of money.

Agriculture in its present state seems not very promising. Huge tracts of land are lying waste and desolate in European Turkey and Asia Minor. Peasants are not many and consequently there are fallow and weedy lands. The greater part of Asia Minor is absolutely barren, the rocks and hills are frightfully bare of trees. But about Smyrna, Konia, Adana and Mersine one can see luxuriant vegetation and crops. Government is also encouraging agriculture and extensive irrigation, and canals are being dug in Anatolia to water the lands.

After all that I saw and heard I can very safely state that the people of Turkey have been always active and have

ever been praised as hardy and excellent soldiers. It is only the folly of the ancient regime which brought disasters on them and carried them to the verge of inevitable wreckage. The people were taxed unnecessarily and no attempts were made to educate them. Madrassas and Tekkies had been spreading ignorance and fanaticism and thereby weakening the morals of the people. They were goaded on to the battle-fields not for their own interest but to satisfy the avarice of a set of the voluptuous privileged. Turkey owes its deliverance from this horrible state of affairs to one single man—Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who is infusing a new spirit into the life of the people by organising the state on a solid economic base. Through his inspiration the people are intent on absorbing all that European culture has got to offer. And whilst Turkey carves its own destiny and makes for prosperity with bold strides, a wretched community of a wretched land looks on with suspicion and ignorantly sheds tears for the exiled dynasty of an unfortunate and obsolete Khalifa.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

KEATS AND SHAKESPEARE: John Middleton Murry, Oxford University.

ESSAYS & STUDIES: By Members of the English Association vol. XXI. Oxford University Press.

THE NEW PAST: Edited by E. H. Carter, M. A. Oxford Basil Blackwell.

COLERIDGE: Edited by H. W. Garrod, Oxford University Press.

BOSWELL'S NOTE BOOK: Oxford University Press.

UNEDUCATED POETS: Southey, Edited by J. Childers. Oxford University Press.

LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH POETS: By William Hazlitt. Oxford University Press.

A BOOK OF MODERN VERSE: J. C. Smith (Re. 1) Oxford University Press.

It often happens, that owing to lack of space or a necessity for making room for articles on events

that have suddenly cropped up, it is impossible for a monthly magazine to do more than merely acknowledge books sent to it for review. This involves some injustice to those that deserve more than a mere mention. Such books, of course, are noticed elsewhere, but readers of a magazine like to have their attention, especially directed to what is of value in the publishing world. Some books are interesting for the moment. When once read they can be put away and never, or at any rate very seldom, referred to again. Others are of a more permanent value, and it occasionally serves a useful purpose to bring them down from their shelves, and remind readers that there are such books in existence. The Branch of the Oxford University Press is an acquisition to Calcutta. It is continually issuing publications which besides being a pleasure to serious readers, are useful to students of all classes. To lovers and students of literature, the exhaustive work of Mr. Murry entitled "Keats and Shakespeare" is valuable. The

pleasure of reading it is enhanced by its excellent get-up—the paper and print being exceptionally good. Mr. Murry starts his task with the proposition that 'to know a work of literature, is to know the soul of a man who created it, and who creates it in order that his soul should be known'. To Mr. Murry 'Keats is the natural approach to Shakespeare'. Hence the title of the book and the form which it has assumed. He thinks that he is different from other critics in that he has tried to understand Keats as he was, and not to fit him to some pattern. He discovers that Keats was conscious of the 'strange relation between himself and Shakespeare, not to that inanimate Shakespeare which is the name given to a volume of printed words, but to a real presence, a living being, whom Keats believed that he intimately understood and who made demands upon Keats' loyalty, 'from which in his moments of extreme agony he struggled in vain to escape'. The whole poetic story of Keats is contained in the brief span of four years. Mr. Murry's chapters are concerned with the gradual development of Keats. Copious extracts are made from his letters, which might have been better marshalled, but which give a very clear impression of Keats' state of mind. 'Beauty in all things was Keats' great poetic intuition, and the revelation of the beauty the great human purpose to which he dedicated himself' especially interesting are the chapter on 'the first Hyperion' and 'the second Hyperion' and on Keats' love. The book concludes with a chapter headed 'Keats' return to Shakespeare'. Mr. Murry points out that the famous 'Ode to Autumn' is Shakespearean in its rich and opulent sincerity of mood. 'In its lovely and large periodic movement like the drawing of a deep full breath.' There are a few notes at the end which deal with technical matters raised in the body of the book. That it is a comprehensive study must freely be acknowledged, that Mr. Murry has been carried away by his subject to such an extent that he is at times obscure, and at times too fantastical for full appreciation from his readers, is evident. He has made himself wholeheartedly one with his subject and is at times apt to forget that opinion are diverse and no one man can claim to be an infallible interpreter. Keats is a poet whose inspiration to Indians is never failing. He is the English poet who perhaps most of all influenced Rabindranath Tagore. There is something in Keats that must always appeal to the emotional side by the oriental mind. As the years go on, his position amongst the poets is found to be higher and higher. Mr. Murry's book has given much material for public contemplation in the study of Keats. He has helped to show some new aspects of his beauty. The obvious sincerity with which Mr. Murry writes, has the effect of inducing one almost against one's will to agree with his point of view. It would, of course, be impossible to follow Mr. Murry through all his theories. It is sufficient to give this indication, that every lover and student of Keats will find in this book a wealth of information and suggestion which make Mr. Murry's contribution to the study of the poet of Beauty a notable book.

Essays and Studies. Volumes X & XI are collections of essays of members of the English association which contain much of interest and information. Volume X which is collected by E. K. Chambers contains six essays the most interesting

of which are 'Reason and Enthusiasm in the Eighteenth Century' by Oliver Elton and 'Alar Ramsay and the Romantic Revival' by W. Mackail. The other essays with the exception of the life of Bishop Corbett by E. V. Crompton, are of a mere technical nature. One cannot however omit to notice Ethel Seaton's 'Marlowe's Map' which well repays careful study. Volume XI which was collected by Olike Elton of special interest. In this series is the article by Miss Edith Birkhead on 'Sentiment and Sensibility in the eighteenth century novel.' Novelists have travelled far since the eighteenth century, so that it is not unprofitable occasionally to go back thereto and renew acquaintance with older novelists by means of such essays as these. 'This world's ideas of the next is a summary of vision literature of the great legend, and in these days of spiritualism and spiritualists it is a useful study.' 'The Words and the Play' by Alan Monkhouse is a discussion on how far the words of a play should be subordinated to its other features, the scenery and the action. Mr. Craik's view that the figures and visions induced by great words can better be brought before the eye and so into the soul of the audience if the artist concentrates on that which appeals to the eye, than if that which appeals to the brain and that which appeals to the ear, is making simultaneous confusion. Mr. Monkhouse in his short essay controverts this point of view. The essay appears in a collection published in 1925 but it is still up-to-date. So also is Mr. Basil Blackwell's—The New Past. As from the Oxford University Press, so from Mr. Basil Blackwell—(whose place in the Broad at Oxford is one of the attractions of the city)—one expects much and is not disappointed. 'The New Past' is the outcome of a conference held at Aberystwyth University in 1924. The volume was published in 1925 and consists of a number of essays on the development of civilisation. They include such subjects as 'some origins of civilisation' by H. J. Fleme, 'The Biblical Record' by Alexander Nairne, 'The problem of Political Unity' by Ramsay Muir, 'Britain's Place in Western Civilisation' by F. S. Marvin. It is a handy little volume and though published some time ago is full of helpful matter for students of the problems of to-day.

So far as English Literature is concerned. The Oxford University Press see to it that students have a plentiful supply thereof at a very moderate price. The volumes in world's classic series are excellent compilations which the editors spare no pains to make accurate. Hazlitt's 'Lectures on English Poets' is one of these, and it enables any Student of English Literature to get at a very reasonable price a book which will be useful to him in his studies. Boswell's life of Johnson has not as yet lost all its popularity, in fact, in some quarters it is as popular as ever. The publication of Boswell's note-book from which he eventually compiled the life, gives the reading public an opportunity of seeing how careful Boswell was to record every matter he considered of importance and how faithfully he has transcribed from his note-book when writing the 'life'. The note-book is published on one side of the page and portions by the first edition of the life on the other side. There is a reproduction of Boswell's handwriting at the beginning, this is a slim booklet and a very

acceptable one. Mr. H. W. Garrod's edition of Coleridge is an excellent piece of work and will prove of much use to students besides being a welcome addition to a library. It consists of notes on Coleridge's life, essays by various writers on Coleridge—a careful selection from his poetry and prose, and a few notes. Southey's *Uneducated Poets* will perhaps not be of so wide interest, but it is pleasant to have an opportunity to stroll occasionally down the by-paths of English Literature, and this volume supplies that opportunity. A frequent question asked by those who wish to know something of very modern poetry is—can you recommend a small anthology of modern verse—comprehensive and not too expensive. There are several somewhat bulky anthologies but of small ones perhaps booklets such as *Tretler First and Second Books of Modern Poetry* and Mr. J. C. Smith's *Book of Modern Verse* are among the best. One has nothing but praise for Mr. Smith's selection. Published in 1925, every one of its sixty three pages contained poems of value, and a large number of modern poets that are of matter are included. A young student could do no better than begin with this collection, which will also appeal to those who have had somewhat wider opportunities of reading modern poetry, because in a small space it contains much that they have appreciated.

R. C. B.

KESHUB CHANDRA SEN AND THE SCHOOLS OF PROTESTS AND NON-PROTESTS: *By Gouri Prasad Maxoomdar. Pp. 439. Price. Re. 1.*

The author has invoked the spirit that once transformed the reformed Brahma Samaj into a Pandemonium. The spirit is still doing havoc in the Samaj. Deplorable.

BHANUDAS: *A translation from the Bhaktavijaya: By Justin E. Abbot. Printed by the Scottish Mission Industries Co. Ltd., Poona. Pp. XIV+48+56.*

Bhanudas was a poet saint of Maharastra and was the great grand-father of Eknath.

Mahipati has written the story of Bhanudas in the 42nd and 43rd chapters of his *Bhaktavijaya*. Our author has given a readable translation of these two chapters. The Marathi text is given in Appendix i. There are five more appendices in which the author has given the Marathi texts of what was written by other writers.

The author is thinking of issuing a series containing the stories of the Maratha Saints. Bhanudas is the first book of the series and will be followed by the story of Eknath.

This is the only English book on Bhanudas and will, we hope, be read by those who take an interest in the subject.

A TREATISE ASCERTAINING THE 'CORRECT SITES OF PLACES, RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS OF INDIA AS FOUND IN THE RAMAYANA: *By Rajani Kumar Padmapati, Texpur. Pp. 87. Price Rs. 2.*

Uncritical.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

"WALT WHITMAN" *By John Bailey (English Men of Letters Series); Macmillan; 5s.*

One does not know if the intention of the present editor of this series is to deal with

markedly contrasted authors in sequence, but the contrast is at least evident in bringing out Meredith after Melville and Whitman after Swinburne. If one of the main points of interest in Swinburne is his mastery of form, the most noteworthy feature in Whitman is his complete and deliberate neglect of form as most critics understand it, and Mr. Bailey has here a far more difficult task than what Mr. Nicolson had with Swinburne or what he himself had in his earlier critical works,—on Milton or Johnson.

The story of Whitman's life is soon told and does not take up even a quarter of the book, the main portion of the work being on "characteristics and comparisons", "Whitman's Language and Metre" and "A Walk Through 'Leaves of Grass'". In the beginning we notice that though Whitman's poems were written at different times and in different moods, there was far less variety in them than in the works of most poets,—there is nothing like the difference between "Love's Labours Lost" and "Lear", between "Allegro" and "Samson" or between the "Lyrical Ballads" and the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets". We may classify his work under various headings, but very few can be definitely consigned to one class. Or again we may say that all through his life he dealt with three subjects, himself, the average man and the universe, but very soon we discover that the three subjects are one and the same. A comparison of Whitman with some of the greatest English poets is very instructive. Whitman outwardly resembles Milton in being one of the most political of poets and yet there is a vital difference for while "Milton was an aristocratic republican after the fashion of Rome", Whitman was "an equalitarian democrat after the fashion of Rousseau," the most passionate article of his creed being not so much liberty as equality. Whitman is however much more akin to Wordsworth, for it was the latter who gave to poetry "its freedom to call nothing common or unclean" and when Whitman was dealing with the average man in poetry he was simply following the path marked out by Wordsworth.

This introduction of the common into poetry brings in the question of Whitman's language and metre. Whitman felt that poetry following the old conventions of language and metre has a tendency to become feeble and hence needs a plunge into an invigorating bath of prose. He had to make for his generation the periodical "return to Nature" and this he did by taking hold of "muscular democratic virilities without wincing" and putting them into verse. He felt that poetry can utilise all events and occurrences without any selection,—that a poet can see things exactly as an ordinary man sees them and describe them exactly as such a man can. This is evidently a mistake for the result of such a process is not poetry but matter of fact, it is photography and not art. Again when Whitman supposed that the poet can use any language, he made another mistake for poetry has definitely to appeal to the imagination and emotions. When Whitman considers metre an outworn superstition of feudalism, his position is defensible and it has been defended on the ground that "the history of English verse is the story of the exhaustion of the effects to be obtained from rhyme and metre" and that rhyme and metre are dead or

dying devices. This however is inaccurate for the history of English verse merely shows the exhaustion of particular metres and the abandonment of one metre for another. Whitman's followers, even in America, have now understood that "rhyme and metre are forces of expression, without which poetry may have to leave unexpressed the most secret and intimate part of what it has to say." In language Whitman's theory leads to audacities of ugliness,—to ordinariness and meanness. It leads to neglect of grammar producing meaningless perversities and to the introduction of scraps of half-understood foreign languages which are at best unnecessary and pointless. Then Whitman's theory about metre leads to prolonged verbosity by doing away with formal restraint; it leads to rhetorical grandiloquence and a Poet's losing himself in superfluous words. It is said that free verse is characterised by rhythm as opposed to metre, but this is not sufficient for prose also has rhythm. The unit of free-verse Poetry is a sentence, but can it introduce the element of expectation based on repetition which is so much the charm of metrical Poetry? Whitman attempts to do it by repeating the same phrase or word in a number of successive lines or by closing each section with the same line, but this repetition is too little felt to create enough of the required expectation. So the conclusion seems irresistible that by his lawless and all-embracing freedom as to subject, language and arrangement of language, Whitman placed his poetic genius at a fatal disadvantage."

We have no space to go into Mr. Bailey's detailed criticism of "Leaves of Grass", its "open air" outlook, its mysticism, its handling of love and sex, its response to the call of war. It is on the study of this book that our judgment of Whitman rests and in forming this judgment one has to steer midway between those who regarded Whitman with mere contempt and those who considered him "rich above almost all his co-evals in the properties of poetry;" and it will not be difficult to agree with Mr. Bailey's verdict: "Whitman and his poetry were not all that he wished them to be and often thought they were. But it can hardly be denied that in them for the first time the native and original genius of the United States of America found authentic, though no doubt not perfect, expression".

N. K. SIDHANTA

MERCANTILISM AND THE EAST INDIA TRADE: By P. J. Thomas, M. A., B. Litt. (P. S. King & Son Ltd. 1926. 8s-6d. net.)

"The object of this monograph" as the author tells us in the Preface, "is to trace the beginnings of Protectionism in England". As is wellknown, the gradual transformation of mercantilism into protectionism took place between 1700 and 1750. Mr. Thomas' book opens with a general account of the mercantile system and of the controversy between the bullionists and the advocates of the balance of trade theory in the seventeenth century. Here the author presents in an eminently readable form the published accounts of previous writers and shows how the whole mercantilist controversy of the period raged round the East India Trade.

The rapid increase in the use of Indian textiles in England is then described. From about the year 1670, "Indian cotton and silk goods came

into fashion in England". It is often said that the East India Company destroyed our textile industries on patriotic grounds. Mr. Thomas shows that the Company's policy was shaped solely by its own pecuniary interest. Thus when the demand for Indian textiles increased during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Company "did everything in its power to advance the industries of India. In this direction it was pushed on to lengths not justified by current views on patriotism. The Directors sent out patterns and models of piecegoods from England...They also sent to India some artificers to teach Indian artisans English modes of weaving and dyeing". (p. 39). As the author tells us, this "mad enterprise" of the Company did not influence the Indian artisans to any appreciable extent. It was the comparative cheapness and elegance of the Indian stuffs which enabled them to displace English woollen and silk goods from their home and foreign markets. This gave rise to the agitation for protecting British woollen and silk industries.

The controversy that raged round the question of restricting Indian imports, led not only to the crystallisation of the protectionist phase of mercantilism but also gave rise to the opposite view of free trade. Mr. Thomas reminds us that "the controversy was not between England and the East Indies, but between two powerful interests within England: the English woollen and silk manufacturers were pitted against the English East India Company and the English calico printers".

The author is mainly concerned with "this early clash between Protectionism and Free Trade" which he describes with facts drawn from contemporary documents. He mentions the protectionist arguments of pamphleteers like Pollexfen and Cary and the free trade views of Child and Davenant and shows that they anticipated some of the modern arguments for free trade and protection.

These early protectionists demanded tariffs "as a weapon to defend the national industries against unfair foreign competition....They were not all craving for treasure or raving for national aggrandisement." Writers like Davenant, though not "convinced free traders", made "a sensible appeal to an international specialisation in industries, while the *Considerations on East India Trade*.... foreshadowed the modern theory of comparative costs" (p. 77). This is the most important chapter in a book which claims to be "an integral chapter in the history of economic thought". We only wish that the author had given us a fuller and more systematic account of the different writers dealt with.

Mr. Thomas closes his narrative with the final triumph of protectionism in England after the passing of the "calico bill" of 1720. The book is a useful and scholarly contribution to the history of mercantilism in England in the seventeenth century. The author has incidentally thrown also some light on the Indian cotton industry during the period.

J. C. SINGHA.

ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS: (WITH REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE DECCAN): By B. G. Sapre, M.A. Published by the Author. Price Rs. 2-8. Pp. XVI+207.

The object of the book is, in the author's own

words, to marshal some of those considerations which form the background and foundation of agricultural prosperity. He concludes by making a few suggestions and recommendations. They are as follows: (i) Improvement of fodder and cattle; (ii) Better implements; (iii) Not only a large but also a levelled and embanked holding; (iv) seed and crop selection; (v) Better manures; (vi) practical utilization of the results of scientific research for effective protection against insects and pests; (vii) co-operative marketing; (viii) Development of subsidiary industries; and (ix) Reorganization of the many Governments, departments now helping agriculture and the creation of a Development Department for the whole Presidency (i.e. Madras). There are some statistical tables at the end of the book showing the increase or decrease of population, the size and extent of sub-division of holdings and the results and extent of irrigation. There is also a note about books.

H. S.

CREATIVE CRITICISM: By J. E. Spingarn. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Pp. 138. 6s.

In this book of four essays and an appendix the author has vindicated what he calls the New Criticism, by clearing its ground of all the dead lumber and weeds, all the old Rules and the paraphernalia of academic pedantry. He reduces the task of the Aesthetic critic to this simple concern: What has the poet tried to express and how he has expressed it? In order to answer this question, the critic will have to become (if only for a moment of supreme power) at one with the creator. For, says he, "the identity of genius and taste is the final achievement of modern thought on the subject of art...in their most significant moments the creative and critical instincts are one and the same." In the appendix, which is a note on this identity of genius and taste, he adds: "To say that the two faculties are in their essence one, is not, however, to say that criticism and creation are not without difference; it is merely to recognise the element of fundamental kinship. In the other three Essays he has reinforced the same theory in his discussion of the problems of "Dramatic Criticism," "Prose and Verse" and "Creative Connoisseurship." All these are very brilliantly written, and so far as Aesthetic theories go, they will satisfy all artistic souls, carrying conviction and encouraging that attitude towards all works of art which has been always felt to be the only true attitude by men of taste and culture. But something more than a discussion of pure fundamentals is needed to make the theory good in practice; for, the author has achieved nothing beyond suggesting a new Orientation in the art of appreciation which, when it comes to concrete application, will fail of its purpose, because the Aesthetic Critic can never be sure of his 'moments', and though his productions may still be in a sense, creative, his "adventures among masterpieces" may prove a misfortune to the masterpieces themselves.

M. M.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING: By N. C. Mehta. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 56.

The art of book production is neglected and

immature in India. Everything is against the man who desires to bring out a volume faultless in printing, binding and general get-up. In spite of this handicap Mr. N. C. Mehta's "Studies in Indian Painting" has turned out to be a masterpiece of the book producer's art. We have felt a rare pleasure and pride in handling this excellent volume and in feeling that it was "Made in India."

Illustrated with sixty-one superb reproductions of paintings belonging to different periods and schools and containing much valuable information on the subject matter of the book, "Studies in Indian Painting" will be treasured by both students of art and by book-lovers. We congratulate Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., on their success in bringing out such a volume. We also congratulate Mr. N. C. Mehta, who is known to all of us as an able writer, collector and connoisseur in the field of Indian art, on his achievement as author of a really fine book. The book is priced at Rs. 56. We believe many will gladly pay even this high price for Mr. Mehta's book.

A. C.

BENGALI

HASIR LAHAR ('RIPPLES OF LAUGHTER'): A book of verses: By Satish Chandra Chakravarti, B. L., published by the author from 2 Jadunath Sen Lane, Sukeas Street, Calcutta: 1 Pp. VI+64, price 5 as.

This is a little collection of poems of a topical (social and political) interest, partly in the standard Colloquial Bengali, and partly in the Colloquial of Barisal, the author's native district. The author is a non-cooperating pleader, and his poems show, in addition to a great deal of shrewd observation, much poetical power and a real command over verse. The general note of the poems is that of disillusionment in and frank criticism of our present-day social, political and religious notions and practices. The little poem on the *Poetry of Rabindranath* (p. 19) is quite good, and is in a different, appreciative vein.

Of special value are the poems in the Barisal dialect (pp. 37-64).

Here we have six not very short poems and these form as good a set of modern compositions in dialect in Bengali as we have ever seen. The value of these poems is very great for Bengali philology, since specimens of genuine dialect are rare to procure. What enhances the value of these poems is the careful manner in which the author has sought to represent the pronunciation. He is interested in the phonetics of his local dialect, and he has devised some diacritical and other marks, and these he has taken pains to explain in his preface, which forms a valuable little note on the pronunciation of one typical dialect of East Bengal. The few people in Bengal and elsewhere who are engaged in these studies, or realise their value and take an interest in them, will assuredly feel grateful to Babu Satish Chandra Chakravarti for the thought and care he has put in for this part of his unpretentious little volume: and that in addition to the eminently readable quality of his poems. This book should have a wider publicity among Bengali readers.

S. K. C.

MARATHI

AVIMARAKA—A Marathi Translation of Bhasa's play of that name: By Mr. V. D. Deshpande, Dhulia. Published by the author himself. Pages 126+112. Price Re. 1-4.

There is no lack of friends willing to help the student class with suitable books. The book under notice is all that such books should be. A fairly exhaustive introduction by Mr. Balacharya Khupkar deals with all debatable points in connection with the age, personality, and merit of Bhasa's works in general. One may not agree with all the opinions of the writer but that the information contained in the introduction is valuable cannot be doubted. We have no hesitation in recommending the book to the student world and to the general reading public of Maharashtra.

V. G. APTE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

A CONCISE SANSKRIT ENGLISH DICTIONARY: By Mr. V. V. Bhide. Publisher—The Chitrashala Press, Poona. Pages, 1228 with a map of ancient India. Price Rs. 4.

Though the present volume cannot be compared with Prof. Apte's Practical Sanskrit English dictionary published long long ago, this work also has its use for students in schools and colleges inasmuch as it supplies a real want of a concise and cheap Sanskrit Dictionary giving everything that a student requires to know in the study of classical Sanskrit Literature.

MALAYALAM

ABADDHAP-PANCHANGOM: A Prahasana: By Alappurza P. K. Krishna Pillai. "Sridhara Power Press," Trivandrum. Price 7 chakrams.

This interesting Malayalam farce was written by Mr. Pillai about five years ago to be first staged by the members of the Chittira Zarunal Grantha Sala, Trivandrum. This was printed only last year through the kind persuasion of many of his friends and was subsequently staged by some other societies in Travancore. It gives us no little pleasure to note that the author has succeeded in his attempt to effect the play most adaptable to the Malabar stage. We have no doubt that Mr. Pillai's efforts to bring about a long-wished-for change in our stage will receive the due approbation from the enlightened public.

PATHIKA-BANDHU: Translated by M. Kesavan Elayath, B. V. Book-Depot, Trivandrum. Price Re. 1.

We had the pleasure to notice in these columns hardly two years ago the Malayalam translation of Sita Devi's *Cage of Gold* by Srimati J. K. Madhari Amma, and it now gives us more pleasure to see on the table an excellent translation of her "Pathika-Bandhu." KNIGHT ERRANT: translated by Mr. M. Kesavan Ellyath of the Sama-Darsi.

This young translator indeed deserves our

congratulation for the accuracy and faithfulness he has all through-out shown in translating this book from English. We welcome it.

P. Anujan Achan.

HINDI

SWADES SANGIT: By Mr. Maithili Saran Gupta. Published by the Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1925, pp. 136.

The facile pen of Mr. Gupta has given birth to this collection of small poems principally on Indian nationalism. With due respect to the reputation of Mr. Gupta and other Hindi writers on this topic, it must be said that none of their productions could attract the attention of the people in other provinces than their own. Yet Hindi is claimed to be the *Rastrabhasha* of India. A comparison with Bengali nationalistic literature will clear this point. Again, a lyric is not a combination of a few lines in verse, and we are sorry to note that most of the modern Hindi lyrics lack the charm of music which is so essential for lyric poetry.

ANAGHA: By Mr. Maithili Saran Gupta. Published by the Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1925, pp. 132.

The story of a previous birth of the Buddha in which he set himself to the task of village reconstruction is here dramatized by Mr. Gupta from the Jataka sources. The play is in verse, and has an underlying moral to convey.

AKAS TATTVA BODH: By Prof. Sankarlal, M. A., LL. D. Published by Sridayhu, Arya-Sangha, Meerut. 1926. Pp. 112.

A handbook on astronomy.

VYAKHYAN MAUKTIK: By Sri Vijayvallabh Suri. The Atmananda Jain Tract Society, Ambala City. Pp. 47.

An address by the Suri who is the successor to the famous Vijaydharma Suri.

SITA SAMACHAR—Published by the Atmananda Jain Tract Society, Ambala City, pp. 72.

The story of Sita is retold from the Jain source.

VASUDEV SRIKRISHNA CHANDRA: By Chaturvedi Dwarokaprasad Sarma. The Naval kishore Press. Lucknow 1926, pp. 170.

The life-story of Krishna is narrated. There is a coloured picture on the cover.

SAVITRI: The late Sikkumari Debi. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Sarai, pp. 42.

The late authoress told the arresting story of the mythological heroine in a simple style.

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT: By Ramnath Lal. "Suman," Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Sarai. Pp. 68.

A life-sketch of the most vigorous poet of Bengal.

RANES BASU

GUJARATI

BAL VARTAVALI : *By Mrs. Hansa Mehta, B.A., printed at the Kumar Printery, Ahmedabad, cloth (illustrated) cover, with illustrations. Pp. 72. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1926).*

The gifted and much travelled daughter of Sir Manubhai Mehta is the author of this book which contains twelve stories intended for delectation of little children. They are stories well-known all over Gujarat, and they have been repeated or reiterated in this dainty, little volume, with first class printing and mechanical get-up, the object being to attract children in the first place to handle such books, and they do so readily when their books are full of illustrations, specially colored ones. This, it is said, is the reason why the price is so high. It is not possible for even middle class people to put into the hands of their little folk books worth much less than this amount. The book thus would defeat its own object unless liberally patronised by Government, Native States, and Wealthy People, who should purchase it in large numbers and distribute it as prizes. The stories are, it need not be said, well-told.

SAURASHTRA NI RASADHAR, PART IV : *By Jhaverchand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Press, Rampur. Paper Cover. Pp. 202+8. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1926).*

This part is in every way worthy of its predecessors and narrates the romance and chivalry of old Kathiawad in the same feeling way. But for their being thus perpetuated in print, there was every danger of these soul-stirring, splendid deeds of adventure being wiped out and forgotten. Mr. Meghani cannot be thanked enough for striking out a new line in the literature of his province.

VARMANI VIVIDHA VARTAO : *By Jaykrishna Nagardas Varma, B.A., LL.B., B.M. SC., Bar-at-Law, printed at the Lohana Mitra Press, Baroda. Thick-colored card board. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1925) (Illustrated).*

Twelve short stories, written on the model obtaining in English Literature, this is what the

author who is keenly interested in the uplift of women, has provided in this collected reprint of his contributions to periodicals. They are very readable stories, and one who takes up the book does not like to leave it off till all he has finished it.

ANJALI : *By Keshav H. Sheth, printed at the Khadayta Muāran Kata Mandir, Ahmedabad. Fine Paper, Cover : Pp. 24+230. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1926).*

A batch of beautiful verses, called by the poet ; "poems which can be sung." The songs are not of the namby-pamby order, but real, genuine stuff, expressing various emotions. The inspiring verses on *Suadesh* and *Sansar* and *Sneha*, Juvenile songs, *Ras* and prayers, furnish a very good instance of the poet's power of expression and their music at times carries away the reader ; and all this creditable work was done at a time when the poet was undergoing a keen "Struggle for life" (? existence.)

SMARAN MUKUR (THE MIRROR OF MEMORY) : *By Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, B.A., C. S. (Retired) Printed at the Sahitya Press, Bombay. Cloth Cover, with illustrations. Pp. 312. Price Rs. 3 (1926).*

The doyen of Gujarati *Litterateurs* has cast his eye backward, into the days of his infancy and youth (he is 65 at present), and recalled into being the memories of men, women, and musicians, poets and Pandits, reformers and orthodox individuals. He has set down in Chatty language the different incidents in the lives of some of the past prominent leaders of Gujarat and outside in politics, education, religious reform and other allied fields. It makes up a most delightful causerie in spite of the author adhering rigidly to his usual standard of setting out the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Some of his candid observations and remarks have not proved palatable and his critics think that they could have been made less harshly or even omitted, and still the interest of the narrative would not have suffered. The mirror promises yet to show many more faces and we eagerly await the time of its further flashing.

K. M. J.

INDIA AT THE CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY SUDHINDRA BOSE,

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

I

DOCTOR Das Gupta, who came to America last autumn as a delegate to the sixth International Congress of Philosophy, may be said to have earned an enviable reputation as an able exponent of Hindu

philosophy. India may well be proud of Surendra Nath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College of Calcutta. Without endorsing his particular philosophy, I venture to say that he is one of the men of the hour. Much may be expected of him. He is young—not

yet forty. But you who imagine that I boil over too easily, you who want to follow a master reasoner, step by step, read his *History of Indian Philosophy*, even through the last page of its third volume. It is a pity that Das Gupta cannot function as a philosopher without paying the usual penalty of a college professorship.

I am not addicted to philosophy and do not pretend to be a professional philosopher. But having listened to Doctor Das Gupta before the Philosophical Club of the State University of Iowa, I was ready to give him the palm as one of those rare souls who can make philosophy human to the untrained lay audience. To hear him discuss the elusive truth is partly to realize why Plato called philosophy "that dear delight." Das Gupta's knowledge of Eastern and Western systems of philosophy, coupled with a love for Indian thought and a gift for lucid exposition, made his discourses easily understandable even to Baptist and Methodist peasants, or suburban clergymen of America.

In his lecture at Iowa on comparative Indian and European Philosophy, he stressed the difference that exists between the origin of the Indian philosophy and that of the European. In India philosophy has grown from a desire of spiritual quest; the conceptional and argumentative parts of this philosophy came into being later by mutual conflicts.

"Philosophy started in the East with the spiritual desire of men", the speaker synthesized Indian wisdom, "the craving from their hearts to find what was the greatest."

"They felt it in their hearts; they smelt it. The greatest of all comforts did not please them. They wanted to find the nature of immortality."

"Immortality is the inner spiritual craving of the soul. Man is born to be immortal inasmuch as he craves something more permanent, more abiding, more constant than his senses can give—something that uplifts him and makes him spiritual. When he wants his inner nature to have an abiding transcendence that will take him aloft, man has discovered his immortality."

"Man wins his salvation by his lone efforts; God does not give it to him. The real bondage of man is his bonded passions and desires; if he cuts himself free from them, he is master of himself."

In Europe, according to Doctor Das Gupta, philosophy has grown out of a scientific curiosity of getting at a rational scheme of the universe. It has never transcended that stage. The aim of Indian philosophy

on the other hand, has been the betterment of life's ideals and the spiritual realization.

Unlike most philosophers who are dull, ponderous, dry as dust, and as luminous as London fog, Das Gupta is fresh, facile, and even brilliant. In the open forum discussion which followed his Iowa lecture, Das Gupta joyously liquidated his opponents with charming neatness and dispatch. I sat where I could watch every flicker of his eyelash. He looked at his questioners with eager eyes, and apparently found good fun in arguing technical problems. Nothing would upset his poise and calm. There was strength, firmness, and also gentleness in his voice. He smiled, nodded, looked happy, and smiled again. In less than half an hour, he polished off all those who took issues with him. The way he handled his subject showed that he knew his stuff. Neighbor Das Gupta has mental depth, and mastery of major philosophical problems. His style is simple, and without artifice. It is, however, forceful and as convincing as the kick of a mule.

I cannot here attempt to give even a resume of all his numerous talks in America. His lecture program included visits to the Universities of Yale, Columbia, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and several other institutions of higher learning. His discourses ranged all the way from Indian philosophy and religion to literature, from the caste-system to ideals of education. He seemed to have a Catholic taste for every subject on Indian life, barring government, which shows, of course, that he was prudent. It is a pleasure to note that his important addresses, such as those at the International Congress at Harvard and the Harris Foundation lectures at Northwestern University, will soon be published in one form or another. They will doubtless be a treasure to the students of Indian thought.

II.

It is worth relating a friendly but spirited discussion that took place at one of the sessions of the International Congress of Philosophy on a paper entitled, "An Empirical Study of Mysticism" by Professor Edwin D. Starbuck of the State University of Iowa. The report of the discussion was especially interesting to me as indicative of

the Eastern and Western point of view. Starbuck, who has achieved international reputation for his fruitful laboratory research in psychology,* took a pot shot at the mystics, pagan or Christian. Mystics, he maintained, tend towards the conventional religious notions. Those who profess religious immediacy are decidedly suggestible. Moreover, the higher degree of suggestibility is an important factor in accounting for the professed religious experience. In proving his thesis, Starbuck drew largely upon the results of his careful scientific investigations. More to the point was his observation that in most mental tests involving sustained effort and ingenuity the mystic group is at a disadvantage. Indeed in actual intelligence tests the non-mystics surpass the mystics by differences ranging from three to six times as large as the probable errors.

Das Gupta then got up and took a crack at the non-mystics. He said that the true mystics are not mere visionaries, nor are they content with a mere dreamy vision of God. Often times they have been hard logicians and dialecticians who developed their religious consciousness by lifelong efforts after rectitude and moral perfection. Mere delusionists in religion are not mystics. Moreover, a Buddha, a Sankara, a Jesus Christ could not be judged by laboratory tests.

It is only fair to state that the Starbuck experiments dealt only with the current Americans in America. They had no reference to the people of any other country, either in the past or in the present. I do not know how Starbuck would explain the mystics of yore.

What he did find from his painstaking and exhaustive researches was that here in America non-mystics are thirty per cent more superior to the mystics. These non-mystics are more accurate, reliable, and have better intellectual reactions. Starbuck also averred that the mystics for one thing are more suggestible and for another, are better able to stand physical punishment such as for instance with electric shocks. I wonder if that will explain, at least in part, why so many of the mystics are greedy for martyrdom.

It seems to me that philosophy must now come down from the thin air of abstract speculation and get down to fruitful solid earth. Men cannot live by fine-spun, rarefied philosophical platitudes. Philosophy, if it is to be of any earthly use in modern living, must develop modern appliances, adopt scientific and refined methods of investigation.

In recording this lively little tilt between Das Gupta and Starbuck, I am not trying to give a lefthanded compliment to either. They are both my friends. At least I hope so. The difference between Starbuck and Das Gupta, it strikes me, is the difference



Doctor S. N. Das Gupta

in the outlook between the East and the West.

III

Doctor Das Gupta had been in Europe more than once; but this was his first visit to America. Some of his impressions of this country are rich, "classy". Indeed even before he set his foot on American soil, he began to form his impressions of the United States. He told me of an American he met on the ship.

"Are you going to America?", asked the Yankee passenger

* See "Character Education" by Sudhindra Bose in *The Modern Review*, May, 1926, pp. 533-538.

"Yes."

"Gee! you will have a grand time. You are now going to see a real live country. Poor old England is a back number; but America—oh, boy!—everything is just tip-top. We have the best food, best hotels, fast trains, fast autos, everything perfect. Do you know that we have as many automobiles in the city of Los Angeles alone as there are in the whole of the United Kingdom? Pooh! England is just a poor little dried-up run-down island. That's all."

Das Gupta reported this conversation to an English military officer from the Khaibar Pass. "Oh!" replied John Bull with a painful smile, "Americans must talk like that. They are newly rich—a race of dollar chasers."

I am not so sure that an American worships money more than does an Englishman. Gilbert K. Chesterton remarked the other day that "an American never talks of money in the awestruck tone that an Englishman employs in referring to financial matters." There are not many Americans who chase a dollar with the cupidity that Europeans chase farthings, francs, lira, and crowns. Distinguished European men of letters, who come here in hordes, submit themselves to the discomforts of touring the American rural routes, lecturing for the almighty dollar. Americans, without a doubt have great many faults; but they are sane enough to see no special merit in poverty. Naturally they like to make money. At the same time, they also spend freely and give freely.

The thing that irritated the Indian philosopher most about his trip to "the land of the free" was its stupid immigration laws. Long before he could get his passport vised by the American Consul in Calcutta, he had to prove to the Consul's satisfaction that he was not going to stay in America for more than three months, that he was invited by two of the most important universities of America, that he had the letters of invitation right with him, that he had a letter of introduction from the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, and above all that his visit to America was not going to exceed three months under any circumstances. Who knows if the professor of philosophy in the Calcutta Presidency College were to stay in the United States even a day over three months that grand and glorious Republic might go to the dogs?

The accursed Asiatics going to the holy land of America must be closely and rigidly watched. Before embarkation at Southampton, England, Das Gupta had to fill up a most complicated printed form, involving all kinds of embarrassing confessions about social, religious, and political views. Some of these questions were: Are you an anarchist? Are you a polygamist? How many wives do you own? Have you ever been divorced? Did you ever have any social diseases? Do you believe in law and justice and in constituted authority?

It is absolutely idiotic to suppose that anyone who is going to America for anarchical or immoral purposes would truthfully answer these questions, when he knows well enough that a truthful answer would exclude him from America forever. The desire of having only the virtuous men with lily-white souls coming to America may be laudable; but a confessional of this sort is hardly the way of securing godly people. "Is America so virtuous a country", asked Das Gupta, "that she is afraid of having anyone with undesirable opinions enter her gates even for a short visit? Isn't America ridden with beastly Klu Klux Klan? Well, her daily record of crimes is the worst in the whole world. Why should she, the chosen home of blood-dripping lynchers, act like I-am-holier-than-thou? It is really touching how solicitously the Yankees show concern for the morals of Asians.

No one can deny that the treatment of Asians by America has been anything but satisfactory. This is particularly true of the three thousand Indians now in this country. Last summer Senator Copeland introduced a bill declaring that Indians are "white persons" and should be treated on a par with Europeans. The bill was killed. A few days ago Senator Reed brought out another bill "validating" the citizenship of some sixty odd Indians who had been duly naturalized long ago. Among these expatriated Indians are engineers, educators, journalists, and students. All of them are educated. Not one but has made a mark for himself in his special line of endeavor. But the United States Congress failed to act even on the modest Reed bill. Sixty Indians, if allowed to retain American citizenship, might blot out the whole of one hundred and ten million American Citizens. Indians are

"untouchables". They must be forced out. The U. S. A. is God's Own Country !

New York may be the largest and most stupendous city of the world ; but our Indian visitor was not exactly taken by it. "People call New York a wonderful city", he remarked. "As a business centre and as a well planned city, it is certainly marvellous. But, considering its huge traffic, the streets are too narrow. The skyscrapers show lack of cultivated taste and beauty. On every hand there are signs of feverish change. People are constantly pulling down houses and building new ones. One might as well suppose that Columbus had discovered America only fifteen or twenty years ago, and that the colonists have not yet finished building their houses. During the brief period of my stay in New York, I felt as if I was imprisoned in a vast workshop, and all the dust of the place was choking my throat and all the grinding noise of the machinery was shattering my ear-drums to pieces. New York is a massive inartistic, and uncouth city."

American hotels impressed him favourably. They seemed to him to be the last word on efficient service. "You have your bath rooms filled with hot and cold water taps. There is also a tap for running icewater for drinking. As most of the large hotels are skyscrapers, they run express and local lifts, the express lifts stopping only at a few floors. Every hotel has a rail road agency, a telegraph office, and every room in a hotel has a telephone. News stands, barbershop, restaurant, drawing rooms, smoking rooms, and a dozen other conveniences provide for almost every comfort that a guest may need in hotel. It sure is a luxurious levantine life. But living in a hotel is so terribly expensive. I could never conceive that life could be so expensive in America. Of course, it may seem otherwise to the natives ; but for us strangers. Oh ! the less said the better."

European travellers, who have nothing but little choo-choo baby trains in their native country, are immensely appreciative of the comforts and luxuries of the American railways. Compared with the great American trains those in England, for instance, seem like tiny toy trains. I was therefore interested to get the reaction of Das Gupta who has knocked about a good deal both in India and in Europe. "Railway travelling in America", he explained, "is exceedingly comfortable. Those who have not travelled in the United

States will not realize how much uncomfortable Americans must feel when they travel in Europe or in India. The large Pullman cars and sleepers are especially fine. In each of the corridor cars there are rows of nine comfortable beds on both sides of the passage. They are fitted up with soft mattresses, pillows, and handy racks. A little screen around each berth secures complete privacy. A compartment usually contains about twelve beds and is invariably in charge of a Negro porter. He makes the beds, wakes the passengers at any station they want to get out at any hour of the night, shines their shoes, brushes their clothes, looks after their parcels, and acts in general as their private valet. A passenger can sleep in a train with most perfect unconcern, as if he was sleeping in his own bed in his own home. Excepting when the trains start or stop, there is not much of a jolt such as one experiences in India or in Europe."

The story goes here that when Mr. Srinivas Shastri came to America a few years ago to attend the Washington Disarmament Conference, he fell in with a black Negro porter. He took the top-hatted Indian aside and said: "Look here, brother, this is not the place for us niggers to get in. If you wear a turban, you may be taken by the average American as a Hindu snake-charmer, magician, or a fortune-teller. That will be much better than being a damned nigger. Throw away your hat." Shastri, I was told, followed the advice and took to the turban.

Das Gupta was wise from the very start to the complex of American prejudices. He always wore a turban and garments of Indian cut. The expected happened, of course. More than once he was taken to be a palmist. He told me an interesting experience which I am glad to pass along. "On one occasion," chuckled Das Gupta, "I was accosted by an American who told me he was in great difficulty, and asked my help. I was surprised, for I had never seen a beggar in America ; but he explained himself by saying that his wife had left him on account of a quarrel over some money matter. The poor fellow did not know where his wife was and was pining away in grief for her. Even then I could not guess what the man was driving at, and was amazed that he should confide his family troubles to a stranger on the street. I was completely dumb founded. Finally he asked me point blank if I could give his wife's address. I then understood the whole thing :

the man had taken me for a fortune-teller. I handed him my card, and told him that I was a professor of philosophy and was quite innocent of the art of fortune-telling."

The love-sick man would not believe Das Gupta.

"But", he insisted with almost tears in his eyes, "are you not a full-blooded Hindu?"

"Yes; what of that?"

"Well, then, why could you not tell me where my wife is? Name your fees and I will pay you in spot cash right now. Come on."

It was in such a land that Professor Surendranath Das Gupta came with his message of Indian philosophy.

IV

The Sixth International Congress was attended this year by two Indian delegates, S. Radhakrishnan of Madras and S. N. Das Gupta of Calcutta. At the close of the Congress, Professor Radhakrishnan delivered the Haskell lectures at the University of Chicago, and Professor Das Gupta the Harris lectures on the development of Indian mysticism at Northwestern University.

Until recently India had no place in the inner council of the International Congress of Philosophy. The two Indian delegates, who came to America, have now been admitted into the permanent constitutional body of the Congress Council. It is hoped that in the next Congress in Oxford (1930) a larger place will be found on the program for Indian philosophy.

I have never met Radhakrishnan and do not know anything about him personally. My agents, however, tell me that he is a gentleman and a scholar.

Das Gupta was in America three weeks. He had among his audiences, governors, mayors, judges, captains of industry, leaders of education, and just plain windjammers of the Christian evangelical sects. What impression did he make in the United States?

American people, let it be remembered, have very queer notions about Indian philosophy. All that they know of it is that everything according to the Hindus is false and only Brahma is real. Americans, as a rule, are not much interested in such a thought. In most histories of philosophy written by Americans one either finds no mention of Hindu philosophy or if mentioned at all, it

is frequently stated that the Hindu philosophy is a conglomeration of myths and dogmas shot through with poetry. *The History of Philosophy* by Professor Frank Thilly of Cornell University is a notable example of such a performance. With the exception of one or two Sanskritists, there is perhaps no one in America who knows anything of Indian philosophy that will stand the test of sound scholarship. Take it all in all, the ignorance of Indian philosophy in these United States is simply colossal. Can such a self-complacent country be seriously interested in mystical Eastern thought? Our fly-by-night visitors may occasionally hear Americans say, "Oh, such a nice talk you gave!" but many years of experience on the American lecture platform have taught me to dismiss such flattery with scant ceremony.

I do not wish to say anything about the relative mental equipment of Indians and Americans for original or critical work. The better class of Indians, it is obvious, is intellectually as well equipped as the better class of Americans. The big point, however, is that Americans regard the Indians as impractical and visionary, a subject nation passively acquiescing in degradation. Are the Americans entirely wrong? If we are to profit by our contact with America, it is about time we understood its mental outlook.

Doctor Das Gupta in his address at St. Paul, Minnesota, remarked that spiritualism is the great gift which India may make to America. He added that there are two kinds of spiritualism, objective and subjective. Subjective spiritualism, won by meditation and quietism, is lacking in the United States; but objective spiritualism which finds vivid virile expression in schools, colleges, hospitals, research laboratories, welfare institutions and all the vast number of things which make for the betterment of humanity, is in full practice here. Has not India a great deal to learn from the American objective spiritualism?

Let us not get lost in ethereal obscurities, in dreams of another world. We need have the passion for the actual, real and the immediate. Truth, from the American view point, is only "relative to human judgment and human needs." Life and mind are to be understood in biological rather than theological terms, if we are to control our environment and shape our destiny. For

"the problem of philosophy," said Professor Durant of Columbia University, "is not how we can come to know an external world, but how we can learn to control it and remake it." I repeat that it is time for us in India to turn the face of thought to action to practical results, towards the inescapable world of affairs. To paraphrase Dewey, take your seat in the moving affairs of men rather than shrinking into a lonely isolation of contemplation. We have work enough, Heaven knows, without trying to lose ourselves in misty obscurities.

Americans are frankly interested in ter-

restrial rather than ethereal career. They are pragmatic, efficient. With them the objective spirituality comes first. By and large, they decline to be a mystic and yield to what they fear to be fatality. Has Doctor Das Gupta succeeded in converting America to Hindu mysticism? I do not know. I am not in a position to say. He has been received everywhere with warmth and cordiality. He said what he believed. It was his faith. If he did not convert his audiences to Indian mysticism, "other-worldism," I am persuaded they were converted to Surendra Nath Das Gupta.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Co-operation and Agriculture

The Bengal Co-operative Journal writes :-

In the course of their tour the members of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India had more than one opportunity of coming into actual touch with co-operative workers and institutions in the country. If the agricultural condition of India is to be properly and adequately improved and her people are to secure the benefits of this improvement, this has to be effected principally by co-operative methods as has already been amply demonstrated in Western countries.

A notable feature of the proceedings of the Bombay Co-operative Conference was the speech that the Marquis of Linlithgow delivered before it. His lordship observed that two points occurred to him in regard to Co-operation in India. They had learnt by experience to measure the strength and vigour of the movement by the strength and vigour of the primary societies. The other was that the greatest enemy of the Co-operative Movement was the uninformed enthusiast. People thought that enthusiasm and zeal could take the place of careful study and exact knowledge. The paths of co-operation in other countries, his lordship pointed out were littered with the bones of societies that had failed because initiators had failed to examine and thoroughly appreciate the fundamental requirements of the movement. He considered it, however, to be a good omen that he found in this country men who had devoted their lives to the careful study of the movement. At Dacca Lord Linlithgow laid particular emphasis on the real objective of the co-operative movement. He said that if the co-operative movement failed in its educative side it would fail in its first purpose. "Unless", his lordship added, "you succeed in making the members of Co-operative Societies better men, better cultivators and better citizens by reason of membership of co-operative

societies, however much you may succeed in effecting their economic improvement, you will fail in the first objective of co-operation. Mere numbers are not a measure of success in co-operation. Quality is the test, and the fortune of co-operation lies as much upon the broad outlook on life of those who are co-operators as it depends upon the economic position of the individual members or the improvement which membership of societies can effect in their economic position."

The Ratio of the Rupee

The same journal answers the question, "Should the ratio of the rupee be fixed at 1s 6d. or 1s. 4d.", thus :-

The question at what rate the rupee should be stabilized is, indeed, a most difficult one. It appears, however that it would be better to stabilize the rupee at the old figure of 1s-4d. instead of at 1s -6d, proposed by the Commission.

It is more or less admitted that reversion to the rate of 1s-4d would be more beneficial to debtors, employers of labour and exporters who under the present economic structure represent the interests of agricultural producers, than to creditors, wage-earners and importers who cater for the requirements of the consumers. In an agricultural country like India the former section of the community is much more important than the latter section; although one may not be prepared to accept Sir Purshottamdas's statement that the proportion of imported goods consumed by the masses of India is very small.

Ministers and Veterinary Problems

We read in the *Indian Veterinary Journal* :—

With the birth of new Legislative Councils all over the country, new ministry in most of the presidencies has been formed. We eagerly look forward to them to advance the cause of Veterinary Science and the profession, which did not receive the attention they ought to, at the hands of their predecessors in office. Two periods of reformed councils have come and gone, but we, as a profession are made to stay where we were six years ago; nay, in a much sadder plight in some of the provinces!

The cause is not far to seek. The ministers think they have more important duties than attending to such trifles as diseases of animals—which by the way do not constitute any electorate and which by a Merciful Providence have been deprived of the power of speech, to be of any nuisance to them—and that it is the fashion of the times to talk only of Agriculture and its immense potentialities, of Fisheries and Soap-making, of Co-operation and Industries, of Forests and Panchayats!

By all means let them attend to them; but we beg of them to forget not that there is such a thing as Veterinary Department and that cattle are dying in thousands every year for want of adequate Veterinary aid in India. The very mainstay of Agriculture which they proclaim intend developing, is, the cattle-wealth of India. That is the property of the Indian ryot and it is that property that needs all the protection a Government can give. "Safety of person and property" is a very elementary guarantee of any civilised Government. It is such a guarantee we seek of at the hands of our ministers.

From the evidences so far given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture, one will notice that there is a consensus of opinion on the present inadequacy of Veterinary aid and the need for its immediate expansion. Nothing short of opening more hospitals, better arrangements for the supply of sera and more hands to attend to outbreaks of contagious diseases, will satisfy the public.

The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art

Mr. O. C. Gangoly has contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* a very suggestive, informative and well-illustrated long article on the above subject. Says he:—

Of the many patriarchs and sages who have crossed the Vindhyas to Aryanize the South, the name and personality of one stands out in bold relief. It is of the great sage Agastya—the rishi 'born in a pitcher,'—and hence known as 'Kalasaja' or 'Kumbha Yoni'. We are not concerned whether he was a mere mythical name or a person in flesh and blood. He presents and stands for a concrete symbol of the adventurous spirit of the early Aryans—who have ever sought fresh fields and pastures new for the colonization and development of Aryan thought.

He was very æsthetic in his demands. He would not take for a spouse any but the most beautiful woman of his time—Lopamudra, a princess of Vidarbha, who had vanquished all rivals in beauty competition. But he was not destined to live in the North for a long time, for the call of the South came, as it must have come to many of his ancestors and predecessors and he set out on his memorable journey to the South never to return. And 'Agastya yatra' is now a synonym for the travel of one who goes forth but never returns. The loss of the North, as we shall see, was the gain of South. The part that Agastya took in reclaiming the primeval forests in Southern India, and in making them fit for human habitation, is indicated in the Ramayana in several passages in no uncertain terms.

We can almost trace his footprints as he walked from place to place in his adventurous journey to the South, for the stages of his travels are marked and punctuated, as it were, by his little 'asramas' (hermitage) which he set up at different places in Southern India—and are even now known as "Agastyasrama".

But was the career of this adventurous missionary to be satisfied by a local deification and a local worship? Vedaranyam on the seashore marked no doubt, the extreme limit of his exploits in Southern India. But was the Indian Ocean to retard the career of our intrepid Aryan adventurer? The dangers of the sea could not hold him back to the narrow limits of the Aryavarta. He boldly braved the dangers of the sea and, by his psychic powers, he overpowered the sea-gods. In the language of myth and poetry, Agastya drank off the waters of the seas and earned a new appellation 'pita-sagara', 'one who has drunk off the Ocean'. And one 'born in the pitcher' achieved the antithesis of the "Drinker of the Ocean".

Now let us follow the career of our sage across the seas. In the Indian continent he had a favourite hobby of building Shiva temples and of founding new branches of his family. In his activities in countries across the seas, we find him busy in his favourite pastimes. He was a devout worshipper of Shiva. "Shivaradhanatatparah" and it is by founding Shaiva shrines that he signalized his presence in a distant colony. But where do we find him figuring in his oversea activity? He is supposed to have sojourned to the distant land of Cambodia.

But have we finished our survey of the activities of our great missionary in building up the culture of Greater India? The legends in the 'puranas' offer another clue to his activities in other lands. According to the Vayupurana (48 ch.) our hero is supposed to have paid visits to the following islands in the Indian Ocean—Barhina Dwipa (which may perhaps be Borneo), Kusha Dwipa, Varaha Dwipa, Sankhya Dwipa, which may be one or other of the Sunda islands—also to the Malaya Dwipa and to Java.

Anatomy in Indian Art

In the same journal Bhavachitra Lekhana Siromani N. Vyasa Ram observes:—

A word needs to be said on the use of anatomy in Indian art. It is believed that Indian artists

did not study anatomy—in the sense in which the European student studies it. There is an argument advanced by some critics that the Indian artist could not study anatomy because of the horror he had for vivisection. This argument does not hold good when we see the image of Ganesha in Java seated on a throne of human skulls, symbolising his descent from Siva, the lord of the cremation ground. These skulls are perfect representations which could not be the work of people who refused to study anatomy just because of the horror of vivisection.

On the contrary the cause is not in external feelings or sentiments but in the essential outlook upon life and art. The western artist, having nothing higher to aim at sought for anatomy and proportion as the essentials of beauty. It was the Greek ideal which realized the perfect man in the proper display of muscular developments. But the Hindu ideal soared far higher than muscular beauty. Spiritual ascendancy and brilliancy was real beauty to them. Neither Lady Macbeth nor Cleopatra would the Hindu look upon as types of beauty. They had a within that scrupled against no sin or filth and their external beauty but mocked that dark within. It is the beauty of character, the beauty of self-sacrifice that was worth the name. And this was not to be found either in muscular growth or proportion. The face was the unfailing mirror and in making that mirror reflect the soul of the object portrayed, the artist had his whole scope. The body, its proportions and other features were only incidental. It was not worth the while of a genuine artist to waste his time on things that do not matter. Moreover, to be able to copy perfectly is no great achievement for the artist that made a master piece out of every stroke of the brush. The eye that saw deeply into the far beyond which it was not given to many to perceive, could not fail to see this silly difference in so-called anatomy or proportion. Examples without number could be pointed out which display remarkable keenness of observation and accurate representation.

The Object of Co-operative Banks

According to Henry W. Wolff, in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*—

The object of co-operative banks is not only to supply cheap and easy credit, but also distinctly to promote thrift, for the gradual accumulation of capital. To the fulfilment of such object it is a great hindrance to have, in times of plethora of funds, to refuse the acceptance of deposits. Ebbs and tides of means of course occur in every form of co-operative banking, as of other banking. In 1895, I found the co-operative banks of Germany at their wits' end to decide how to deal with the prevailing superfluity of funds. Not only did many of them refuse deposits but some even refused instalments of shares. For this reason it is essential that co-operative banking institutions should have a reserve outlet not too narrowly hedged in for superfluous money allowed to them. But proper organisation in its own ranks will help a good bit, as opening a way to convenient distribution between bank and bank, or between province

and province. The transactions so taken in hand want to be not as between local or provincial organisations dealing independently with one another, but through a head institution, just as on a battlefield it is the commander-in-chief who directs the movements of each corps. There need be no fear of transactions being in this way encumbered by excessive "commissions." The trifling tax levied by commissions will be found to be made amply up for in other ways.

Son-in-law and Mother-in-law

Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra writes in *Man in India* :—

Though it is a far cry from the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, to North America, we find that the same curious taboo which prevails among the Hindus of Chittagong, and which forbids the son-in-law to meet and touch his mother-in-law's body also prevails among the Pueblo Indians of North America, as will appear from the following account which has been published in the Calcutta daily newspaper "The Statesman" of Sunday the 23rd August 1925 :— "Pueblo farmers, who live in settlements on the Rio Grande, are North American Indians and judging by the account of them given by Miss Lindon Smith, who recently gave an exhibition of her pictures in London, they are remarkable folk. They have, at any rate, one idea, which seems excellent. For among them, a man after marriage is forbidden to meet his mother-in-law. If she happens to be in a building which he is about to enter, he is warned of the danger and the lady similarly is assisted by popular custom to keep out of her son-in-law's way".

How has the similarity between the Chittagong Hindu and Pueblo Indian come about? Borrowing is out of the question, as the two peoples are separated by vast oceans and extensive continents.

Now there remains for us the alternative of coming to the conclusion that the taboo which prohibits the son-in-law to meet and touch his mother-in-law's body was evolved among these two peoples independently of each other. It is now one of the accepted tenets of Cultural Anthropology that "different groups of mankind started at a very early time from a general condition of lack of culture; and owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs."

Sir J. G. Frazer however explains the origin of this taboo by the ingenious theory that, as the shadow of a person is a vital part of him it is extremely hazardous to touch his shadow, for touching it is tantamount to actually touching his body itself. On this point he says :—

"Hence the savage makes it a rule to shun the shadow of certain persons whom for various reasons he regards as sources of dangerous influence. Amongst the dangerous classes he commonly ranks mourners and women in general, but specially his mother-in-law. An Australian native is said to have once nearly died of fright because the shadow of his mother-

in-law fell on his legs as he lay asleep under a tree. The awe and dread with which the untutored savage contemplates his mother-in-law are amongst the most familiar facts of anthropology. In the Yuin tribes of New South Wales the rule which forbade "a man to hold any communication with his wife's mother was very strict. He might not look at her or even in her direction. It was a ground for divorce if his shadow happened to fall on his mother-in-law in that case he had to leave his wife, and she returned to her parents. In New Britain the native imagination fails to conceive the extent and nature of calamities which would result from a man's accidentally speaking to his wife's mother: suicide of one or both would probably be the only course open to them. The most solemn form of oath a New Briton can take is, "Sir, if I am not telling the truth, I hope I may shake hands with my mother-in-law."

"India's Economic Greatness"

According to J. E. Woolacott India's economic greatness would seem to consist mainly in her being a great market for British goods, as the following statement of his in the *Mysore Economic Journal* would show:—

A description of the greatest of the irrigation works now under construction in India, the Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage and Canals Project, contains the arresting statement that while the whole area of Egypt comprises 8,460,000 acres, with an actual cultivation of 5,400,000 acres, the Indian project will provide for an annual irrigation of 5,900,000 acres in a total commanded area of 8,132,000 acres. It is indeed, impossible for anyone who has not actually visited India to visualize its enormous extent and its almost unlimited economic possibilities. And it is to be feared that in the visions of some ardent believers in the future of the British Empire, India finds no place. Yet India to-day is the greatest market in the world for the manufactures of Great Britain. A Country which in a single year absorbs British goods to the value of £90,000,000 is a factor of the greatest importance in the Empire's well-being. But in the many discussions that have arisen regarding the prospects of British commerce and the imperative need for developing markets for British manufactures, how seldom it is that the importance of India finds the recognition it deserves. Nor is it adequately appreciated that to-day the purchases of British merchandise by the Indian peoples comprise more than half their total purchases from abroad.

Great Britain's proportionate share in this commerce has declined substantially since the period before the War. The pre-war average was 63 per cent; by 1924-25 the figures had fallen to 54 per cent. Meanwhile, our competitors have not failed to realize the potentialities of the Indian markets. American manufacturers, in particular, are making strenuous efforts to increase their business with India, and the United States possess in that country a staff of government servants who vigilantly watch the interests of

the American trader and despatch constantly to Washington information which may help American merchants and manufacturers to extend their operations. It is certain then, that the British exporter will, in the future, have to face keener opposition in the Indian market than, perhaps, he realizes to-day. Self-interest, apart from the higher considerations of the Empire therefore demand that there should be in this country a greater knowledge of India, her peoples, and her vast economic potentialities.

A Grievance of Telegraphists

The Telegraph Review observes:—

It is deeply to be regretted that while the clerks in classes II, III and IV and the members of the Inferior Establishment perform their quota of duties with as much sincerity and intelligence as can be desired for the maintenance of the standard of efficiency of the department, the utter need to relieve these men of their distressing circumstances have as yet been kept in the cold shed of neglect.

Solicitations, prayers and emphatic protests so long made on the above subjects seem to have fallen on deaf ears. It behoves them now to come forward and show us the royal road to secure the interest of vital consequence of those men under them who are the hardest hit of all and for whom measures are in pressing need from a very long time to keep them body and soul together.

It is also a wonder why the Local Service Telegraphists appointed prior to 1913, whose claims to House Rent Allowance at the same rate with the General Service Telegraphists have already been recognised, have not been allowed now the same privilege. We have also again and again pointed out that Local Service Telegraphists appointed from 1913 onwards have the same claim to House Rent as those appointed at an earlier date and we regret that their cases have not been taken into consideration yet.

There is moreover no reason why the cases of the other stations especially of those where the cost of living has been recognised to be quite high, should not be considered along with those of Bombay and Calcutta and why every station should not get its share of revisions and allowances.

Indian Women's Economic Contribution

Miss S. V. Rao is right in her contention in the *Indian Review* that

The part that woman plays in the economic life of a community is often overlooked or underestimated, for though as a member of society she is given her place as the guide and controller of the early lives of the greater part of the community and though she is looked upon as the one who, socially and morally elevates or brings down the standard of life, still, she is not commonly given due credit for the part she plays in the active economic life of the State.

In connection with the importance of the woman in the economic life of India we can consider the part she plays in agriculture and in manufacture (both handicraft and mill,) in the

professional and liberal arts and in various other occupations.

The farmer's wife and his women relations are exceptionally active as productive members. They help in the sowing and reaping of crops, in the threshing and the milking, in the care of the fields and of the stock that belongs to the farm. The work of dairying is carried on very largely by them; they milk the cows and buffaloes, make curds and butter and ghee, and themselves carry these products to the town to dispose of them for sale.

They do the work, too, of spinning and handloom weaving, or whatever subsidiary industry is carried on during the slack season.

In the factory the percentage of women employed in the various Provinces is not large, though of a total population (female) of working age, about 40 out of 62 million women (15-40 years age) are employed in actual work. In Bengal 11·8 per cent. of factory workers are women, in Bombay 18·3 per cent. in Madras 15·9 in the Punjab 10·7, and in the United Provinces 8·3 per cent.

Women work side by side with men in the mills and factories, and their contribution to the product turned out, is, though small, an accountable figure. As yet skilled work is not undertaken by them, but for a matter of that, the skilled work that is being done by Indian men in factories in India is a late development, and, until recently, was not a great factor in the product turned out.

As craftsmen, the people of India have had great reputation for skill of work and beauty of design. In this women played and still play an important part. The Dacca muslin weavers were many of them, skilled women; the best hand embroidery workers are usually women; among silk cocoon rearsers women seem to be specially skilled; and when the work actually turned out by women workers is considered, it will be found that their work is ordinarily [not given the credit it deserves.

Interest in but not Practice of Religions

We live in queer times, opines the *Light of the East*—

Travel through the East or travel through the West: you will hardly find any man who is not acquainted with the tenets of several religions, but you will have to dig below the surface if you wish to discover so-called intellectuals that frankly and openly profess and practise any religion.

There is hardly an university in the world that does not boast of a well endowed chair of Comparative Religions, from which a professor daily or weekly dispenses the latest information on every form of belief or unbelief: and yet how many university professors and even university students truly observe the precepts of their own religion?

Again, our reviews and newspapers are full of articles dealing with religious problems. They are careful to report all the discoveries that throw light upon the faith of modern pygmies or long mummified Egyptians. How rash their readers would be were they to conclude that our newspaper editors or contributors attend church every Sunday, or the

mosque every Friday, or offer daily sandhya to one or other of the Hindu gods.

Our intellectuals are interested in religions, but practise no religion. There are exceptions to this rule, but those who make exception are generally scholars and not mere intellectuals, men who know everything of something and not men who merely know something of everything. Nor are they the men "whose names are daily mentioned in the Press"; they are too busy or too modest to let everyone know about their religious views. The impression created by reading modern literature is the one we have mentioned: modern intellectuals discuss religions but observe none. What is the main reason of this seemingly contradictory attitude? Why are the moderns so curious to know about all the mythologies and theologies and yet so little anxious to turn their knowledge into some practical use?

Unless we are much mistaken, the main reason is our silly modern vanity.

Seeing God in Men

The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* relates the following incident:—

It was in the beginning of 1884 that Sri Ramakrishna, while in a trance, fell down and broke his arm. It took some time to cure. A profound spiritual fact lay behind the incident, which he revealed more than a year after to some of his intimate disciples. He said: I am telling you a secret. Do you know why I love Purna, Narendranath, and others so dearly? I had once a vision of Jagannatha, and as I went to embrace him, I fell down and broke my arm. And it was revealed to me that now that I was born as a man, I must love the lord in men." A few days after the incident he had said, "I now find that my spiritual outlook is undergoing a change. Long ago Vaishnavacharan told me that the highest spiritual wisdom was the vision of the Divine in men. I now really find that it is the Lord who is moving about in the form of men.

How Animals are slaughtered for Food

In the *Maha-bodhi*, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram gives an exposition of the horrors suffered by animals by quoting two graphic accounts by two writers, one from Russia and the other from our own country.

Count Leo Tolstoy gave vent to his sincere emotions when he saw a ghastly series of incidents in an abattoir. The hearts of all readers of his pen pictures will be pricked and they will surely search their hearts whether there is any vestige of the humanitarian element to be found therein.

We have neither the heart nor the space for these accounts. They are horrible and sickening. Government legislation and supervision should be very drastic to secure the infliction of as little pain or suffering as practicable.

Man must be capable of using to profit, and general beneficence the instinct of humanitarianism in all his dealings with the animal kingdom. If total abstinence from killing animal life is not possible at least clemency and quicker methods of despatching the brutes without causing them the least possible pain must be resorted to.

Khanderao Gaekwar's Love of Physical Culture

In an interesting article in *Vyayam* on Shrimant Khanderao Moharaj Gaekwar of Baroda, an account is given of how he encouraged the acquisition of physical strength, from which some extracts are given below.

The exercise taken from the wrestlers that were fed under his own direction, was extra-ordinary indeed. The diet offered to them was very costly and amazingly wholesome. It consisted of two pounds of butter mixed with thin leaves of gold and silver. Besides, sweetmeats, various preparations of milk, cream and the daily light food to boot, were given to them. The exercise of these special wrestlers was also uncommon. It would startle the readers. It consisted of five thousand Dands (press up) and Baithaks, and drawing water a thousand or two thousand times by the buckets of a bullock-draw-well and running ten miles daily. Such a tremendous exercise was taken by Ramju. A wrestler of the mighty type of Ramju, possessed of huge extensive and solid limbs, could hardly be met with. His weight—a very strange thing to believe—ten maunds i.e. 800 lbs. His elephant-like body would require one separate elephant to sit on, on the occasion of procession. He would occupy fully the whole seat in the Howda thereon, (which is ordinarily meant for four men). The Maharaja would daily exult in the sight of Ramju having a huge strong-built frame with handsome features to boot. Being extremely pleased with his elephantine strength and his successive victories in wrestling, he rewarded him with a huge gold club. Though the Maharaja was so fond of Ramju, he would never tolerate his overweening superiority for a considerable time. He was not disappointed in preparing a new wrestler to humiliate him and to topple him down from his peerless position. He spent a great deal of money and took indefatigable pains in feeding another wrestler Buta. Buta was taller but less bulky than Ramju. His body was turned, by uncommon exercise into, as it were, iron solidness. His legs would appear like strong big iron bolts. The Maharaja was not fortunate enough to run into raptures by witnessing the contest between these two famous wrestlers. After the sad demise of the Maharaja, (in the reign of the next Maharaja) Buta, no doubt, had an occasion to wrestle with Ramju and he pinned him to the ground headlong by employing on him, Tang-leg throw in which he was a specialist, amidst the acclamations of the people.

"Fireflies"

Under the Caption "Fireflies," *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* publishes the many short poems of that name by Rabindranath Tagore which "had their origin in China and Japan where thoughts were very often claimed from me [the poet] in my handwriting on fans and pieces of silk." We quote half a dozen of them below.

My fancies are fireflies,—
Specks of living light
twinkling in the dark.

The voice of wayside pansies,
that do not attract the careless glance,
murmurs in these desultory lines.

In the drowsy dark caves of the mind
dreams build their nest with fragments
dropped from day's caravan.

Spring scatters the petals of flowers
that are not for the fruits of the future,
but for the moment's whim.

Joy freed from the bond of earth's slumber
rushes into numberless leaves,
and dances in the air for a day.

My words that are slight
may lightly dance upon time's waves
when my works heavy with import
have gone down.

Dairying as a Village Industry

We read in the *Agricultural Journal of India* :—

The view is occasionally expressed that much improvement in the milking capacity of Indian cows is needed before the dairy industry can be developed to meet the requirements of city consumers and before milk production can be made a profitable business. If the necessary milk is to be produced on large dairy farms as understood in other countries and as usually suggested for municipal dairy schemes, I think this view is correct; but in villages milk is produced so economically and at so low a cost that with good average cattle such as are available in the main cattle-breeding tract of Northern India, it is possible, to stimulate a considerable scale of production, provided a ready market is available. The business is one which is likely to prove very attractive to cultivators. The labour of attending to the cattle can be undertaken by their families and the regular return of cash which daily sales provide is a very strong inducement. This regular daily return throughout the year gives the villagers considerable security, since milk production as a business is less likely to be immediately affected by the vagaries of the season than cereal crop production. The climate of India to a large extent lends itself to the production of useful heavy yielding

fodder crops, and a heavy yield of fodder can be grown at low cost. If a ready market were provided for milk produced in villages where fodder crops can be readily grown, a means would be provided of converting fodder into a saleable and marketable commodity, and consequently the area of cultivated fodder crops would rapidly extend to provide the necessary fodder to produce the supply of milk to meet the demand of the market.

The introduction of fodder crop cultivation into village agricultural practice does not necessarily mean that land will be diverted from food crop production for this purpose. The land lying immediately around villages is capable of giving very heavy yields of fodder and often at periods when they are otherwise lying out of cultivation, and very small areas of such land are required to yield the necessary supply. At present the cultivator requires to grow fodder for his bullocks and usually such provision is made. There is no profit in growing fodder especially for purely breeding stock and consequently very little is set aside for this purpose. The development of collecting agencies to provide a market for village milk will make fodder growing for milking cows and breeding stock profitable, and when this is the case the necessary amount will be forthcoming. Mixed farming has its virtues in countries more favoured with seasons suited to the requirements of agriculture than India. Its development in this country where season can be so unfavourable as to bring crop production except in irrigated tracts practically to a standstill, and where agriculture draws its power for cultivation from cattle, seems an absolute necessity. There seems no doubt that the provision of facilities for the proper transport of milk to enable a better market for milk to be put at the service of the village producer is the first step to the introduction of mixed farming practices and the consequent improvement in the condition of cattle husbandry.

Are Hindus Truly Religious?

Asks *The Widows' Cause* :—

Are Hindus truly religious in following old customs without investigating into their goodness. What is their Religion? It is "Protection of the Society." Do the Hindus probe into every custom and see if it is religious—that is if it is protecting the society. Do they care to set right all their customs, reform such as require reformation and leave off as are injurious to the protection of the Society? If this may be the angle of vision the Hindu Society would live and lead.

We are afraid, in face of this Vedic definition of Religion, Hindus are irreligious. They are not reforming themselves through this test. We enquire, what is that religion worth the name that does not protect the Society. That is irreligious. Let that Religion perish that aims at cutting down the number and potentiality of a nation.

Is the custom of enforced widowhood 'protecting the society'? Is it beneficial to Society? It might have held good times back. To-day it is a fatal custom. And should Hindus still cling to it? And in clinging are they truly Religious?

Food Value of Milk

The *Oriental Watchman* tells its readers that milk is the most remarkable of Foods.

Milk differs from every food substance known, in the fact that it is a complete food. If in the case of adults it needs to be supplemented by other foodstuffs, cow's milk is for the young infant, when properly modified, a perfect food. It contains in excellent proportions, all the elements needed by the growing child. This is not true of any other substance known.

The fuel element is represented in milk by fat and sugar of milk. That fat is of a sort easily utilized by the body.

Why Milk Sours While Meat Putrefies

The sugar of milk is a special product exactly adapted to the needs of the body, far superior to cane sugar and free from the unwholesome properties of the products of the sugar cane. It is found nowhere else in nature except in the milk of animals. Milk sugar is slowly digested and absorbed. This enables it to reach the lower intestine where it is converted into lactic acid and so prevents the putrefaction to which modern science has traced a great number of the maladies of both infants and adults.

It is due to the presence of lactose that milk sours while meat putrefies. Nearly ten years ago, I placed in a jar of buttermilk a raw beefsteak to which no antiseptic of any sort had been added. The beefsteak is still intact, thanks to the anti-putrefactive properties of milk sugar and the acid forming bacteria it feeds. The reason for this anti-putrefactive property of milk was discovered by Kendall of Harvard, who a few years ago demonstrated that in the presence of sugar even highly active putrefactive organisms produce harmless acids instead of noxious toxins and ferments. This is certainly a most beneficent provision of Nature whereby the normal food of the young infant is kept in a wholesome state while undergoing the processes of digestion and absorption in the intestine.

Swami Shraddhananda's Death a National Loss

St. Paul's College Magazine takes the view that Swami Shraddhananda's death is a national loss. In that view it writes :—

The New Year in India seems to have begun with a bolt from the blue. Swami Shraddhananda has been shot dead. We grieve at the loss of our great sage. "Men are we and must grieve, when even the shade of that which once was great is passed away!" And yet we are not prepared to accept the view of some of our local contemporaries that the blood of this martyr has only been the seed of his church.

We would rather take this to be a national loss, sustained and grieved for, by all Indians, severed by no caste or creed. This is a most grievous loss to all Mahomedans, for they contribute no mean part to the evolution of Indian nationalism. Grieve they must; for everyone of them can voice forth the cry 'Homo Sum.' And in the words of a Latin poet, every one of them may say "I am a man.

and nothing that concerns man do I deem a matter of indifference to me."

If the departed hero is privileged to have a memorial for his deep love, entire devotion, and self-sacrifice to the cause of the downtrodden India, let him be given a high place in the gallery of her distinguished dead. Let a national memorial be raised that will stand testimony to a universal united effort for the uplift of the depressed classes.

Goodwill and Peace on Earth

The same magazine observes :—

What strikes us most, when we take stock of things and incidents of the previous year is that there is no appreciable measure of goodwill or peace on earth. Where can good-will dwell when there is a most devastating clash between the pen, the altar and the sword? How can China even bring tranquillity to her troubled soul when the White Supremacy eats into the very vitals of the Far East? Verily the present miseries in China are the fruits of an exploitation carried in *excessis*.

Coming nearer home; when we review the progress of the national development in India we shudder to see before us an array of symbols indicating factions and strifes, communal and ministerial. Whither goest Thou Mother India?

Christian Colleges and the National Cause

E. C. Dewick contributes to the same magazine an article on the contribution of a Christian College to the national cause in India which is well worth reading. We have room for only one passage from it.

They can, I believe, help to blend the rightful elements in Nationalism—love of country, self-respect, desire for freedom—with that wider International outlook, without which Nationalism brings upon itself the inevitable nemesis of selfishness, whether individual or corporate. The Christian Colleges of India are not exclusively English or even British enterprises. In them will be found American and Dane, Spaniard and German as well as the various subdivisions of Britisher—Scot and Irish, Canadian, Australian, Welsh; and from various angles, these are bringing to the young men of India the outlook of a wider world which neither India, nor any land, can ignore, without peril. To that wider world India is bound by ties of common human obligation, to bring the riches that are her own heritage, and for the development of which she rightly yearns for her own freedom.

Conflict of Loyalties

P. A. Wadia writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :—

To any one who tries to look at the human world in its broad aspects today, the most outstanding characteristic will appear to be a conflict of

loyalties; and the more reflective the individual, the deeper and farther reaching will this conflict appear to lie in the different social relations of life. In the field of politics there is the conflict between my loyalty to the State, to which I owe allegiance, and my loyalty to the larger human society, which is increasingly becoming one through the advance of scientific knowledge and the exchange of goods. There is also within the State the conflict between loyalty to the community, to which I more immediately belong, and loyalty to the larger political grouping, which I call the Indian people. In the economic sphere there is the cleavage between respect for the customary traditions that reconcile me to the sale of adulterated goods, and the scruples which make me court ruin for myself and my family if so I can see a brother in the customer who buys his goods from me. In the social sphere there is the war between my loyalty to the rules of the caste or class to which I belong, and loyalty to the more comprehensive social organism of which I am a member: and my community of purpose with this larger organism may demand my co-operation in the bodily life, which distinctly involves a violation of caste rules.

Turning to some of the more immediate problems of Indian public life, shall we allow our communal prejudices to get the better of the common interests that link us all together—Englishmen and Indians, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and non-Brahmans—into a corporate life, inspired by the one purpose of contributing by service to the welfare of the human race? That corporate life which we visualise as the Indian nation cannot enter on its heritage of freedom so long as the constituent members of that body are torn asunder by suspicion, by envy and hatred. And to descend still lower down in the sweep of our survey, shall we allow our own personality, the requirements of our pecuniary gain or even our refinement or our spiritual well being, to over-ride the love which prevents us from regarding other human beings as instruments of our individual purposes? Sir William Ashley, speaking at the Plymouth Church Congress in 1923, observed that the man or woman who looks upon his servants, or upon the working classes, or even wife or husband or child, as tools is not a Christian. And yet how many of us have been brought up in that mode of thought crystallised in the social and economic institutions under which we are living and which mould our thoughts and ways of life?

"The Indian Fist at Nationalist China"

A Nationalist says in *The Volunteer* :

The Chinese Student's Monthly of Michigan in one of its editorials under the caption of "The British Watch dog" writes: "No British atrocities in China were complete without India furnishing the beards and fists. The red turban policemen are the horror of the pedestrians and the bullies of the coolies." It is a sullen fact that the Indian army has been used by the British in crushing the independence of several States even within India. It is true that Indian soldiers have conquered India for the British. The hardy warriors hailing from Nepal and Punjab have been the master-arms of Britain today. It is mainly this power which enables Britain to hold the 330 millions of Indians

in subjugation and abject slavery and to enact Amritsars as easily as David Garrick might have murdered Duncan on a London stage.

We must protest against the strong muscles and sacred arms of India being used on foreign soil to force slavery on quiet and liberty-loving folk. Indian arms are meant for killing the Rakshasas (demons) and protecting the Rishis (saints). They are not meant for shedding innocent blood. "If the British guns want to raze a thousand Chinese homes and mow down men, women, and children alike, let John Bull do it himself." We should have nothing to do with it.

Tribute to Bose and Tagore

We read in the *Hindu Missionary* :—

There is not one Indian who has not rejoiced and felt proud on hearing of the splendid reception given to Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose at the various centres of Learning during his recent trip to Europe. After all, the land of dreamers can produce the equals of men who are "wide awake." As a result of the European tours of Rabindranath Tagore and Bose, Hinduism stands a better chance of being properly appreciated in the West.

Bose's Teaching and Untouchability

Then follows in the same journal an inaccurate statement of Bose's opinion on the resemblance between animals and plants, though the object of such statement is good. Says the writer :—

At the recent Science Congress, Sir Jagadish demonstrated by various experiments that there is absolutely no difference between plants and animals except that the former are stationary while the latter can move about. Both possess sense organs and can experience pleasure and pain. Have we Hindus realised the full significance of this great discovery?

Two thousands years have rolled on and a new prophet has carried forward the principal of Ahinsa a step forward. He tells us, that the plucking of a fruit or flower or the uprooting of a plant causes great pain to the tree. We are left wondering as to how we are to live if we are not to be cruel to plants and trees. Viewed in the light of the discoveries of Professor Bose, the principle of Ahinsa declares the vegetarian to be as sinful as the flesh eater. We can no more boast of our superiority over the non-vegetarian.

Until we find some new food which will entail no cruelty to the animal and plant world, would it not be good if we turned our thoughts inwards introspectively? Is my neighbour who eats flesh really so bad that I should have no social intercourse with him and feel polluted by his mere touch? Am I not practising cruelty on the various plants when I uproot them for my food? Is not my cruelty greater because the plants remain mute and offer no resistance when I treat them so badly? Would it not be good if I frankly and

humbly confessed to my neighbour that after all I have sinned along with him? How can I then be polluted by the touch of another who does what I do?

India No Gainer from League Health Organisation

In a long and well-documented article contributed to *Welfare* Ramananda Chatterjee shows that India has not so far derived any advantage from the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. He begins by saying :—

It has been often asked in what way India can derive any advantage from the League of Nations. The main object of the League is to preserve peace between nation and nation. As India has not the power either to declare war or to make peace with any nation—these things are done for her by her Suzerain, Great Britain, there can be no occasion for the League's exercise of the peace-preserving power in the case of India. Nor can the League do anything to raise the political status and improve the political condition of India, as these are among the internal affairs of the British Empire and India in which the League cannot interfere. And it is needless to add that the League cannot help India to become independent. On the contrary, if India tried to be independent, the League would oppose such endeavour. For by Article X of the Covenant of the League, its Members are bound to preserve the territorial integrity of all Member states, and the British Empire is such a Member State.

As India cannot derive any benefit from the political activities of the League, its advocates say that she can derive some advantage from its other activities. Let us then see what we have gained from its health activities.

He holds that :

Until India becomes fully self-ruling and so long as her medical and health services are controlled by British Government servants, the Health Organisation of the League cannot do any appreciable good to our people.

Duty and the Joy of Life

In *Welfare* Professor Diwan Chand Sharma tells the reader :—

There is a couplet beloved of orators and demagogues who figure so prominently in School and College debating societies that has, I think, done more harm to our youth than the vicious works of any perverted genius. Go where you may, you will find this couplet exultingly quoted and approvingly listened to by youthful Burkes and budding Brights. The couplet to which I have referred so scornfully, and which I think should be placed on the index expurgatorius in all schools and colleges runs thus :—

I slept and dreamt that life was beauty,

I woke and found that life was duty,

I find fault with this couplet not because it lacks the true ring of poetry and sounds like a jingle, but because it embodies a pernicious half truth. It seeks to emphasise the fact that we are here to perform our duty, willy-nilly, and not to taste the glories of existence. In fact a cursory perusal of this couplet shows to us that people who think that life is beauty are mistaken, as beauty are mistaken, as beauty and duty are at variance with each other. We live in this world, so to say, like sentinels at the cross roads, and not like sight seers in the garden of Allah. In this world we are never to enjoy any off-day, never to know any respite from our work, but we are to be here always at our post after donning our uniform and with the truncheon in our hand. Life to us is a series of monotonous duties and soul devastating labour, and not something in which duty linked up with pleasure, and toil is relieved by some joy.

This view of life is, therefore, one which does not appeal to me. Nor should it appeal to anyone else, for it is so mechanical. As an antidote to this I would ask the readers of the "Welfare" to ponder over this sentence of Colonel Roosevelt. Says the Colonel, "He is not fit to live, who is not fit to die, and he is not fit to die, who shrinks from the joy of life or from the duty of life."

He concludes :—

Thus games, sports, love of literature, love of painting, nature, gardening, anyone of these things may be practised as a hobby. One man may find relaxation in the study of poetry; another take delight in football (football was the saving of the life of Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University), and a third man's happiness may consist in salmon fishing. But that man's life is very dry and uninteresting, who has no hobby to occupy his leisure, and cannot turn to something outside the sphere of his work for relaxation and repose. We, Indians, neglect sadly the cultivation of hobbies and this is the reason why we do not see much joy in life.

Unemployment and Liberal and Vocational Education

Gopal Haldar thus concludes his article on unemployment in India in *Welfare* :—

The prospects are gloomy, but it will be gloomier still if we remain satisfied with merely condemning liberal education, whatever may be its shortcomings. Vocational education leading to no vocation cannot be popular. Its necessity lies in supplying the wares the industries demand. Without the one the other is useless and helpless.

For the present it is better that while vocational education gets the encouragement it deserves, this liberal education should continue and should rather get the increasing number of subscribers to it,—though their lot is bound to be more and more miserable day after day. For liberal education alone can act as a great fertiliser in this exhausted soil;—it alone can mould the social environment that is so fatal to any enterprise and inspire the social mind to shed off its apathy and isolation,

its primitiveness and traditionalism, and bring home to it the real significance of industrialism. It is here as avenues of Westernism that the argument in favour of liberal studies and cultural education and even for the quick extension of that can stand all criticism and suspicion.

Unemployment will increase, discontent must grow in volume, only the dangers from it have to be cautiously watched and avoided, liberal education barren in its immediate results must filter through the choicest into the whole community,—and then alone we can hope to revolutionize the conditions under which the country groans and evolve a better social, political and economic system.

Islam and One National India

Professor S. Khuda Bukhsh has contributed to the *Calcutta Review* an article entitled "Reflections of a Wayfarer" from which we make some extracts below.

Is the religion of Islam hide-bound, impervious to light and love? Should it stand in the way of one National India? Islam's history is reassuring. Her literature holds out the brightest hope. Did not Islam accept Hellenism as the starting-point of her culture? Did she not incorporate it—make it her very own! What is Islamic civilization but a blend of old civilizations which Islam had subdued and absorbed into her own new system? What are Islamic theology and dogmatics but the gift of the Aramæic people—Christian converts to Islam. What is the theory of the Islamic state but the Persian theory transplanted to Islamic soil?

And does not Sufism owe its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy known as the Vedanta School? The external resemblances between the two system—those of the Vedanta and the Arab and Persian mysticism—obtain a further confirmation by their remarkable internal similarities (Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilisation*, pp 108-114). Islam, as we know it, to-day, is a mosaic work, made up of many sources. Would that our co-religionists realized this truth! It has changed with the changing times. The realisation of this fact will be of incalculable importance to the future politics of Islam.

Nor must we forget that two Pundits enriched the literature of the Caliphate with the treasures of Hindu learning. But if history is helpful; no less is literature in the understanding of this problem. Where in the literature of the world is there that spirit of liberalism and toleration such as we find in Islamic literature?

Islam has never stood in the way of unity and freedom. Does it stand in the way of unity and freedom out here in India? I emphatically think, not. And yet, why then is this ugly Hindu-Mohamedan question—so distracting, so disturbing, so subversive of progress and friendship? Because in the past, the uniting bond was the bond of culture. That bond has now been snapped, destroyed and with the destruction of that bond the ties of amity, good-will, concord have loosened and fallen. Politics has taken its place and what, after all, is Indian Politics but a scramble for a few Government posts?

The false theory of a foreign people, settled in a foreign land, propounded by a half backed historian—not very long ago, is now rejected with scorn by all sane thinking Muslims.

This belief—historically untenable—is so ineradicably rooted in my co-religionists—that they cannot—so long as it continues cherish, much less respond to, the idea of unity political or social. It is a mischievous belief; for it assumes that we are a foreign people wholly different from the Hindus.

Malaria Control at Birnagar

The January number of the *Calcutta Medical Journal* contains a very elaborate and well-illustrated article on malaria control at Birnagar. By perusing it, the inhabitants of other malaria-stricken villages will be able to constitute and carry on the work of their own anti-malarial societies with efficiency.

Anti-malarial work at Birnagar was started by a Society called the Birnagar Palli Mandali in October 1923. Official reports confirm the fact that the scourge of malaria spread throughout Bengal in an epidemic form from this once populous and

beautiful town of Birnagar (Ula) which is 50½ miles above Calcutta by rail. The anti-malarial operations under-taken at this place ought therefore to arouse the deepest interest in view of its notorious association with the history of the malarial epidemic in Bengal. A Charitable Dispensary was established at Birnagar in 1861 and a Municipality was created there in 1869. But neither of these institutions was able to check the ravages caused by malaria, and so the once prosperous town of Birnagar rapidly sank into the status of a village abounding in dilapidated homesteads, ruins, and jungles, presenting all the features of a rural area.

Mr. Krishnasekhar Bose concludes his very instructive report with the observation that :

Quinine measures seem to be more immediately effective than anti-mosquito campaign. But it would be a mistake to drop the anti-mosquito campaign and concentrate attention on quininisation alone. A thorough anti-mosquito measure is bound to be effective and in our fight against malaria we cannot leave any weapon unused. Anti-mosquito measures can only be thorough when the Municipality enforces its laws and byelaws and compels the owners of tanks and lands and householders to adopt the requisite sanitary measures. It would be a pity if the Municipal Commissioners do not wake up to the importance of this at the present stage of our work. Any neglect in this direction may nullify in a great measure all the work done by the Palli Mandali.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Postal Rates in India

Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke, a former Director-general of Posts and Telegraphs in India, says in the *Asiatic Review* :—

In 1922 the initial rates were doubled to 1 anna per ounce for a letter, and ½ anna for a postcard. These rates compare very favourably with those in Great Britain, and are, in my opinion, fully justified. Distances in India are six times as great as in this country ; we do not get the same volume of mail to handle, and much correspondence has to travel many miles by runners' lines, over which any appreciable increase in weight involves the employment of an additional runner at each stage.

In any comparison between India and Great Britain, the far greater wealth and cost of living in Great Britain and the higher salaries paid to British postal employees should be taken into consideration. If that were done it would be seen that the people of India have to pay heavier postage than Britishers.

The following observations of Sir G. R. Clarke are, however, unexceptionable :

It is generally accepted that the Post-Office in any country should just pay its way, but I do not consider it any great disaster if it fails to do so. Cheap postage is such an inestimable advantage to the life of a country, both on its social and business side, that the actual loss in maintaining the service may be more than counterbalanced by the general gain to the community.

It has been found by experience that high postage seriously interferes with the distribution of business and trade circulars, and it is possible that in this way the gain of a million pounds, say to postal revenue may mean the loss of ten million pounds' worth of trade orders. This may be a gross exaggeration, but it is an argument for cheap postage, quite irrespective of its results in the Department itself.

Indianization in the Post-Office

Sir G. R. Clarke's opinion on Indianisation in the Post-Office is worth quoting. Says he :—

There is, as you are aware, a persistent and natural demand in India to indianize the services. In the Post-Office indianization began many years ago, and there has never been any distinction of race in the matter of promotion to the higher appointments. In fact, most of these are at present held by Indians, and very efficient and trustworthy officers they have proved. I think it is purely due to this elimination of race distinction both in the matter of appointment and pay that the Department has been able to work so smoothly in troubled times.

his feet, and yet he is known as the venerable Wang; he must be very different from ordinary men. What is the peculiar way in which he employs his mind?" The reply was, "Death and life are great considerations but they could work no change in him. Though heaven and earth were to be overturned and fall, they would occasion him no loss. His judgment is fixed regarding that in which there is no element of falsehood; and while other things change, he changes not. The transformations of things are to him the developments prescribed for them, and he keeps fast hold of the Author of them."

Prohibition in America

We read in the *Review of Religions* :

Mr. Irving Fisher, Professor of Economics, Yale University, says:—"Prohibition has accomplished much good, hygienically, economically, and socially." There is a decrease, he says, in the first offenders from 24 per 10,000 of the population in 1914 to 6 per 10,000 in 1925. Amongst Students he says, "It is not debatable that there has been a very substantial reduction in arrests for drunkenness." The cases of profanity dealt with in New York City have fallen from 4,350 in 1919 to 1,695 in 1924.

Charles C. Clarke, Professor of Romance Languages who is not a prohibitionist, says:—"I will admit, however, that the effect of prohibition at Yale has been good. I know whereof I speak, for I have been a Member of the Committee of Discipline from a time dating back many years before prohibition. I do not pretend that the students are prohibitionists, or are not drinking, but the change has been simply revolutionary. In other days our Committee was continually busy with cases involving intoxication and the disorders arising from it. Now we have practically no business of the kind to transact."

A Chinese Story

Chuang Tzu writes in *Message of the East*:—

In Lu there was a Wang Thai (Taoist saint) who had lost both his feet; while his disciples who followed and went about with him were as numerous as those of Chungni (Confucius). Chang Chi asked Chung-ni about him, saying, "Though Wang Thai is a cripple, the disciples who follow him about divide Lu equally with you, Master. When he stands, he does not teach them; when he sits, he does not discourse to them. But they go to him empty, and come back full. Is there indeed such a thing as instruction without words? and while the body is imperfect, may the mind be complete? What sort of man is he?"

Chung-ni replied, "This master is a sage. I have only been too late in going to him. I will make him my teacher; and how much more should those do so who are not equal to me? Why should only the State of Lu follow him? I will lead on all under heaven with me to do so." Chang Chi rejoined, "He is a man who has lost

The Teaching of Literature

M. U. Moore asserts in the *Island Review* of Ceylon "with a fair degree of confidence, that literature cannot be taught at all".

Literature was written not to be studied but to be enjoyed. What passes for the teaching of literature is *the history of literature*, which is quite another thing; and as a recent writer remarks "about as irrelevant to its appreciation as a knowledge of the origin of our breakfast sausage would be to our enjoyment of it." The teaching, in fact resolves itself into a mere chatter about sources and origins, entirely, worthless from an educational point of view. What we should notice in this connection is that we are here confronted with a feature of academic teaching viz, a *subordination of substance (or life) to form*. This can be seen even more clearly by another instance. Anybody who has any knowledge of literary text-books for students of the present-day will recognize that the work itself, which is the subject matter, occupies but an insignificant part of the text-book. A play of Shakespeare's "edited" by some academic light, consists of its lengthy introductions, going into minute details of origin and the date when it was written, and concluding with voluminous notes of a pedantic character, glossary of terms and so on. Here is a complete subordination of substance to form, a mere encumbering of the mind with futile facts which, it is to be hoped, are forgotten as soon as learnt. And the result of this concentration on the part of academic lecturers on this mechanism of literature, this taking of the machine to pieces, as it were and seeing how it works, not only causes a fictitious interest in the machinery, but usurps the rightful interest in literature as such. Take a thing of beauty to pieces and you destroy the beauty; vivisection a genius and the genius escapes you.

Britain and League Mandates Commission

The *Living Age* writes:—

The British Foreign Office has seen fit to address a letter to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations politely protesting against the care with which the Permanent Mandates Commission is inquiring into the government of the colonies and countries entrusted to the administration of the Powers. The Commission's questionnaire is very exhaustive, comprising as it does over two hundred

and thirty questions extending to every detail of government and administration'. The *New Statesman* deplores Mr. Chamberlain's action, because it makes the British Government appear as a leader in a fight against the Commission, 'a body of unquestioned integrity and ability, whose authority must be maintained if the mandate system is to have the confidence of the world.' It argues that if Great Britain is doing its duty fairly to the inhabitants of the countries placed in its care, there is nothing to fear, and that as a trustee it cannot set up as sole judge of what is necessary or unnecessary in respect of the rights of its *cestui que trust*. The mandated territories are not colonies.

A Japanese Medical Researcher

"A distinguished English surgeon" gave in a private letter to a scientific friend in Tokyo an account of a professional visit to some of the leading medical centres of America which was published in the *Japan Advertiser*. The following extract from the letter relates to a Japanese Medical researcher:—

I spent an afternoon with Noguchi. He is a tiger for work, and, in one way, impressed me more than any of them. He showed me the spirillum of yellow fever alive in culture and the similar spirillum in the sap of the plant milkweed. He may be coming to Egypt this winter to study trachoma, leishmaniasis, and Kala-azar. He has his research workers all over the world. He determines the cause of obscure South American diseases in his laboratory in New York. Blood and other specimens are sent to him by collectors, and he does his work in the quiet atmosphere of his laboratory.

Have we any such researchers? Noguchi should have come to Assam and Bengal to study Kala-azar.

China and Great Britain

The New Republic (January 5) thinks,

In regard to China Great Britain has at last seen the handwriting on the wall. Having failed to win the support of Japan and the United States for a policy of using force she has now decided to try conciliation. The official memorandum made public on Christmas Day practically promises to recognize the Canton government if it continues to succeed. Great Britain now approves the levying of the so-called "Washington surtaxes" by China—a decision which is reasonable since the Cantonese are levying whatever taxes they please and no one can stop them. The British also declare that they have wanted to adopt their present attitude ever since last May, but refrained from doing so in order to continue the unanimity of the great powers. That the English should be the leaders in a movement of pacification is turning the tables with a vengeance. It is a characteristic example of opportunist

British policy, a fact which, however, does not make it any the less desirable.

The Mandates and Self-righteous Britain

The New Republic observes:—

The weakest point in the machinery of the League of Nations is the mandate system. Originally it was established to accord with the new respectability which the advent of the League was supposed to bring into the relationship between the great powers and the "backward peoples"; but its practical workings have differed little from the older form of colonial holdings. The case of the Syrian mandate, held by France, is the most notorious illustration of this. The efforts of the Syrians to bring their case before the world were thwarted by the policy of permitting complaints from the subject people to come to the League's attention only through the mandatory power—which is about like the army rule that a private can only complain of injustice by a lieutenant through asking the lieutenant himself to speak to the captain about it. The injustice of this has at last become so apparent that the Mandates Commission has itself proposed that in future representatives of the inhabitants of the mandated territory should be allowed to appear in person and state their grievances.

To this suggestion the reply of the British government has just been published. It rejects the suggestion in terms of coldest disapproval. It regards the existing machinery as entirely adequate. "The view of His Majesty's government," it adds, "is that there are the gravest objections to the grant of any form of audience by an advisory Commission of the League to petitioners who are either themselves inhabitants of a territory administered by his Majesty's government under mandate or are petitioning on behalf of inhabitants of such territories. It has never been found necessary to grant audiences to petitioners either for the purpose of considering their petitions or for the purpose of elucidating the matters with which any petition deals. It would appear that in any case in which after examination of a written petition the mandates commission finds itself unable to make a definite recommendation to the Council its proper course would be to request the mandatory power concerned to furnish or to obtain from the petitioners such further information as it requires." In other words, let the League ask France to find out from the Syrians whether she has been acting with unexampled cruelty and injustice in their country, and if so, report to that effect. We submit that this policy is unworthy of the British government, or any honest government. It is a continuation of the "damned nigger" theory of dealing with the inhabitants of the mandated territory; and the longer it is continued, the more troublesome it will be.

Importance of Date of Emancipation

British politicians in their selfishness think that it is of no importance to fix a date

on which India is to have responsible self-government, ignoring the fact that a vague promise made to unborn generations is no promise at all;—the promise must be fulfilled within the life-time of the foremost political workers of India. It is in this belief that the New Republic suggests with reference to the Philippines:—

Let the United States agree to give the Islands their independence at a fixed date some years in the future provided that at a plebiscite held not many years before that time the inhabitants signify their desire that this be done. Then let them have an increasing degree of autonomy from year to year in the meantime, and let the final economic arrangement with the United States, whatever it may be, come into effect gradually over a long period.

Relations between Orientals and Occidentals

Haridas T. Mazumdar, Chairman, Oriental Students' Conference, writes in the *Philippine-American Herald*:

Is our society, I mean our world-society, so organized as to ensure peace and plenty to every individual and to every nation? Is every nation organized for peace or for war? What is the basis of our international relations? By international relations I do not mean the sorry mess of the European situation; international relations cover a wider and broader field than that. By international relations I have in mind particularly the relations between the two culture groups, the Orient and the Occident. Can we, either as Orientals or as Occidentals, be proud of the relations that exist between ourselves? Do you of the Occident know our culture sufficiently to condemn us as your inferior? Do we of the Orient know your culture sufficiently to adjudge you as the pariahs risen to power because of the perversity of the Iron Age? Citizens of the Occident, let me impress upon you the significance of our problem: it is not merely that markets and money and investments are at stake—our stakes are of vastly greater import. Much as we resent and suffer from your political domination from your economic imperialism, from your "white man's burthen," we feel that the greater issue lies in our mutual misunderstanding of each other's cultural values. Such is the opinion of the Orient and it is this that we tried to thresh out at our Conference.

Women Workers for Peace

Many of greatest workers for international peace in America are women. Recently problems of peace were discussed there by nine women's organisations at a conference

on the cause and cure of war, about which we read in the *Woman Citizen*:

"Believing as I do," said Mrs. Catt firmly, "that compulsory arbitration treaties are the real solution of the war problem—" and the pedal note of the second Conference on the Cause and Cure of War was struck, to hold throughout five mornings, afternoons and evenings of lecture, discussion and debate.

It was nearly two years ago that a committee composed of the presidents of nine of the Great national women's organizations, called the first Conference. That time the subjects were literally causes and cures, analyzed, dissected, discussed from every angle. Out of that Conference came certain "findings," which during the past two years, have acted as a basis for study programs, summer conferences and individual lectures on various phases of international relations. Whenever a missionary society packed a barrel, whenever a woman's club devoted an afternoon to foreign affairs, wherever an American Association of University Women chapter discussed the international scholarship it was aiding, right there was apt to be heard an echo from the hard study of the conference.

So that the six hundred delegates who met this year in the gilded Hall of nations during the snowy, sloppy week of December fifth, had back of them the most authoritative information about why peoples went to war and how conflict could be avoided. They also had two years in which they had digested that information. They had tried it out on other people, tested its validity in this case and that. Problems of peace had been in their minds, and their minds had sloughed off prejudice and gained limberness.

The result was an added ease in discussion, a clarity of background, and an increased willingness to listen to very controversial discussion. The Conference devoted half its time to economic and historic consideration of such fundamental causes and cures as the need for security, trade rivalries, general arbitration and progressive disarmament. Then they went on to the more prickly discussion of our present foreign relations with other countries.

Opium More Dangerous than Alcohol

Sir Richard M. Dane asserts in the *Journal of the East India Association*:—

The abuse of opium is, of course, a serious evil, but the abuse of alcohol is also a serious evil. The two habits are comparable. Opium appears to have a special attraction for some races and alcohol for others. The abuse of alcohol is a more serious evil for the individual and for the persons with whom he is brought in contact, but opium, even when used in moderation, has an enervating tendency and is, therefore, for a nation a more dangerous thing.

Italy Under Mussolini

The bulletin of the Association International des Travailleurs publishes a letter from a correspondent about Italy which begins thus:—

The conditions in Italy remind one of the worst days of popery, Bourbonnism or feudalism. The attempt to kill the Duce put into execution by a youth of Bologna has given handle to a regime of terror unparalleled in history. The great courage of Mussolini so much advertised is a direct lie. It is not true that, immediately after the shot was fired, he gave order to stop the automobile and keep quiet. On the contrary, he became pale like a corpse and ordered increased speed and did not even turn once backwards to look. When he came to the station, he was still shivering and could not control his excitedness. This was told to me a few days later by a Fascist of note. He told me also that the would-be assassin Zamboni was condemned to be shot by his friends and fellow conspirators. I cannot vouch for the truth of this latter statements. Young Zamboni was a child of Fascism and his brother made the march to Rome. It must be concluded, therefore, that he was commanded by the renegade Fascists to carry out the assassination. In any case, everyone in Italy wants an explanation and many thousand suppositions are suggested in the Fascist camp itself. It is not, therefore, easy to sift all these, and Truth is as rare in Italy as Freedom. All opposition papers have not only been suspended but forbidden. The Fascist papers themselves can only publish what the Duce wants.

It is said that the Italian nation is agreed with the Fascist politics. Who can deny it? Whoever dares to express another opinion is immediately prosecuted and is doomed to certain conviction. That itself would be luck! For, whoever is surprised when he expresses a few words of murmur in a public place or on the streets runs the risk of being lynched. Not even in the confidential circle of one's relatives can one express his opinions freely. In every house there are some spies who are lurking upon every suspected family. The door-keepers of houses must observe and report the suspected families. They must watch their correspondence and denounce them to the police.

Church Attendance in England

Professor J. Takakusu writes in the *Young East*:—

During ten years which I spent in Europe in my student days, I rarely missed attending church services on Sunday. To speak the truth, at first I went to the church rather reluctantly, because I had no other way of spending Sunday than doing so. By degrees, however, I began to take interest in church activities and went even a long way to hear sermons by eminent preachers. I visited Europe four times after I had finished my studies and returned home, but every time I went there I never failed to visit the church on Sunday and to observe with a critical eye how matters were

going on therein. From these experiences, I can say that within the past twenty or thirty years Europe has gone through a great, even a sweeping, change in the domain of thought.

When more than thirty years ago I first visited England as a student, Christianity appeared to be in the heyday of prosperity. No boarding house would tolerate a student who would stay at home and continue his studies on Sunday. He was, therefore, obliged to quit his books on that day and go out for a walk. Neither sports nor any other amusements were available, and as he could scarcely walk all day, he was obliged to go to the church. It was in such circumstances that I attended church services every Sunday. In those days, every church was filled to capacity and the sentiment of the people at large towards the church was exceedingly reverential. I also found missionary zeal to be very intense, the popular sympathy for heathens being of such depth that many earnest young men and women went out as missionaries to pagan countries and money was always liberally given for their support. After the Russo-Japanese War, from which Japan emerged victorious some great change was observed in the sentiment of the English Christians towards the Japanese. Before that war, they had made it one of their cherished objects to convert the whole of the Japanese people to Christianity in fifty years, as a Bishop of Tokyo once spoke at Oxford. After the war, however, opinion appeared among them that it was waste of both labour and money to try to propagate Christianity among the Japanese, who already possessed Buddhism of advanced form as their religion, and that missionary efforts should be concentrated to irreligious and uncivilised regions such as Africa. In fact, a certain denomination discontinued sending missionaries to Japan. Nevertheless, the religious sentiment of the English people, and of other European peoples for that matter, was still very strong.

All this has been upset by the Great War. On my last visit to England, I was amazed to find church attendance so poor that it appeared to have dwindled to one-tenth of that of the pre-war days. Lest I might fall into error in my judgment, I visited a goodly number of churches and those of different denominations. Not only that, I inspected conditions prevailing in churches and chapels in cities as well as in the country. It was the same everywhere.

Publication of Abhidharmakosa Vyakhya in Russia

The same magazine is responsible for the announcement that:

The copy of Abhidharmakosa Vyakhya by Yosomitra, which was collated by Dr. Unrai Wogihara with years' painstaking efforts will shortly be published in the capital of Soviet Russia. The revised copy was sent to Dr. Serge d'Oldenbourg at the beginning of the World War to be published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica series of the Russian Academy, but nothing as to its fate has been heard since the outbreak of the great revolution by the Soviet faction. To our pleasant surprise, however, it has been reported recently by Professor

Stzervatskol of the University of Leningrad that the valuable Buddhist manuscript has been kept in perfect condition inspite of the great revolution, which wrought havocs throughout the country, and will be published early this year.

The World's Population

Some figures relating to the world's population were given by Sir Charles Close in his presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society. The following are quoted from them as published in the *London Inquirer* :

The population of the globe, estimated at about 1,859 millions in 1924, was increasing at the rate of about 20 millions a year, so that in 1927 it would be about 1,957 millions. Omitting the frozen and desert places, the present density of population for the whole world was 38 per square mile, or 14.6 per square kilometre. The densities of the countries differed greatly, England and Wales having 251 persons per square kilometre, Belgium 245, Italy 130, Germany 127, France 71, Scotland 63, Irish Free State 46, Spain 42, Russia 24, and Norway 8. The density of the population of England at once leapt to the eye.

Alcohol and Opium in India

Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes in the *Scholastic* (Pittsburgh, Penn. U. S. A.)

Before its contact with Europe, India was one of the most temperate countries of the world. Drinking was considered a social vice, a religious crime. In comparatively modern times, drinking of spirituous liquor has been introduced in India along with other gifts of Western civilization. Today the British Government in India is in the liquor business; it is the saloon-keeper of the nation. The liquor traffic is one of the most deeply entrenched foreign interests, but the will of the nation has declared itself in no unmistakable terms. Judging by the innumerable local and provincial referenda, India is undoubtedly for hundred per cent prohibition. And could India be free of the British control today, it is no exaggeration to say that India would go dry tomorrow.

Closely connected with the temperance question is the opium traffic, which has become a great national peril. The medical authorities of America say that for all scientific and medicinal purposes of the whole world, we need only three and a half tons of opium a year. India alone produces a thousand tons of the drug annually, enough to poison the whole human race a dozen times. In India, the opium traffic is established by law. It is the monopoly of the government. Just as the little boys and girls in the United States can go to a shop and buy all the candy they desire, much in the same way the little boys and girls in India can go to an opium den and buy unlimited "dope." There are seven thousand government

licensed opium dens operating in India, open daily the year round.

The various anti-narcotic societies in India are ever active in their crusade against the drug. They point to the fact that Japan has already banished opium from its possession, Korea and Formosas. They demand that India should be allowed to suppress opium as a measure of social well-being. As a result of these campaigns, there has been of late marked diminution of the opium evil in certain areas.

Foreigners in China

The New Republic Comments on the Chinese situation as follows.

The situation in China is daily growing more dangerous. At any moment it is possible that foreigners may be killed in the course of riots, and hostilities started the outcome of which it is impossible to predict. The British concession at Hankow has been seized and there and at other points the feeling against foreigners is running high. Five American destroyers have been sent to Shanghai, and other naval forces are in readiness to protect the lives of foreigners. The use of military and naval strength in this way has plenty of precedents and it is not surprising that it should be resorted to. At the same time we agree with Mr. Grover Clark, editor and the publisher of the *Peking leader*, who warns that it is more likely to bring about danger to foreigners than to prevent it. The Cantonese government, Mr. Clark pointed out in a recent interview in the *New York Times*, is seeking by every possible means to avoid any harm to foreigners, knowing what the probable results will be. But the presence of armed forces is itself an incitement to the mob to resort to violence. It plays into the hands of the radicals and seems to justify the propaganda of Soviet Russia regarding the sinister purposes of the power. Mr. Clark, who as an observer of Chinese affairs is second to none in experience and ability, believes it is of the greatest importance that the United States should immediately make an unequivocal gesture of friendliness toward the Chinese people. He believes this should be done regardless of any action of the other power and that if it is postponed even a few weeks it may be too late. Mr. Stephen Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, has introduced a resolution which would do much in this direction. It calls for the United States to undertake immediate treaty revision, regardless of the action of the other powers. It ought to pass, and at once.

Britains Aftermath of War

We take the following from the *Literary Digest*.

What this has been may be partially appreciated from a survey of the activities of the Joint Council of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England and the British Red Cross Society, which

has just issued its sixth annual report. Says *The Lancet*, (London), in a review of this document :

"The purely after-war activities of the Council, as set forth in the report, are many and extend to all ranks of the Services, but perhaps the most important of them are those undertaken by the Auxiliary Hospitals for Officers' Department which seeks to relieve ex-officers suffering from sickness or disablement attributable to, or aggravated by, their service in the war. More than 17,500 of such cases have been helped during the last six years, and it is melancholy to have a record that the majority of them have been tuberculosis cases. The Department puts them into hospitals at Brighton, assists them to go to Switzerland or the Riviera, helps them with the cost of the treatment while their cases are being officially investigated, and does not pass over unnoticed those whose applications have been rejected by the Appeal Tribunal. There are, unhappily, still many ex-officers who require surgical, medical or convalescent treatment for disabilities for which the Ministry of Pensions

could not accept liability, but are unable to pay operation and nursing home fees. Here the hospital steps in with its inestimable boons and removes much bodily suffering and mental anxiety. As regards mere extent however, the activities of the Emergency Help Committee stand at the head of all these works of mercy. Last year 17,535 cases were helped, and half a million dollars a year is being spent, mainly in grants of a fixed amount, for some specific purpose calculated to confer permanent benefit. Very often the money is eventually refunded, and many men, their physical handicaps notwithstanding have thus been enabled to become self-supporting. In addition to all this, money is found for materials and training for bedside occupations, for drives and entertainments and for Christmas gifts. The report makes a splendid record of public service, most of it performed voluntarily by helpers whose patience and sympathy provide the human touch that lights up so many lives upon which the shadow of war has fallen, never entirely to be removed."

MANAGEMENT OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN BENGAL

BY RENUKA ROY, B. SC. (ECON. LONDON)

RECENTLY a proposal has been set afoot by some of our pioneer women educationists to move Government for the creation of a separate board for women's secondary and intermediate education, consisting mainly of women and a small number of able men in the nature of experts. This board is to set up a separate school final in accordance with the proposals of the Saddler Commission report. The Saddler Commission has shown us, that there is a great waste of time due to the low standard of the present school leaving examination of the Calcutta University. Time is at this stage of education, even more precious in the case of girls than boys, and the reason is, that only a few girls go in for higher education, the great majority getting married at the completion of their school-life. If their school final is on a higher level, they would at least be ensured of a better and more complete education before leaving school. The board would also be useful in introducing new subjects for girls, such as domestic science and social hygiene. Its advocates want the board to have the recognition of the University and its co-operation in its creation ; but they maintain, that the board must be created even

if University help is not forthcoming. The usefulness of such a board is unquestionable. It would give women a much greater power in the administration of girls' education. But it is essential that this board, though a separate entity, should have connection with the University. This could be secured by a few of the members of the board being members of the University Senate or *vice versa*. As a matter of fact, the University which contains so many of our most intellectual men should be brought to realise the necessity of co-operating with educated Indian women, and of rendering them every aid in the formation of this women's board.

In matters educational, centralisation is necessary in order to obtain co-ordination of policy, but there is need for a good deal, of regional devolution, for its actual administration.

This devolution could be effected by the formation of District Women's Councils which would be supervised by the Central Board of women's education. These district councils would be concerned with, both primary and secondary as well as the zenana education of women in the districts. At present they would have to consist of quite a number of

men and only a few women. The number of women would gradually increase as the social conditions in the districts improved. The wives of officials and other educated women in the districts should be induced upon to manage the boards and to train up interested resident ladies to take up the work. This is most important to preserve continuity in action. Although men would have to form the majority on these district councils under present circumstances, yet these councils would form a training ground for women in the districts and would also be under the control and influence of a Central Board, where women would predominate. Herein lies their superiority over local bodies such as municipalities which would have to consist wholly of men for a much longer time to come, as a long period will elapse before women are either able or willing to join them.

The Inspectress of schools would be an ex-officio member of the central board, and the District Inspectress, if appointed, would be ex-officio member of the district councils and could play a large part in making the councils a success. However, the whole power should not be vested in their hands. Ultimate control should be kept in the hands of independent men and women who have not to be accountable to Government for their action, as Inspectresses naturally would be. Initiative and new ideas can only be introduced by those who are free from the trammels of officialdom.

Of course, the time will come for these district councils to be established after the Central Board is brought nearer materialisation. Recently the Government have urged upon the University the necessity of forming a separate board for secondary and intermedi-

ate education for both boys and girls. If such a board is formed and women are given their due importance, then educated women would have no quarrel with the project. But it is most deplorable that the Government proposals to the University include only one woman on this board. All things considered it would be best for women to have a separate board, but it must work in co-operation with the University if it is to be a success. The formation of this board would by no means make it unnecessary for women to establish their claims to fellowship on the body of the University. Higher education will be controlled there and it is essential for us to have a hand in the guidance of the higher education of Indian women.

Surely with the urgent need for the spread of women's education and an even greater need to improve the type of education given, we should count on the help of all fair-minded and liberal men. But we must not forget that it is on women that ultimate responsibility lies. It is for them, not only to insist on their rights but make use of them. If we do not understand the very essence of citizenship, and are not prepared to do our utmost in furthering the cause of women's education, all the help and all the sympathy that we obtain from our menfolk would be of no avail whatsoever. It is a women's problem and it is for women to solve it. We who owe our freedom and education to a handful of enthusiastic reformers, and are the inheritors of all the pioneers have done, owe it to them and to our less fortunate sisters, to do all in our power to improve the condition of the vast majority of our country women.

MARCH OF ANTI-ASIANISM AND THE PAN-ASIAN UNION

A special cable to the *New York Times* gives the following significant news-item:

"Panama, Oct. 23.—President Chiari has approved the immigration law which he had vetoed and returned to the National Assembly, suggesting amendments, not all of which were included in the revised law finally passed.

The law prohibits absolutely the immigration of

Chinese, Japanese, Turks, Syrians, East Indians, Dravidians and Negroes of the West Indies and Guiana whose original language is not Spanish.

"This qualification makes possible the exception of Latin-Americans of negro blood. The law expressly excepts employees of the Panama Canal and auxiliaries of whatever race, in accordance with the existing treaty agreements with the United States.

"It is estimated that 5,000 West Indian negroes,

1000 Chinese and a few hundred Japanese and other excluded races are now resident in Panama."

The above news-item is the clearest and most significant proof of the spread of anti-Asianism among the nations of the world, particularly among the nations which are directly or indirectly co-operating with Great Britain and her dominions and the United States of America, in their anti-Asian immigration and world policies.

Panama is a very insignificant nation, when compared with Japan, China, Turkey or India; yet Panama deliberately enacts a humiliating and discriminatory law against the nationals of the Asian states. Those who are familiar with the actual status of Panama internationally will agree with us that although Panama is regarded as an independent nation, but in actuality from the very day of its creation it has been nothing but a dependency of the United States of America. When Columbia refused to concede to the demands of the United States, regarding the concessions, necessary for the building of the Panama Canal, a Revolution broke out in the province of Panama, which was then a part of Columbia. It is a notorious fact, that the United States was so intensely interested in the revolution and its success that the Wahsington Government, under the direction of the great American Theodore Roosevelt, recognized the independence of Panama within less than forty-eight hours. Of course, the Panama Government gladly acceded to the demands (granting of a concession) of the United States which in return promised to guarantee Panama's independence.

It does not take great intelligence to divine that Panama's anti-Asiatic Immigration policy is the echo of the wishes of the United States of America. The United States used the Chinese and Japanese labourers whom the people of the country invited then to help them in building their railroads. But Asiatics are excluded from the great Republic. The Panama Canal was also dug by the Asiatics and the Negroes, so far as the hard work was concerned, and now they are not wanted. *The far-reaching significance of Panama's policy of anti-Asianism becomes evident to us, when we consider that there are influential American statesmen who think that all members of the Pan-American union should adopt a common policy of "American solidarity" by co-operating and adopting a similar international policy for the American continents, such as exclusion of the Asiatics from the American continents.*

It is notorious that the American Government is in accord with the Canadian authorities regarding the virtual exclusion of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. The American Government does not like the idea of the Japanese, Hindus or Chinese immigrating into Mexico. It is now known that one of the things Japan had to agree to, before the famous Gentlemen's Agreement between the United States and Japan was signed, (which has been recently repudiated by the United States Government), was that the Japanese Government would voluntarily restrict Japanese Immigration to Mexico. Even today absolutely false stories are being spread occasionally in American papers to the effect that the Japanese are plotting to secure a naval base or coaling station in Mexico, which might be used against the United States. Since the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, the Chinese are excluded from that Asian country and the nationals of other Asian states are neither very welcome by the Americans, who control the destiny of the nation. The position of the Asiatic people in Cuba is similar to that of the Philippine Islands. It is very evident that Haiti, Nicaragua, and other Central American states will possibly follow the foot-steps of Canada, Panama and the United States of America in discriminating against the Asiatics.

The Asiatics are excluded from a large portion of the African continent which is dominated by the British Empire. The continent of Australia, to uphold the doctrine of "White Australia", excludes the Asiatics. Canada, the United States of America and other countries like Panama are determinedly opposed to Asiatic Immigration. Discriminations against the Asiatics in certain parts of Asia are also now in force. These facts establish precedents for further movements for the spread of anti-Asian legislations in other countries. It is known to all who read foreign news, carefully that Japanese efforts to colonise in Brazil and other South American countries have been adversely criticised in the American press, as undermining the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. It is not too much to foretell that, unless something extraordinary happens, with the increase of Anglo-American financial influence in South American countries, anti-Asian legislations will make further headway.

The anti-Asian Legislation of the Panama Republic is not in itself a very serious

thing : When we take the whole question into consideration, we find it to be but an expression of a very dangerous symptom of discrimination against more than nine hundred millions of people who are by no means a negligible factor in world politics and world peace. *Enactment of discriminatory Immigration laws against the Asiatics, definitely affects the property-rights, commercial rights, and "equal opportunity" for the nationals of the Asiatic countries.* If the Asiatic peoples begin to adopt measures reciprocating against the discriminatory legislations, affecting personal, commercial and property-rights of various western nations, it would not be a source of spreading good will among nations. There are indications that some of the Asian states are going to enact retaliatory measures. The following Associated Press despatch from Tokio, October 29th, published in the *New York Times* throws some light on the possible development :—

"The Cabinet voted today to make enforcement of Japan's alien land law effective on Nov. 10. Under this law all aliens who are subjects of countries granting similar privileges to Japanese can own land in Japan. Modification of the law by imperial decree made it possible to discriminate against citizens of States or political sub-divisions of a nation because of the fact that such States or sub-divisions might deny Japanese the right to own land."

The problem that is facing Young Asia is to find a way out by which Asians will not be discriminated against in any part of the world. The only programme that may lead to the solution of the difficulty existing now is the enforcement of an international understanding which will call for *absolute Racial Equality*. All Asia can co-operate on this programme, as Dr. Wellington Koo, as the Chinese Representative at the Versailles Peace Conference, co-operated with Baron Makino of Japan, who asked for the inclusion of the creed of Racial Equality, in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Baron Makino's proposition for Racial Equality was as follows :—

"The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to aliens, nationals of States, members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction either in law or in fact on account of their race or nationality."

Because of the opposition of the Anglo-American statesmen, particularly Hughes of Australia and Woodrow Wilson and Llyo George, Baron Makino's proposal failed. However he added :—

"I feel it my duty to declare clearly on this occasion that the Japanese Government and people feel poignant regret at the failure of the Commission to approve of their just demand for laying down a principle aiming at the adjustment of this long standing grievance, the demand that is based upon a deep-rooted national conviction. They will continue in their insistence for the adoption of this principle by the League in future."

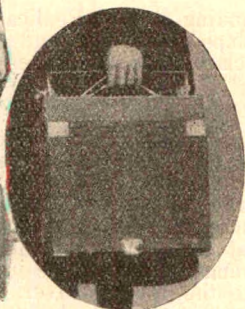
Japan, Turkey, Persia, Siam and other countries have got rid of the unequal treaties granting "extra-territorial jurisdiction" to various nations ; and China is trying to recover her full sovereignty in her internal matters. But the greater problem that is facing all-Asia is to secure Racial Equality for the peoples of Asia all over the world. All-Asia must act in concert to prevent any and all discriminatory legislations against the Asian peoples in any part of the world. *Asian Independence and Racial Equality and World Peace should be the guiding principles for the Pan-Asian Union.* The first meeting of the Pan-Asian Union was held in 1926 in Nagasaki, Japan. It is expected that the next Pan-Asian Congress will be held in Peking during this year. Let us hope that India will be, not only adequately represented there, but the Indian statesmen and educators will arrange, so that the 1928 session of Pan-Asian Congress be held in Calcutta, when Asian scholars from various lands will gather to discuss problems of mutual interest and to devise means for closer co-operation among Asian peoples to protect their birth-rights as human beings.

X. Y. Z

GLEANINGS

Baby Cart That Folds up Carried As Handbag

Weighing only fourteen pounds, a collapsible cart for the baby is folded up in the form of a handbag for carrying. Saving of storage space and ease in going up and down stairs are among the



Gocart, Unfolded and Collapsed. Showing How It Can Be Carried as a Handbag

advantages claimed for it, while comfort and safety are assured the infant when the carriage is in use.

Butterflies Turned into Jewelry

It is a long way from the fashionable shops of London to the wilds of New Guinea, from which come the beautifully colored butterfly wings now being fashioned into exquisite jewelry. A single sample of the rare Paradise butterfly, tailed and with wings of black, green and satiny gold, is valued at from \$150 to \$200.

In the uplands of New Guinea, the climate is cold, while the plains burn in torrid heat. The butterflies fly very high, and one species can be caught only by fixing a dead specimen on a leaf in the sun with wings outspread. The insects fly down to it, just as parrots do to a wounded mate. Acetylene flares are hooked on branches in the mountain country to lure other butterflies after dark, and they are also attracted by great bonfires made in the



A Locket; the Natural Bright Colors Are Carefully Blended



Designs Done with Butterfly Wings—a Picture to Illustrate a Fairy Story

forests. Native Papuans and the cannibals of the Solomon islands are known to catch them in nets made of a web which trapped spiders will spin around sticks.

At the mouth of the Amazon river, stand a tower carrying a platform just beyond the tree

ops. It is a moth and butterfly station where these insects are caught for the leading museums. At night a powerful electric light attracts them and soon they literally envelop the platform in a fluttering cloud tinged with every color of the rainbow.

At an altitude of 2,900 feet, an English collector and naturalist, H. S. Landor, saw a vast number of splendid butterflies, one of which followed him for some days, attracted by the scent of some toilet soap.

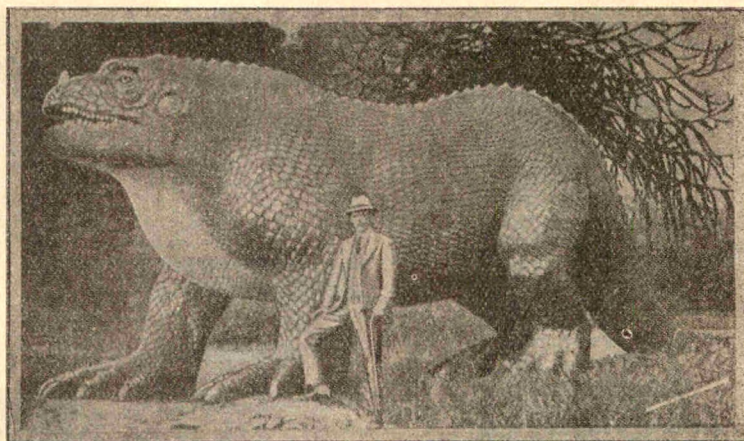
Gold miners and ore prospectors vary the monotony of digging by exploring the woods around their claims, on the hunt for gorgeous butterflies. Food cutters and "balata bleeders, roaming hundreds of miles in the vast forests of Guiana, to tap the juice of the bal ta gum, collect butterflies for museums, private collectors and jewelers.

The uses of the butterflies wings in art and industry will surprise many. The skilful jeweler can incorporate the lovely wings into rings and necklets, and in dainty brushes, mirrors and combs. A few months ago, an English artist exhibited a picture of Catherine of Aragon looking through a cathedral window. All the colors of the rainbow, illumine this window, which is about five feet square, and is composed of 1,800 tropical butterfly wings.

Living Monsters Are Sought In Wilds of Congo



Complete the Crinoline-
girl Design 120 Wings Were
fitted in the Costume of
the Persian Maiden



Col. Fenn Is Standing beside Replica of prehistoric Beast.
Such as His Expedition Will Hunt in Congo. Where
Natives Declare Huge Creatures Can Be Found



Veins of the Wings Represent Folds of
the Cloth: Butterflies from Equatorial
Regions Were Used

Africa is a land of secrets, and one that has engaged the thought of explorers for many years is the possibility that in some of the remote wilds, huge beasts, long extinct in other parts of the world, are still in existence. Most of these suppositions are based on the tales of natives who declare that they have seen animals of enormous size and strange shapes in the jungles and lowlands bordering the Congo river. Under the leadership of Lieut. Col. H. F. Fenn, a British expedition plans a trip through the wildest sections of the Belgian Congo in search of monsters that may have survived in these fastnesses.

Artists Turn to Ironwork To Express Ideas

Handwrought ironwork, including chimney pots, weather vanes, fire screens and lanterns are being produced by members of the American art colony in Paris who have given up paints and the sculptor's chisel for forge and anvil. Their work has attracted so much attention that recently a number of American artists deserted the annual salon and organized a purely American exhibition. Some of the work, such as the combination of wolfhound

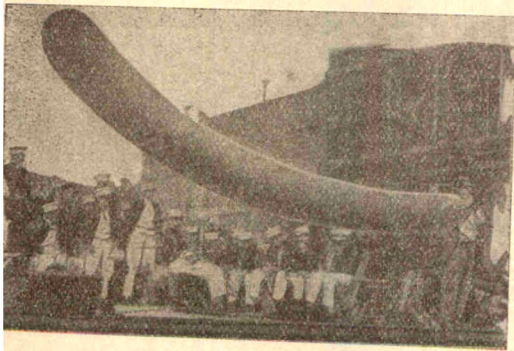


Chimney Pot with Wolfhound Vane Done by American Artist in Wrought Iron

weather vane with a revolving chimney pot, showed unusual originality.

Strength Of Lungs Tested Blowing Up Tube

The blowing championship of Nebraska was awarded to a young farmer of that state after he had inflated an inner tube to a length of twenty



Just Before It Burst: the Inflated Inner Tube After the Champion Had Puffed at It for Eighty Minutes

and a circumference of fifty-six inches wholly within his lungs. Shortly after, the tube burst. It took eighty minutes of puffing to fill the tube.

Floats Propelled By Feet At Six Miles An Hour

Driven by a propeller worked by the feet of the operator, a novel craft was demonstrated in France. It

consisted of two floats fitted to a framework on which the operator rests in a swimming position. Steering is done by the front float and a rudder.

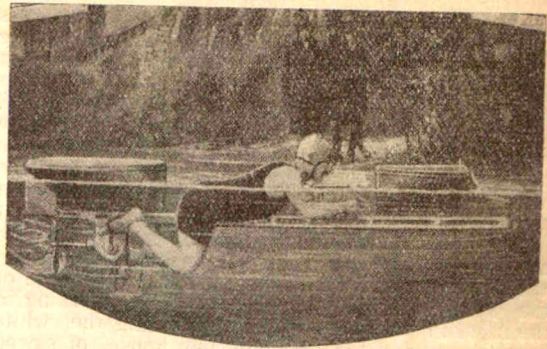
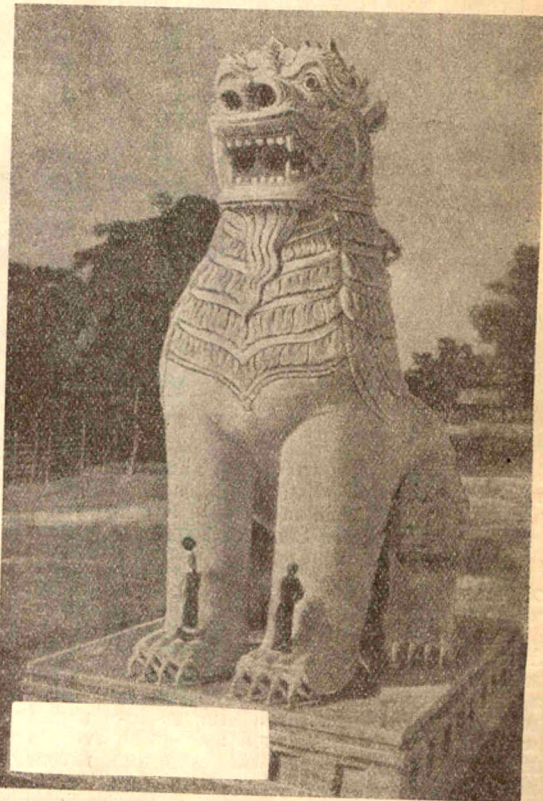


Photo-Diagram of the Foot-Propelled Float

A speed of slightly more than six miles an hour is said to have been attained without difficulty.

How Evil Spirits Are Banished In The Orient

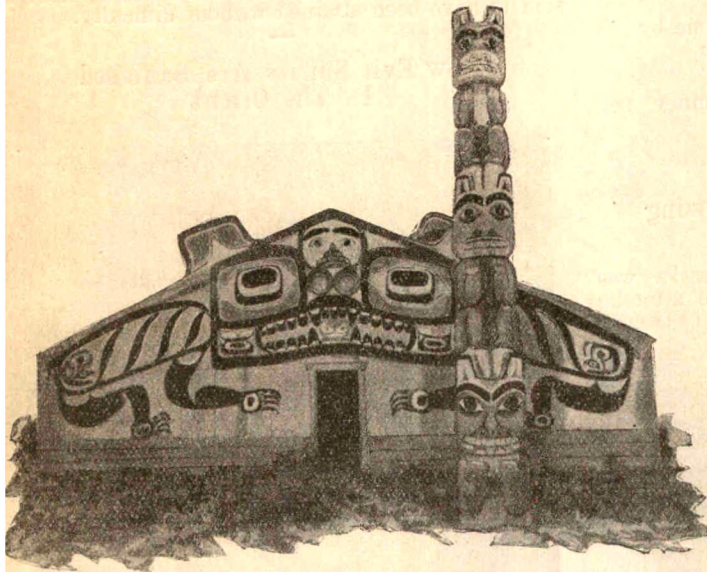


Guardian Dragon in Mandalay, Burma, with Two Burmans Standing on Its Huge Claws; the Burmese Art Is Entirely Original, and Not Copied from Abroad

Totems Reveal Vivid Picture of Vanishing Race

Like the vanishing race whose rare skill at carving has made them possible, the totem poles of the Alaskan Indians are rapidly disappearing through neglect and decay, and even outright destruction, and science seems unable to prevent it. This is the disclosure made by Dr. Herbert W. Krieger, of the Smithsonian Institution, in a lengthy report prepared for the government on the results of his efforts last summer to preserve some of the rarest products of totemic art in the southeastern parts of Alaska.

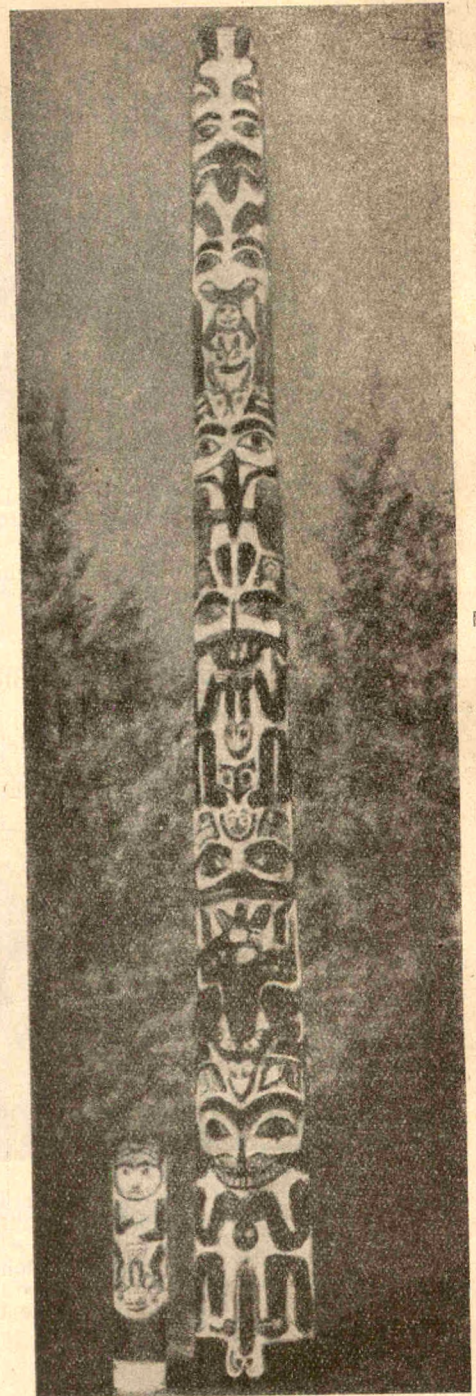
Dr. Krieger states that many of the villages are no longer occupied by their former inhabitants, while others show evidences of neglect because of the absence of their owners, who are working in the Alaskan canneries or are imitating the white man's ways and are living in new houses of sawed boards, leaving their ancestral homes, which represent the highest skill of the northwest coast Indian, to fall into decay. The wood carver's art



Houses Grow Ears to Grace Their Highly Decorated Fronts in the Kwakiutl Indian Villages of Albert Bay, Vancouver Island, British Columbia : Totem Art Is Carried to its Highest Peak in Some of These Decorations

of these tribes, Dr. Krieger says, has aroused wonder and admiration from the time of their discovery by the Russian explorer Behring, who first landed at what is now known as Sitka, Alaska, in 1741. Nowhere else in the world may one find a similar type of art, representing for the most part carved figures. The images are usually of well-known animals, such as the beaver, bear, killer whale, shark, hawk, eagle and raven, but there are also mythical creatures, such as the thunder bird, which is reputed to make lightning by the flash of its eyes and thunder by the clapping of its wings.

These carved figures find expression on the tall



Alaska's Most Elaborate Totem Pole, Stands in the Memorial Park at Sitka ; It Came from the Village of Kasaan

wooden totem poles chiefly, although house posts, dugout canoes and many other objects of daily use form subjects for carvings. The most striking bits of artistic efforts of the natives are on the tall columns of cedar wood, which are really memorials erected in honor of the male relative whose property the builder had inherited. These totem poles, some giantlike in height, generally occupy the place of honor at the center of the gable end of the owner's house.

Among the Tlingit and certain other of the coast tribes the totem pole has a hollowed cavity in the rear in which are placed the cremated remains of the one in whose honor the memorial was erected. Nearly all the poles standing at the present time have such cavities. Among the Tlingit the name for totem pole is the word meaning "coffin" its use and significance would make it, according to our notions, the equivalent for tombstone or memorial column.

Dr. Krieger found that the totem pole which once stood proudly before the house of a family or clan, and showed by its carvings the lineage and personal achievements of the residents, is fast succumbing to decay and ill use. Since the coming of white men, the Indians have lost their pride in tradition. One native cut down some finely carved poles to make a sidewalk. On the west coast of Prince of Wales island is the village of Kowkan, with fifty good totems intact, but this is far from the course of white men's travels and is uninhabited. Tongass village also has some unique totems. Three of these have the carved emblem declared by natives to represent Captain Cook, the first white man seen by their ancestors. One pole has a very fair likeness of Abraham Lincoln carved among its bears and eagles and ravens. The natives think probably that the chief who made it had seen a white man, an event worthy of preservation in native history, and had acquired a picture of Lincoln which he copied on his totem. It is also possible that the carver sought to record the purchase of Alaska by the United States, since one earlier totem has been found with what was probably a portrait of the Czar of Russia.

Any unusual experience in the life of the individual may be incorporated in the carvings on the totem pole. One has the carved figure of a ship under full sail, Dr. Krieger said. This pole belonged to a woman who was the first of her village to see such a vessel and the white men who landed at Sitka. A curved figure on another pole represents the experience of an Indian at Tongas village who once acted as a host to a former secretary of the interior on his visit to Alaska. The secretary was asked to sit on a pile of fine furs in the Indian's house. At the close of the interview he was told that he was forgetting his furs. "It is the custom of our people," said the Indian, "that what a visitor sits upon is his."

When the totem pole was erected later by his nephew, the former secretary of the interior was represented on it dressed in a frock coat, silk hat and checked trousers.

"Totem pole art," Dr. Krieger says, "is largely a representation of animals. These usually refer to the role played by certain animals as actors in native myths. The curved beak of the hawk is invariably represented as touching the mouth on the underside, while the thunder bird, which wears a cloud hat, has a larger beak. The raven has a long straight beak, while that of the eagle is short and curved. Birds, even when they take human form, are to be recognized by a beak added to an otherwise human face. The beaver usually is biting a stick, which it holds between its paws. Certain mythical water monsters may take on a variety of forms. Animal representations have erect ears placed above the eyes, but are otherwise hard to distinguish from human figures.

"The most important thing in the life of the Indian is his crest or totem. Representations of this animal crest are placed on every conceivable object of daily use; they are even tattooed on his arms and body and are painted on his face. The inheritance of a proper kind of crest determines an individual's chances of success and standing in his community."

THE PRESENT STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

SOME SUGGESTIONS TO BRING IT WITHIN THE REACH OF EVERY CHILD

BY LADY ABALA BOSE

IN the present stage of world's progress widespread primary education has come to be regarded as an essential condition for a nation's efficient existence. In the judicious exercise of franchise, in an intelligent struggle for economic advancement and in the multifarious pursuits for intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment, primary education among the masses of the people is supposed

to have a chastening and uplifting influence. The range of women's activity in these fields is more or less circumscribed in all countries, but in the special spheres of work which has been assigned to women in India by the tradition and customs of different societies, a systematic course of primary education has proved by its results to be of inestimable benefit. It has enabled women to run

their homes and take care of their husband and children in more intelligent ways and to earn their livelihood where necessary with greater ease. Their position in society has become more important and useful.

In Bengal, unfortunately, the results of primary education in enriching the lives of women have not been so pronounced. Several causes are responsible for this, but the most important ones are worth pointing out.

It should be remembered that of the total number of girls in the different educational institutions of Bengal, nearly 95 per cent are in the primary grade, the remaining 5 per cent being distributed in the middle and high schools and the colleges for general or professional studies. So the problem of female education in Bengal is mainly the problem of primary education.

The scheme of primary education now in vogue was designed primarily for the requirements of boys with slight modifications here and there to meet the needs of girls. In other societies where co-education is sanctioned or where boys and girls or men and women come in more frequent and intimate contact with each other, the difficulties and anomalies of a uniform system for boys and girls alike, may not be so perceptible, but in our society, men and women move in spheres that seldom overlap, so an educational system that aims at preparing the pupils for the respective parts they are to play in after life, should take into account their divergent needs. The prejudices that still remain in some quarters against female education in general, and the criticisms that are now and then levelled against the educated girls, will be found in the last analysis to be a protest against this maladjusted education.

The custom of early marriage has put a limitation on the number of years that can be utilised for primary education. So the results that are possible in countries where a girl spends eight years on elementary education, cannot be expected in our society, where a girl finishes her educational career before she is 12 and begins her married life within a year or two after this.

The combined effect of these and allied causes is that although Bengal can boast of about 12,000 primary schools for girls with about two lacs and seventy-eight thousand of pupils—these being, by the way, the highest figures of all the provinces in India—it is only the fringe of the vast problem of primary education that has been touched; because, among the girls of school-going age, only 7½ per cent ever join any school at all, the rest of them remaining beyond the reach of all educational influence. It will not be out of place to mention here my own experiences in starting an association called the *Nari Shiksha Samiti* whose principal object is to start primary schools in Bengal villages. This question of popularising primary education and the impetus to be given to this movement so that more girls could receive the benefits of education, has therefore been to me a matter of very great interest.

The problem is full of serious difficulties. At the outset we notice that sufficient funds are not available for the initial expenditure over new schools, or for improving the training and salary of the poor and ill-paid teachers. Vast areas have to be covered with a net-work of schools in order that no girl may complain that there was no school

within her reach. Gradually the principle of compulsory education will have to be realised into practice.

These are administrative problems on which experts are concentrating their experience and energy with varying degrees of success. To supplement these efforts there should be something like a systematic propaganda in order to accelerate the progress. This the *Nari Shiksha Samiti* has been trying to do. As this side of the problem has not received the amount of attention its importance demands, I would specify certain important aspects of the subject.

No educational system can be said to have satisfactorily discharged its functions by mere establishment of schools or improving the pay and prospects of teachers, unless it has been able to create in the community a conscious demand for the benefits of education or an appreciation of the benefits in those who have received it. People should feel that education is not a luxury which they can do without if they like, but is as necessary to life as food and water.

In this respect non-official agencies can do a great deal of real service by organising lectures, discussions, demonstrations and exhibitions. The prejudices and apathy that still linger in the minds of some parents and guardians regarding the blessings of education, should be removed by lectures, accompanied by magic lantern illustrations if possible, reiterating what education can do and has actually done in other countries as well as amongst us. Persistent discussion on the subject in the periodicals slowly percolates down the almost impervious strata of society. Demonstration by girl students in the shape of musical entertainments, recitals, simple dramatic performances, may occasionally be organised for propaganda work. Exhibitions of women's handiwork cannot but enlist the sympathy of those who are still doubting whether their girls require any education or not.

I am afraid, we have hitherto neglected to take full advantage of the educational advances that have already been made. Women who have had some education in their early lives may be counted upon to be on the side of all attempts made for the furtherance of education, provided we approach them in the right spirit and ask of them the service they can easily render in the midst of their present environment. They are the living examples of the fruits of education and under normal conditions may be expected to encourage the education of their own children and the children of their relatives and neighbours. Whatever they say or do carries some weight and they can easily assume positions of importance. An example will illustrate this point; a representative of the *Nari Shiksha Samiti* once went to a village for propaganda work. Among the visitors who came to him was an old lady, who had brought with her a newly-married daughter-in-law and said, "This my *bouma* learnt her lessons before her marriage in your school in the neighbouring village. She has now been a source of consolation in my closing days. When the day's work is finished the women of the neighbourhood assemble in my room and she reads to us *Krittibas's Ramayan*". It seems that no better propaganda work could be done in that village.

But a danger has got to be guarded against. We must not shut our eyes to the fact that the primary education our girls are receiving is of such poor

quality that it seldom produces a distinctive type of women who can serve as an example of education. On the other hand, until this state of things is improved, the angle of vision of society will not materially change and education will not find more favour than now. This appears now to be moving in a circle, but a way out of this may perhaps be found in an organisation for continued education after the primary education in the schools is to all intents and purposes finished. The custom of early marriage puts a limit to the number of years that becomes available for school education. But after the girls have left the school and have settled down as married women, some of them are eager to continue their education, in a leisurely way of course, if opportunities suited to the conditions of life they are leading are given to them. Zenana education—not of the primary but of post-primary type—correspondence school, a widespread library movement, are some of the forms in which such opportunities may be offered. The success of adult education movement in other countries shows that if a problem be seriously taken up, solutions are not difficult to find.

What I wish to emphasise is that if by these means we can attract even a small percentage of those who had primary education thereby enabling them to attain to a higher degree of enlightenment, the example will not be lost upon the public and the cause of education will receive a great impetus. This will perhaps be thought of as a round-about way, but I have no doubt about its efficacy.

In some very backward localities, offer of scholarship in small amounts may be made not only to induce the girls to join the school but to make the parents feel that school-going is economically advantageous. In villages a rupee or two per month is not inconsiderable and may be a decisive factor in favour of education.

As an example, I may mention that in the early days of women's education in Bengal, the cause was promoted by Non-Official District Associations who made a syllabus of books for different standards and held annual examinations on which

they offered prizes of books and money. Mothers-in-law at that time who were dead against education and whose one word of ridicule was to ask if she was going to earn were astonished when these daughters-in-law got Rs. 3 or Rs. 5 a month after passing one of these examinations and thus it is that East Bengal where such organisations exist is educationally more advanced than West Bengal. In all the schools started by *Nari Shiksha Samity* in East Bengal the teachers are women. We have great difficulty in establishing schools in West Bengal villages on account of lack of women teachers and the work is done by Pundits.

We have continued demand from East Bengal for opening schools, and many of the widows in our *Nari Shiksha Samity* widow's home are women sent by the East Bengal village schools to be trained as teachers. It may be mentioned here for those who are not acquainted with the early movement of women's education that when the Bethune School was first established, the girls were not only educated free, but were fetched in Buses free of charge and received gold ornaments as prizes for only learning the three Rs. That was about 50 years ago. The present advance of high education among women in Bengal owes its start from such pioneer work initiated half a century ago.

So in order to spread primary education in the villages we shall have in the beginning in addition to the methods mentioned above which will have a real permanent value, try to attract the pupils by encouraging them with small prizes.

From the point of view of the pupils, any step calculated to lessen the rigors and dryness of schooling, will help in popularising the education.

Finally, I venture to lay great stress on the point that primary education should be left to the initiative of non-official organisations national in character, subject of course, to Government supervision. Official organisation must necessarily be rigid, inelastic and unable to adjust itself to varying circumstances. *

* A paper read before the Bengal Women's Education Conference.

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

3

JUST as two offsprings may cling to and grow up round their common mother, these two mothers passed the next six years, centering their life and love on this one child which was jointly theirs. Amulya was now grown-up, he was a student in the second class of the local Entrance School. There was a tutor appointed to coach him at home... When he left that day after the

morning's work, Amulya went out to play. It was Sunday and there was no School.

Annapurna entered the room and asked, "Tell me, Chhotobou, what should I do?"

Bindu had emptied the Almirah on the floor and was selecting clothes for Amulya out of the pile. He was going with his uncle to keep an invitation at the house of a rich client. Bindu answered without looking up, "About what, didi?"

She was not in an excellent mood. Annapurna was dazzled by the variety of the clothes displayed and did not notice the expression on Bindu's face. She remained silent for a while, then digressed and asked, "Do all these clothes belong to Amulya?"

Bindu said, "Yes."

Annapurna commented, "You do waste money! You must have spent more money on each one of these than would be required to clothe a poor man's son the whole year round!"

Bindu was displeased. But she answered in an easy tone, "Quite so! But there is always a little difference between the rich and the poor; and it is no good mourning over that fact."

Annapurna pressed the point, "Very good, let him be rich; but you always overdo things."

Bindu looked up. She said, "Why don't you say what you have come to say?" "I have no time now."

"When is it that you have abundant time, Chhotobou?" So saying Annapurna went away in anger.

Bhairab had been to fetch Amulya; he returned after an hour with him.

Bindu asked, "Where had you been so long?"

Amulya remained silent.

Bhairab gave her the necessary information, "He was playing Danda-gooli* with the peasant boys in that quarter."

Bindu considered this game to be dangerous. She had therefore forbidden Amulya to play it. She asked, "Haven't I asked you not to play Danda-gooli?"

Amulya went blue in the face with fear and stammered, "I was standing there, they made me....."

"Made you play by force! All right, you are going to the invitation now, go; you will be attended to later on." She began to dress him.

Amulya had been given the holy-thread† about a couple of months before this; he objected to don a brocade cap on his clean

shaven crown. But Bindu would not yield, she clapped it on his head by force. Amulya stood crying with the brocade cap on his shaven head. Madhab asked as he entered the room, "How much more delay will you make?"

The next moment his eyes fell on Amulya and he laughed out. "Charming!" He cried, "As if Krishnachandra (the god Krishna) has been crowned King of Mathura." (where Krishna passed his childhood).

Amulya flung the cap to one corner in shame and threw himself face downward on the bed.

Bindu got very much annoyed. She said, "The poor child is crying; as if that isn't enough, so you....."

Madhab said gravely, "Don't cry Amulya, get up and come along. If people call anybody mad, it will be me."

The same insinuation had been made once previously and Bindu had resented it strongly. This probing of the old wound drove her furious. She cried, "I do everything like an insane person, do I?" She jumped up, got hold of a palm leaf fan and hit Amulya several times with it. Then she began to tear off his costly velvet garments one by one.

Madhab went out timidly and informed Annapurna, "She is possessed, go and see."

Annapurna entered the room and found Amulya completely undressed and in the process of being clothed in an ordinary garment. He was silent and blanched with fear.

Annapurna said, "But it was quite nice why did you undress him?"

Bindu left Amulya, put the end of her Sari round her neck* and said with folded palms, "I prostrate myself before you, Bara Ginni: do go away from before me: your mediatorship will merely cause him to be thrashed all the more."

Annapurna stood speechless.

Bindu caught Amulya by one ear, dragged him to a corner of the room and made him stand there. Then she cried, "Serve you right for being a wicked boy. You must be punished accordingly. Remain locked up here the whole day. Didi, come out, I shall shut the door. She put up the chain fastener from outside."

It was nearly One in the afternoon. Annapurna could stand it no longer and

* A game similar to the English game Tip-Cat.

† The ceremony of giving the holy-thread to Brahmin boys comes off when they attain the age of ten or thereabouts. Having gone through this ceremony the boys are considered twice-born or *Dwijia*. On the physical side the ceremony involves the piercing of the ear lobes and the shaving of the head.

* Gesture of humiliation.

asked, "But Chhotobou, are you really going to starve him the whole day? Is the whole house going to starve with him?"

Bindu answered, "Just as the whole house likes"

Annapurna said, "This is unfair, Chhotabou. He is the only child in the household. If he goes without his meal, let alone ourselves, how could even the servants find heart to swallow food?"

Bindu insisted, "Well, I don't know that."

Annapurna saw that argument would yield no good. She entreated, "I am requesting you, do listen to your elder sister? Pardon him this once. Moreover, if he falls ill, it will be you who will suffer".

The lateness of the hour had already softened Bindu. She called Kadam and ordered, "Go and fetch him out. But let me tell you Didi if in future any of you meddle with my affairs, it won't lead to any good."

The trouble ended there for the time being.

Since his younger brother made good at the bar Jadab had given up his job and was attending to their own property. He had also doubled the ten thousand that Bindu had brought as dowry by judicious lending. With a portion of that money and depending on Madhab's income, he had commenced the year before, to construct a house about half-a-mile away from their present dwelling. It had been finished about ten days ago. It had also been decided that they would shift over to the new house on an auspicious day after the Durga Puja festival. So, one day while having his meal Jadab said to Chhotabou (Bindu), "Your house is finished little mother, now you should go and inspect it one day and see if anything has been left unfinished."

It was Bindu's habit to stand behind the door * every day while her Bhasur (husband's elder brother) was having his meal. She would neglect all else to do this; for she revered her Bhasur like a God—everybody else did the same. She answered, "No, nothing has been left over."

Jadab smiled and said, "Giving the judgment without a hearing! Well, that's very good. There is, however, another matter. It is my desire, to invite all our relations, then, to go over to the other house and propitiate

the family-god by offerings; what do you say mother?"

Bindu answered in an undertone, "Let me ask Didi, it will be as she decides."

Jadab said, "Yes, do. But you are the Lakshmi (goddess of fortune) in this house! Things must be done according to your wishes."

Annapurna was sitting at a little distance. She smiled and said, "Only if your Lakshmi had been a little more peace-loving."

Jadab disagreed, "Peaceful, what is peaceful? My mother is the goddess Jagatdhatri, she can scatter boons as well as wield the Khanda* if necessary, and that is what I want. Since my mother came, we have had no sorrows in our home."

Annapurna said, "That is quite true. Even the memory of the days before her arrival is dreadful!"

Bindu felt very shy over this new development and said, "No, no, please invite everybody. Our new house is large enough to hold all of them. They can even stay on for a few months if they like."

Jadab answered, "Let it be so, mother. I shall arrange to bring them over tomorrow."

4

Their cousin Elokeshi, the daughter of their father's sister, was not very well-off. Jadab used to help her with money frequently. She had been corresponding with these people for sometime to arrange to lodge her son Narendra with them for his studies; now she suddenly came over with her son from Uttara. Her husband Priyanath who was engaged there in some work the nature of which was unknown to everybody, followed her in a day or two. Naren† was about sixteen or seventeen years of age. He used to dress himself in dhoties with fairly wide borders and was in the habit of combing his hair nine or ten times in the course of the day. The way he parted and dressed his hair was indeed something of a sight. This evening they were all seated on the Varandah bordering the kitchen and Elokeshi was entertaining all and sundry with thrilling tales of her son's physical charms and intellectual attainments.

Bindu asked, "In what class are you now, Naren?"

* The system of Purdah does not allow younger brothers' wives to come out freely before the elder brothers of their husbands.

* The sacrificial sword.

†Abbreviated form of Narendra.

Naren answered, "Fourth Class. Royal Reader, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, a lot of other things, Decimal, this, that—things you will not understand, Mamima". *

Elokeshi looked proudly once at her gallant son's face then, said to Bindu "Not one book or a few, Chhotabou! A mountain of books! Do bring all your books out of the box dear, and show them to your aunts."

Naren condescended and said, "All right, I shall show them the books."

Bindu commented, "It will yet be some time before he passes his examination."

Elokeshi cried, "It wouldn't have been; there would have been no delay. He would have got through not one but four examinations by now. Only that Mukh-Pora (burnt-face)† teacher stands in the way. May he be cursed! I don't know why he is so venomous over my darling. He simply wouldn't promote him! He wouldn't. Through sheer heart burning he keeps him year after year in the same class."

Bindu was astonished, "But, really, such things don't happen!" she exclaimed.

Elokeshi said, "Why not? They are happening! All those teachers have come together to earn bribes; but I am poor, where could I find money to bribe them?"

Bindu kept quiet. Annapurna felt really sorry and said, "People should not harass any one like this. It is not good. But we have no such things here. Our Amulya gets prizes every year, we don't have to bribe anybody."

At this stage Amulya came in slowly and going upto his Chhotoma (Bindu) sat on her lap. He whispered into her ear, "Tomorrow is Sunday Chhotoma, do ask Master mashaya § to go away!"

Bindu smiled and said to Elokeshi, "This boy you know Thakurjhi,** is one for gossip. He would not budge now that he has found us talking—Kadam, tell Master Mashaya that he could go, Amulya would not have any lessons to-day."

Naren was surprised. He said, "How

funny; Amulya, you are such a big boy, you still sit on women's laps!"

Bindu laughed and said, "Not only that. At night he still—"

Amulya covered her mouth with his hand and entreated, "Don't, Chhotoma, please don't tell them!"

Bindu did not but Annapurna gave out his secret. She said, "He still sleeps with his Chhotoma."

Bindu added, "Not merely sleep; he clings to me the whole night like a bat would to the branch of a tree."

Amulya hid his face in the folds of Bindu's Sari in shame.

Naren cried, "Shame, shame! What a funny thing you are! Do you read English?"

Annapurna said, "Of course, he reads English at school."

Naren doubted that and said, "Indeed Does he really read English? All right let him spell 'Engine.' He could never do that."

Elokeshi came to the rescue and said, "Oh, those are difficult words; you cannot expect a child to spell such words."

Annapurna exhorted the boy, "Spell it. Why don't you spell it?"

But Amulya would not uncover his face.

Bindu hugged him tight to her breast and said, "But if all of you join in making him shy, how could he spell?"

Then she turned to Elokeshi, and observed, "He will pass his examination next year and get a scholarship of twenty rupees. His teacher has said so."

Though true the statement was received with laughter by everybody.

Elokeshi said, as if in answer to Bindu, "My Narendra is not only good in his studies he acts so well in theatricals that the audience can hardly resist tears. That part you did of Sita; do let your aunts hear you do that, dear!"

Narendra at once knelt down, folded his palms in an attitude of entreaty and began in a high nasal falsetto, "King of my life, on what inauspicious a moment did thy handmaiden—"

Bindu cried, "Stop, stop, don't make such a row, Bara Thakur is upstairs, he may hear you."

Naren was startled into silence.

Annapurna had been completely melted by the little she had seen and heard. She argued, "Well, let him hear, what does it

* Maternal uncle's wife.

† Term of abuse, meaning a shameless scoundrel. Also associates one so called with the Hanuman-monkey which has a black face on a brown body.

§ Mr. Teacher. Mashaya is added to a name as signifying respect e. g., Pandit Mashaya, Guru Mashaya, Naib Mashaya etc.

** Husband's sister.

matter if he heard things dealing with the gods?" *

Bindu was displeased. She said, "Well then listen to the godly things, I am going away."

Naren was accommodating. He said, "All right, I shall do the part of Savitri † then."

Bindu said, "No."

Her tone brought Annapurna to her senses. She knew that things had already gone far enough and were not likely to stop there. Elokeshi was a new arrival, she could not get into the full meaning of the situation. She, therefore, said, "Never mind. Stop it now. We shall have it on some afternoon when the men will be out. And music! He is not a beginner in music either. Sing that tearful song of Damayanti § some time dear, your aunts would not let you go once they hear it."

Naren asked, "Shall I sing it now?"

Annapurna hurriedly said, "No, no, leave all that alone for the present."

Naren said, "All right, I shall teach that song to Amulya. I can also play. It is very difficult to play on the bayan and tabla ** correctly. Give me that brass pot, I shall show you how to play the tre-ket-tak" ††

Bindu made a sign to Amulya asking him to get up. She said, "Go to your room Amulya, and do your lessons." Amulya was listening entranced. He did not want to leave the place. He whispered, "Stay a little longer, Chhotoma."

Bindu did not say anything. She picked him up and went to her room. Annapurna understood why she went away like that. It was because she feared that Amulya would be spoiled by the company of this vulgarly brought-up boy that Bindu left. Annapurna was afraid that after Naren's performance, Bindu would hardly care to

* Sita, the queen of Ramchandra is considered to have been an incarnation of the goddess Lakshmi and Ramchandra, an incarnation of the god Vishnu.

† Savitri is a mythological character in whom we find the manifestation of perfect womanly virtue. She brought her husband Satyaban, who had died, back to life by the force of her virtue and persuasiveness as shown in her arguments with Yama, the god of death.

§ Damayanti is another mythological character depicting womanly loyalty and single-minded devotion to the husband.

** Drum-like instruments played in accompaniment with songs, which add greatly to the rhythmic and sonoric value of a song.

†† A formula for the bayan-tabla player.

have him stay on in the house. She felt upset over this and said to Naren, "Don't do your acting and all that before your Chotomami dear. She has a bad temper and does not care for such things."

Elokeshi was surprised. She asked, "She does not care for such things. Is that why she left like that?"

Annapurna said, "May be. Another thing, dear, you should attend to your studies, have your meals at regular hours and try in every way to make your mother happier. Don't mix much with Amulya. He is much younger than you are."

Elokeshi did not like this. She said in a level tone, "That is quite true. He is the son of a poor man and he should live like one of his position. But when you have raised the point Barabou, let me ask you, is your Amulya such a baby, after all and is my Naren overburdened with age? A difference of one or two years does not call for such words. And has he never seen any rich men's sons before he came here? They have many who are sons of Rajahs in their theatrical club!"

Annapurna was put into a false position. She said, "No, no, Thakurjhi, I never meant that, what I said was—"

"What more could you say Barabou? We may be fools, but not fool enough to miss your point. It was only because Dada * asked me to send Naren here for his studies that we came over. Not that we were starving over there."

Annapurna was dying with shame. She said, "God witness Thakurjhi, I never meant anything like what you have understood. I only asked your son to try to make his mother happier and—"

Elokeshi said, "All right, it is so, it is so. Naren, go and stay in the outer rooms, don't try to mix with the rich man's son. "So saying she pushed up her son and went away."

Annapurna entered Bindu's room like a miniature cyclone and cried in a tear-choked voice, "Must we give up all our relations for you? What a way to leave the presence of a guest!"

Bindu answered quite easily, "Why should you give up your relations? Stick to them as fast as you like and live happily ever after. Only I am going away with my son."

"And where will you go, may I know?"

* Dada—Elder brother. Here Jadab.

Bindu replied, "Oh, I shall leave my address behind when I go. Don't worry about that."

Annapurna said, "Yes, I know that. Would you lose a chance to make things such as would prevent us from showing our face in public! I am simply tortured and harassed to death by this bou!" (Wife of any member of a family). She was going out after this when she saw Madhab coming in and was whipped into fury afresh by his sight. She cried, "No, no, Thakurpo (husband's younger brother) you go away with Chhatobou and live separately, or send that

bou away! I will not live with her, I tell you frankly." She swept out of the room.

Madhab asked his wife in surprise. "What's up now?"

Bindu said, "I don't know. You have got your orders from Bara Ginni, send us away."

Madhab did not say anything more. He picked up the day's paper from the table and went out into the quiet of the outer rooms.*

To be continued.

* Indian Houses are generally divided into two sections. The inner section is meant for the ladies.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editors The Modern Review.]

Raison De'tre of "the League of Nation "

Please permit me to make two observations on an article, entitled "Raison de'tre of the League of Nations" published in the last issue of your Review.

I. It is inaccurate in naming the disputants over the sovereignty of Aaland Islands. The quarrel was not between Norway and Finland, but between Finland and Sweden.

II. The writer takes pains to exhaust the list of the League's failures; but of its successes he gives only two (viz. Bulgarian frontier and Aaland Islands) and says that these are all the chief ones. He leaves out, in spite of its uniqueness, the case of Albania, the solitary occasion on which the League has vindicated the territorial integrity of a state.

There had been a scheme among interested powers to partition this country, but it failed to execute through the exertions of the League.

NIRMAL CHANDRA MOITRA

Pro. Radhakrishnan on Civilisation

With reference to the reprint of a report of my address on Civilisation at New York City, reprinted from the *Hindusthani Student* in the February number of the *Modern Review*, (p. 247), may I state that the report is inaccurate and that I do not hold the opinions attributed to me, about Jesus Christ, for whom I, as a Hindu, have profound reverence.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

BEETHOVEN CENTENARY

(1827—1927)

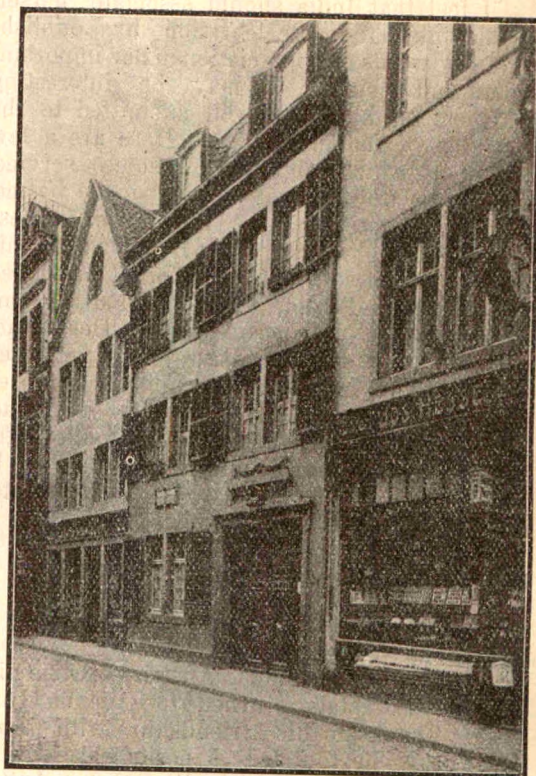
By DR. KALIDAS NAG, M. A., D. LITT. (Paris)

LUDWIG van Beethoven passed away at a quarter to six P. M. on the 26th of March, 1827 during a thunderstorm and was buried at the Wahringer Friedhof outside Vienna. He was born at Bonn on the 16th of December 1770 and was, therefore, barely 57 when he bade adieu to this world, which he used as a sonorous lyre in order to evoke the sublimest songs of Joy and Sorrow and the richest harmonies of Love and Death, winning the proud title, Beethoven the *Shakespeare of Music*.

and mystic life of Beethoven unknown to his official biographers. Mon. Rolland writes :



Beethoven at the age of 16. His earliest Portrait in silhouette by Neesen of Bonn



Beethoven's Home in Bonn, Germany

ROMAIN ROLLAND ON BEETHOVEN FESTIVAL

"On the 26th of March, 1927, a hundred years will be completed since the death in Vienna of the Hero of music—Beethoven. The whole world would unite in celebrating the event. In all the countries we hear about the announcement of the solemn commemoration and even the enemy governments would unite in participating in the ceremony."

Thus having impressed upon us the universal character of the interest in Beethoven's life, Mon. Rolland communicates to his Indian friends a few facts and some literary fragments. These curious and precious

What a rare privilege to be reminded of this fact by the greatest living interpreter of Beethoven and one of his "Doubles" in the world of novels—by Mon. Romain Rolland, the Beethoven of modern romance, who, through his immortal Jean Christophe, has given us the epic improvisation on the deep

documents would explain how the master spirits of the last century, e.g., Goethe and Beethoven, Schopenhauer and Tolstoy, felt a sort of family attraction towards India. We are profoundly thankful to Mon. Rolland for hunting up these valuable documents from the Beethoven archive and we publish the texts together with the prefatory note of Mon. Rolland.

INDIA AND BEETHOVEN

"I feel that India should associate herself in that international celebration by publishing a few words of appreciation in her important papers and reviews. It may be interesting to remember that Beethoven submitted to the attraction of Indian thought. Here are a few documents which might be of some service. These are the actual copies made by me, of the *manuscripts* of Beethoven. These passages were copied by Beethoven in his own hands; these are *translations* (published or unpublished) of some Indian poems adapted to the European spirit. The exact sources of these texts have not yet been traced, except fragment III, which is supposed to have been borrowed from the 4th or 5th act of *Sakuntala* in the translation of Forster. The fragment No. II, the Hymn, seems also to be the version of a Sanskrit hymn translated into English by H. Th. Colebrooke.

"I send you herewith a few items of biographical information also:

HOW BEETHOVEN CAME TO KNOW INDIA

"In 1808 the famous Austrian Orientalist, Hammer-Purgstall returned to Vienna from Asia. Thanks to his friendship with Count Ryewusky he founded a periodical with a view to make oriental literature better known to Europe. This was named *Fundgruben des Orient* and its first number appeared on the 6th of January, 1809.

"Beethoven was then in Vienna and was in the plenitude of his genius and glory. He had produced during those years the *Symphony in Ut minor* and the *Pastoral*. He entered into relation with the Austrian Orientalist. Two letters, luckily preserved, show that Hammer-Purgstall admired Beethoven and "communicated some unknown treasures in manuscript" to Beethoven, who thanked him profusely.

"But there was something more. Hammer had written for Beethoven an operatic poem of Indian inspiration which Beethoven styled

as "herrliches," (magnificent) and the great musician was very happy to talk on the subject with the orientalist and to learn something about Indian music. But he fell ill and the project was deferred. Other circumstances also intervened, blocking the execution of the project later on. Only we find amongst the papers of Hammer, a "*Memmons Dreiklang*,



Beethoven at the age of 42. Bust by Franz Klein of Vienna, 1812

nachgeklungen in Dewajani, einem indischen Schaferspiel"—an Indian Pastoral based on the Devajani story—which was no doubt the poem meant for Beethoven.

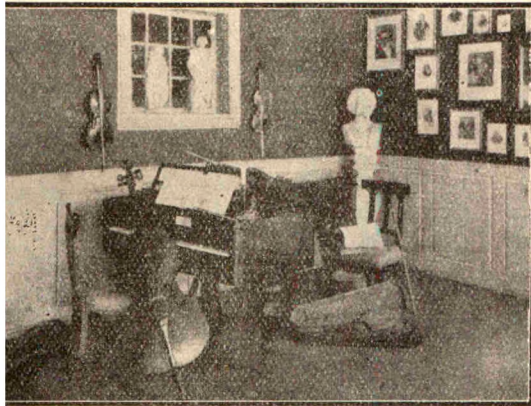
"But Beethoven seemed then to have been more attracted by the religious thoughts of India than by her poetry, and we find in his letters and his notes (1809-1816) traces of assiduous studies and translations of Hammer. The fragments enclosed herewith are a few of the specimens conserved.

"It is important to note this awakening of curiosity in and the passionate attraction of European Genius for the thoughts of

sia. This was to be manifested a few years later, in 1819, by the publication of the poetic masterpiece of Goethe, *Westostlicher Divan*, which captivated Beethoven. The same process is found translated in the formation of the soul of Schopenhauer.

"I send these fragments of Beethoven to you in original German. Their value is not so much in what they express as in the orientation, which they prove to have taken place in the genius of Beethoven in maturity, towards the thoughts of Asia.

"These facts are known to the German musicologists who are specialists in the study of Beethoven. But the larger public know nothing about them and I hope that musicians would be very glad to know them."



Beethoven's chamber. The instruments are those actually used by the Master

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE FRAGMENTS

These fragments have an additional significance to students of Indology in as much as they are land-marks in the history of the rapprochement of the spirit of the Orient and the Occident, long before the formal enfranchisement of oriental studies in the academic circles of Europe. We must not forget that if Beethoven was anticipated by Sir William Jones (the translator of *Kuntala*), Wilkins (the translator of *Bhagavad Gita*) and Colebrooke (the pioneer in the study of the Vedas and Indian philosophy), that Beethoven was the precursor of Arnould and Bopp, of Goethe and Schopenhauer so far as the discovery of Indian genius is concerned.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF BEETHOVEN (1815)

I. ADAPTATIONS FROM THE UPANISHADS

God is Spirit (no-matter), and therefore, he is beyond all conceptual definition; as he is invisible, therefore he cannot have any shape. But from all that we know of his works, we can conclude that he is eternal, all-powerful, all-knowing and omnipresent. He alone is the powerful being who is free from all appetites and desires. There is no one greater than he, the Brahma—his spirit is self-contemplating. The all-powerful one is present in every part of Space. His all-knowingness is the result of his self-meditation and his ideas include those of all others. Of all his many-sided qualities the greatest is his all-knowingness; for him there exists no threefold states of being, he is independent of them all.

O God, thou art the true, the eternally holy, unchangeable light of all ages and spaces, thine wisdom knows of thousands and more than thousands of laws, but all thy acts are in perfect freedom and redound to thy glory. Thou art above all things that we honour; we all praise thee and pray to thee. Thou alone art the truly blessed (Bhagavan). Thou art the truth in all laws, the incarnation of all wisdom. Thine all-permeating presence in the universe upholds all things, Sun, Ether,—Brahma!

II. HYMN

Spirit of spirit! Thou hath permeated every Space and endless Time, and, rising above all limitations of the rebellious thoughts by mastering them, hast brought Beauty and Order. Thou wert before the Heavens (world). Thou wert alone, even before the spheres above and below began to revolve, before the earth began to swim in the heavenly ether, till through thy inscrutable Love, everything which was not, sprang into existence, and sang thankful praise to Thee! What impelled thee to exercise thy powers? O Goodness without limit, what shining light guided thy strength? Wisdom without measure! what created wisdom in the beginning? Oh lead my spirit, raise it out of its abysmal depth, so that through thy strength carried beyond, it can, without fear, soar upwards in fiery

rhythm. For Thou alone knowest how to inspire.

III

Out of God has emanated everything pure and unsullied. If I am ever blinded by passion to evil ways, then I can return again after many penances and purifications to the sublime and pure source—to thee, O God! and to thine Art. No egotism inspires thee here—and it is so at all times. The trees are bent down by the exuberance of its fruits, the clouds lower themselves when filled with beneficial rain and the benefactors of mankind do not boast of their riches.

If under the beautiful eye-lashes the welling tears lurk, resist with fixed determination their first effort to break through. On your wanderings over the earth, when the way goes sometimes up and sometimes down and the right path is seldom recognisable, the trace of your foot-steps will not always be uniform; but righteously will always lead you along the straight paths.

IV

ADAPTATIONS FROM GEETA

Blessed is he, who has suppressed all passions and then with courage fulfils all the duties of life, untroubled about success. Let the motive of your action be in the deed and not in the result. Be not amongst those whose incentive to action is the hope of reward. Do not allow your life to pass in inactivity. Be active, fulfil your duty, banish all thoughts of the consequence and of the result—which may be good or evil; for such serenity is the criterion of spiritual values. Seek then to find in Wisdom alone a refuge, for unhappy and miserable are they who attain success in material things. For the truly wise do not trouble themselves over the good or the evil in this world. Strive always therefore to keep in use your Reason, for that discipline is a rare art in life.

V

Enveloped in the shadows of eternal loneliness, in the impenetrable darkness of the groves, inscrutable, unapproachable, immeasurable, infinitely extended is He. His breath was there even before spirits were breathed into. His eyes looked into his creation just as mortal eyes (to compare an infinite with a finite object) gaze into a clear mirror.

VI

JOTTINGS FROM INDIAN LITERATURE DATED 1816.

There are specimens of Indian Architecture, temples made of the rocks of India, which are old 9000 years old.

* * *

Indian musical notes and tones : sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, sa.

* * *

An aspirant Brahmana has to go through five years of silence in cloisters.

* * *

With God there is no time.

* * *

To one whom the representation of lingam caused offence, the Brahmin replied, whether the same God, who had shaped the eyes, was also not the author of the rest of the human limbs.

* * *

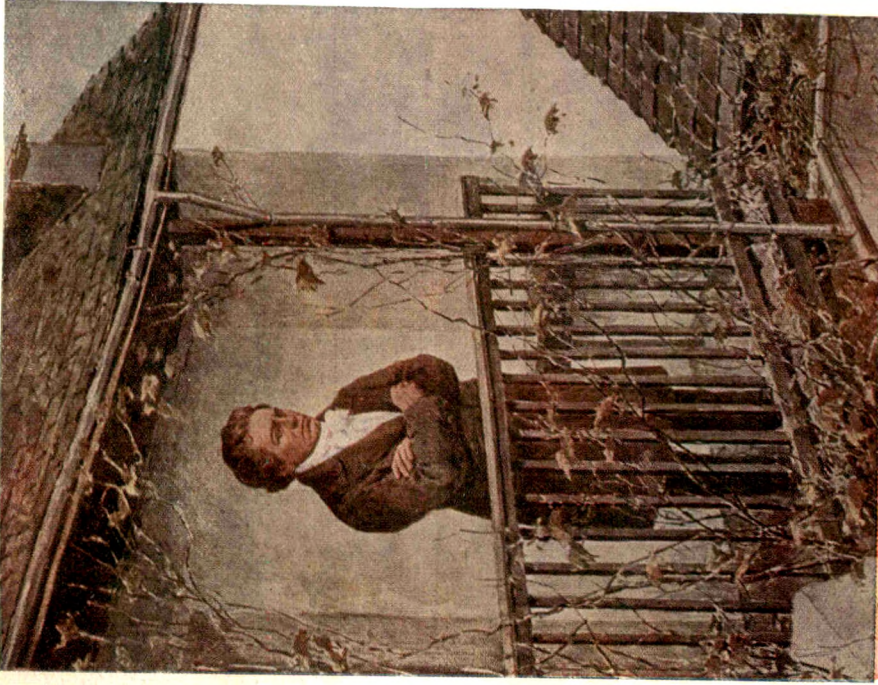
Amongst the Hindus, one of the classes rules the rest.

* * *

Hunting and Agriculture make the body agile and strong.



A study of Beethoven by the French sculptor Bourdelle



BEETHOVEN AT HOME

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



COMPOSING IN SILENCE

THE SOUL OF BEETHOVEN

The fragments of Indian religious texts which were found amongst the manuscripts of Beethoven are partly translations and partly adaptations of the sublime philosophies of the *Upanishads* and of the *Bhagavad Gita* containing the quintessence of Hindu spiritual realisations. We are not sure if Beethoven himself or his orientalist friend was responsible for the final selection of these profound texts. Most probably it was Beethoven who sifted the various translations made by his friend and copied out with his own hands those utterances of Indian sages which responded to his spiritual strivings. For we find in the text not only selection of the original Indian thought-melodies, but the very improvisations on them by some master-spirit who is like Beethoven, deeply religious and hence a cousin-germain of the Indian seers, who were also musicians from the very beginning—who called their scripture *Rik*, songs, and *Chandas*, rhythms, and who were responsible for the apotheosis of the musical sound: *Sabda Brahma*. So we may not be far from the truth if we surmise that the rhapsodic commentaries or apostrophisings which follow the Indian aphorisms, are Beethoven's own and as such, they have a rare value.

Every biographer of Beethoven asserts that the art and life of Beethoven are surcharged with religious inspiration:

"A more deeply religious mind never existed. In every trial his thoughts flew upwards and his note-books are full of most passionate ejaculations. God was to him the most solemn and intimate Reality whom he saw and welcomed through all aspects of Nature and in every mood of Joy and Sorrow." (Sir George Grove).

"Sacrifice, sacrifice always the inanities, the fooleries of life, to Art! God above all—O Gott uber alles!"

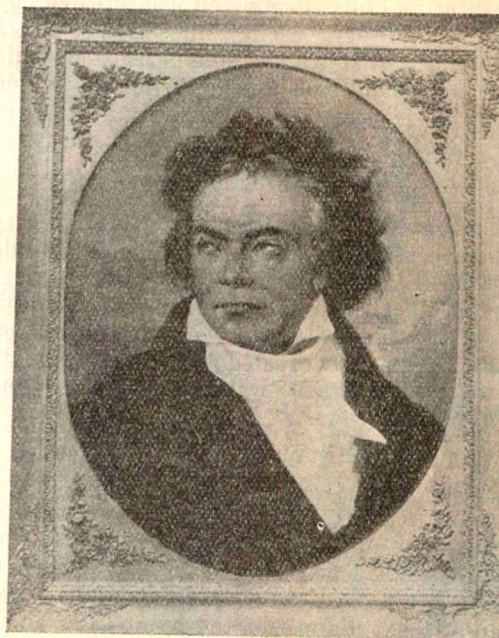
These were his perennial cries and his greatest interpreter, Mon. Romain Rolland, has also proved it in his "Vie de Beethoven."

ROMAIN ROLLAND ON BEETHOVEN

"All his life may be compared to a day of terrific storm. At the beginning a limpid youthful morning—only here and there a gust of weariness. But in the immobile atmosphere one scents a secret menace, a heavy presentiment. Suddenly we find the

passing of the gigantic shadows, the tragic rumblings, the terrible and growling silences—the furious rush of storm in the *Heroic* and in the *Symphony of Ut Minor*. However, the transparent purity of the air is not as yet blotted out. Joy is still joy and Sorrow nurses always the child of Hope. But after 1810 the equilibrium of the soul is upset.

"A strange light seemed to emerge from his works henceforward. From the clearest of his musical thoughts one can see a misty something slowly coming up; the mists dissipate, gather again and seem to darken our



With his eyes open he looked inward

hearts with their capricious and melancholic uneasiness; often the musical idea seems to be lost altogether; it comes out of the haze once or twice and then seems to have been swamped; it jumps out by fits and starts only at the end of the composition. Even the gaiety of Beethoven of this epoch assumed a severe and savage colouring. In all his sentiments we scent some fever, some poison. In a letter of 2nd May 1810, to his friend Wegeler we read the piercing lines: "Oh! so beautiful is Life... but mine is poisoned for ever!" The storm clouds gather as the night descends and suddenly the heavy clouds, dark like the night surcharged with lightning and bursting with tempest—the beginning of the Ninth Symphony. Suddenly

with the bursting of the tornado, the curtain of darkness is torn asunder. the night is chased out of heaven and by the sheer impact of the will the radiant day emerges in all serenity.

"What conquest of Bonaparte, what effulgence of the sun of Austerlitz may aspire to rival this glory, this superhuman effort, this victory, the most brilliant ever achieved by human spirit. A poor diseased lonely unfortunate creature—Suffering-made-Man—to whom the world had refused joy, creating Joy by his own will, in order to give it to the world! Truly Beethoven has created joy out of his misery, as he himself says in a few proud words which summerise his life and which should be the motto of all heroic souls—

"To Joy through Suffering!"
 "Durch Leiden Freude!"

The profound truth underlying every word, every phrase of Mon. Rolland, would be realised by those who have the privilege to listen even once to that Homeric composition of the musical world, the Ninth Symphony which Beethoven created out of the depth of his soul, which was the battle-ground of Joy and Sorrow.

Hymn to Joy.

From the year 1793 when he was a young man of 23 only, he dreamed of singing for once a supreme hymn to Joy which would be the crowning piece of all his works. All his life he hesitated about the exact form of the hymn and about the place which he would assign to it. Finally in the year 1823, at the fag end of his life, he took up the sublime Ode to Joy by his great contemporary Schiller, and wrote a musical superstructure which would ever remain as a marvel and a despair of musical art. Beethoven was a pioneer in introducing the chorus at the end of the symphony and in the choral hymn to Joy at the end of the Ninth Symphony we feel—as I felt in the course of one the great symphony-concerts of Germany—that the human soul in its sublime despair to express itself through man-made instruments, suddenly cries out directly to God, the Master Musician, through the human voice. Beethoven's hymn to Joy has all the grandeur and the directness of the Vedic hymns which also culminated in the supreme philosophy of Joy—*Anandam*.

आनन्दश्चैव खलिवमानि भूतानि जायन्ते

PILGRIMAGE OF PAIN.

"This unique realisation of Joy and through Joy, of Immortality was not the prize of easy philosophising but of awful suffering, of tireless endurance and deathless Faith. This would be proved by Beethoven himself. Hence we conclude this fragmentary tribute to the great Hero of music, by offering to our readers the Testament of Beethoven, which requires no commentary. From this unique document we feel how his whole life was, as he intuitively felt it to be, nothing but a pilgrimage of Pain. This was written in Heiligenstadt, Vienna, as early as 1802 when Beethoven was barely 32.

THE TESTAMENT OF BEETHOVEN

For my brothers Charles and John Beethoven.

"Oh men who look upon me and consider me as a hateful mad misanthrope, how unjust you are to my poor self! You do not know the secret reason of my appearing to be so. My heart and my spirit were inclined from my infancy to all the sentiments of Goodness, nay more, I was always disposed to do good things, noble things. But just consider how frightful was my condition ever since I was a child of six years,—diseased, made worse through the treatment of thoughtless doctors, cheated from year to year with the hope of recovery and finally flung at the prospect of a prolonged malady, the cure of which would require years if it was not actually incurable.

"Born with a temperament enthusiastic and active, enjoying the distractions and amenities of Society, I was forced at an early age to get myself separated from all and to pass a solitary life. Even if I could rise above these things, how cruelly was I hurt by the sad experience of my infirmity renewed from day to day. It was not possible for me to say: "Speak louder, shout, for I am deaf!" Oh how could it be possible for me to reveal my weakness in that organ which should have been in my case more perfect than in that of others, a sense which I used to possess in the state of almost perfection, a perfection which few of my vocation ever possessed! Oh I simply couldn't speak about it.

"Pardon me then if you have seen me to avoid you, for you know how I wished to mix in your company. My misfortune

is doubly painful to me because I ought to have been a stranger to it. How it stands in the way of my finding consolation in the company of men, in delicate conversations, in the reciprocal outpourings of souls! Alone, quite alone! I never risk going out into the world except when I am driven by necessity. I must live like a proscribed soul! If I approach human society I am torn by a devouring anguish through fear of being detected, of people noticing my condition.

"That is why I am spending five months in the country. My learned doctor has advised me to spare my ears as much as possible! He solemnly overrules my own humble aspirations! How many times tempted by my weakness for human company I have allowed myself to be capivated! But what a humiliation! Here are so many near me hearing the flute from a distance and I nothing; or that they can hear the shepherd singing and that I nothing, always nothing! These experiences are sufficient to fling me to absolute despair and it is a wonder that I did not cut short my life myself. It was Art alone that held me back. Oh, it seemed impossible for me to quit this world before having accomplished all that I felt myself to be charged with. That is why I allowed the prolongation of this miserable life—miserable indeed, with a body so irritable that the least change flings me into a state of worst confusion. *Patience!* so people advise me. I should chose Patience as my guide from now. I shall have patience I hope. My resolution to resist should be strong till the time comes for inexorable Fate to cut the thread of my life. It may or may not be good, but I am ready. To be forced to be a philosopher at the age of 28—not an easy affair! It is more cruel in the case of an Artist than in that of any other men.

"My God, you see from high into the depth of my heart; you understand, you know that love of mankind and the desire to do good are in my soul. Oh fellow mortals! if you read some day this document, remember how you have been unjust to me; and may the unfortunate find consolation in discovering another unfortunate here like him who, in spite of all the obstacles of nature had done all that lay in his power to be admitted to the rank of the Elect, of the Artists.

"You my brothers, Charles and John, remember. as soon as I am dead, and if Prof.

Schmidt lives still, please request him in my name that he should describe the case and join to the history of my malady this letter which you find herewith, so that after my death the world may get reconciled with me as much as possible. At the same time I admit you both as the inheritors of my humble fortune—if one can call it so. Divide the same amongst yourselves loyally, try to live in agreement and to help one another. The wrongs that you have done to me which you know, have been pardoned by me long ago. Brother Charles, to you I address my special thanks for the attachment which you have shown lately. I pray and I bless you so that you may have a life a little freer from anxiety and a little happier than mine. Enjoin one thing above all upon your children—*Virtue*. It is she that gives happiness, not wealth. I speak from experience. It is virtue which sustained me in my misery. It is to her and to my Art that I am grateful for not having terminated my life by suicide. Adieu! Love one another. I thank all my friends and particularly Prince Lichnowsky and Prof. Schmidt. I hope that the instruments of the prince might be kept in the homes of either of you, but may it not raise any quarrel between you. If you think it better, sell the instruments if it serves your purpose better. How happy should I be if I can be of any service to you in my tomb.

"Even as I am, I shall fly to Death with joy. If death comes before I had the chance of developing my artistic faculties in spite of my cruel fate, if she comes thus too early for me and I wish to retard—but even then I shall be content. Would not Death deliver me from this state of endless suffering! Come whenever you wish, O Death! I shall face you bravely. Adieu, and don't forget me in death. I deserve to be remembered by you, for I have remembered you in my life to make you happy. Be happy!"

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN.
6th October, 1802.

"P. S.

"For my brothers Charles and John. To be read and executed after my death.

HEILIGENSTADT,
10th October, 1802

"Thus I take leave of you—certainly in sorrow. Yes! the fond hope of being

cured at least partially must now abandon me completely. Like the leaves of Autumn that drop and dry up, my hopes also have withered. I go out almost as I came in. The high courage which often sustained me in the bright days of my life, has vanished. Oh Providence! make me live a day, a

single day of Joy. It is for such a long, long period that I have been a stranger to the profound resonance of real Joy. When, Oh when my God! may I feel Joy again in the temple of Nature and Humanity! Never? No—that would be too cruel!

'B'.



"Suffering-made-Man"

"Wollten wo man kann,
Freiheit uber alles lieben,
Wahrheit nie, auch sogar am
Throne nicht verleugnen"

"To do good to the utmost of power,
To love Freedom above everything,
And, even for a throne,
Never to betray Truth!"

Beethoven

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

VI.

FROM London as my head quarters, as it were, I went to see Cambridge one day, and Oxford the next. I could spend only a few hours each at these far-famed University towns. Starting on both days from the metropolis early after breakfast, I returned in the evening. I visited both the Universities during a long vacation, and hence I had no opportunity to observe their life and activities. That was a great disadvantage, but it could not be helped. My original plan was to pay a second and longer visit to Great Britain in November (1926), but it was not to be.

I went to Cambridge first. It derives its importance almost entirely from the University and Colleges situated there. Cambridge railway station is not at all impressive and does not fill the visitor's mind with any hope of seeing things worthy of a visit. But in this case, the actuality happens to be far better than the promise. When approaching Oxford the traveller is beckoned from afar by the glitter of spires. In the case of Cambridge it is not distance that lends enchantment to the view but rather a close acquaintance with it. The lure of Oxford also is intimate, and its charms grow on one with closer acquaintance.

The river Cam, on the banks of which Queen's, King's, Clare, Trinity Hall, Trinity, and St. John's are situated, is not a broad river with a large volume of waters rolling majestically on. It is a very small river. But its clear waters moving slowly on; small boats floating on their surface, some occupied, others not; the green sward running down to the waters' edge with the overhanging branches of the willow almost touching the waters; and the many bridges crossing the stream, leave a very pleasant and abiding impression on the visitor's mind.

Before beginning his round of the Colleges the visitor may well decide to follow the American motto, "Go on till you're stopped." He need not fear to cross the portals of the Colleges. When in doubt, one should ask the porter of the College, who is generally to be found at the gate, for guidance and direction.

I will not describe any College in detail nor even mention all the Colleges; but will make brief references to some of them.

Of the Colleges Peterhouse, sometimes irreverently called Pothouse, is the earliest foundation. Some of its primitive thirteenth century buildings still remain. It is the only College in Cambridge to possess a deer park—though a small one.

Nearby is the churchyard of St. Mary the Less, which was perhaps the inspiration of Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*. For it was as a fellow-commoner of Peterhouse that Gray resided in chambers overlooking that churchyard. The story is still current of a prank played on the poet by some mischievous undergraduates. He, it seems, had a great dread of the College being set fire to. Outside the window of his bedroom there may still be seen the iron rail to which, in case of fire, the poet could attach the rope ladder which he always kept in readiness. One dark night some students raised a false alarm of fire and so lured the frightened bard to descend his ladder—into a tub of cold water! The poet's migration to Pembroke College is traditionally ascribed to his annoyance at this prank, and in that College, just across the street, so Dr. Stokes relates in *The Cambridge Scene*, "he was awaked one night to find the opposite rooms actually in flames!"

Pembroke, known as Pema, is now one of the largest Colleges in Cambridge. At the time of my visit it was undergoing some repairs. I passed through some of the rooms in which the students reside. Pembroke is rich in literary and historical associations. Spenser, the poet of the *Faerie Queene*, and Gray were in residence there. William Pitt was one of its students. The martyr Dr. Nicholas Ridley was one of its members.

The University Printing Press, known as the Pitt Press, stands opposite to Pembroke. It looks like a church, and looking at it I thought it was really one. That being so, "in merrier and less sophisticated days it was not uncommon on the first Sunday

morning in the October term to see a group of freshmen, correctly capped and gowned, patiently waiting outside this building for the doors to open. Undergraduates who were older (and ought to have known better) had told them that this was the University Church at which attendance on their first Sunday was compulsory !"

When St. Catherine's College was pointed out to me, I was also told that in 'Varsity parlance it is known as Cat's !

Of the Colleges for women I had time to see only Newnham, and was very glad that I saw it. Its bronze entrance gates were presented in memory of Miss Clough, the first head of the College (1875-1892), by students who had resided at Newnham during her headship. The library is exceedingly handsome and well stocked. It was given to the College in 1897 by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Yates Thompson. The Hall, where the students dine, looked very bright, clean and comfortable. The porter who showed us round the buildings led us into the garden also, where I saw hammocks hanging from the branches of some of the trees. He said that in summer students would sometimes spend part of the evenings reclining there. I was also shown some of the rooms in which the students lived. These were very tidy and comfortable. Unlike the men's Colleges, Newnham gave its undergraduates one room each.

The foundation stone of King's College was laid in 1446 by Henry VI, founder of the College, but many kings and many years passed away before its completion. It has a great lawn and a famous chapel. The Indian student who accompanied me pointed out to me the rooms in which resided Mr. Bhupati Mohan Sen, India's first Smith's prizeman. That part of the building was at the time undergoing some alteration. The inside of King's College chapel impressed me very much. The chapel has all the splendour of variety enshrined in unity. It is generally considered the finest example of perpendicular architecture in England. "It is world famous for the early sixteenth century coloured glass in its vast area of window space, for its wonderful stone-roof with its fan tracery", and for its magnificent organ. It is renowned for the exquisite music of its services, to hear which enthusiasts have been known to travel from London on Sunday afternoons. Henry VI, founder of King's, obtained from the University, some

special privileges for his college, one of which is said to be that its members can or could "play marbles on the steps of the Senate House !" Other students are strictly forbidden to do so. In 1851 the College abandoned the greater number of its special privileges, though to this day King's graduates are presented first in the Senate House, and the Proctors of the University have no official right to enter the gates of the College.

Like the British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Cambridge University Library is entitled to a copy of every book published in Great Britain. Near it is the Senate House, the parliament-house of the University. "Here the average under-graduate comes once in a life-time to receive his own degree and three or four times perhaps to cheer or jeer at the degrees given to others."

It was convenient for me now to see Gonville and Caius College, briefly styled "Keez" College, founded in 1348. If one wishes to see the most picturesque part of this ancient foundation, one should make his entrance by the old Gate of Honour. The main entrance to the College is in Trinity Street, and is modern ; formerly the site was occupied by a narrow door-way called the Gate of Humility. "Through this portal arrived the eager mediaeval schoolboy and walked along a shaded path (now flanked by chambers) till he arrived at a second and more resplendent archway, the Gate of Virtue, which still stands. Through this he passed to take up his residence in the room allotted to him, and leading the virtuous life on which he had entered, he ultimately passed out of the College by the Gate of Honour to take his Degree at the Senate House. Founded by a doctor, Caius has always been a home of medical learning, and among those who once passed through the *Porta Honoris* (the Gate of Honour) was the great William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood." The names of the different Gates show that Dr. Caius had a passion for symbolism.

I am somewhat personally interested in Caius College ; as, when my second son could not enter any other college, owing to want of accommodation, my friend the late Dr. J. D. Anderson, who was a member of this college, obtained admission for him here. And it was from this College that he got his

degree. I wanted to see the rooms in which he lived. So enquiry was made at the porter's whether they remembered a young man, Chatterjee by name. The porter was not at home at the time of my visit. After a few seconds' pause, the old dame (the porter's wife) said, "Yes", and began to describe my son's appearance, in order to be sure that her memory was not at fault. The description was correct. She proceeded to ask whether he played hockey. I said, "Yes." Then the question was put to me, "Did he belong to the Crocodile Group?" That was perhaps the name of some athletic set. I laughed at the fantastic name chosen, and said, "I don't know." The identification was, however, now practically complete, and I was told, "Chatterjee occupied rooms number 1 and 2, staircase F." So I walked into those rooms, and also saw the four rooms assigned to one of the tutors. These college porters, and it seems their wives also, have wonderful memories. When at Geneva I was narrating the above incident to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who is a Trinity man, he said, "Caius is a comparatively small college. But even at Trinity, which is a very big one, having hundreds of students, the porter asks the names of the students only once when they are admitted—it is bad form to ask again, and these are correctly remembered ever afterwards."

Trinity has a great Gate and a great Court. The spaciousness of the court causes not a little astonishment. There is a beautiful fountain almost in the centre of the court, of which no two sides are alike, and none of the angles at which they meet are right angles. Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Macaulay and Thackeray were students of this college. Here I saw the statues of Newton, Macaulay, Byron, Bacon and Tennyson. The statue of Byron by Thorwaldson was declined by St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey and at last found its resting place in the poet's own college. Can it be proved that *all* the men whose statues or other memorials are kept in Westminster Abbey were quite saintly and led more correct lives than Lord Byron? There is also a portrait of Tennyson by G. F. Watts. These statues and paintings have an ennobling and stimulating influence on successive generations of undergraduates.

After Trinity I strolled along the pleasant and extensive grounds of St. John's. Wordsworth was an undergraduate of this college. I crossed the Cam by the high covered

bridge called "The Bridge of Sighs", after the famous bridge of that name which links the Doge's palace to the prison in Venice. The name alone appears to be the only point of resemblance between the two bridges.

As I have said before, I had no time to see Girton. But I should mention one noteworthy fact about it. It owes its origin to no one wealthy donor, but to the movement for the higher education of women during the eighteen-sixties. Funds have been gradually raised from the public, until now the college is well equipped with Hall, Chapel, Library, Lecture Rooms, Laboratories, and a swimming bath, while the grounds alone cover 33 acres.

Christ's College, the college of Milton, contains a portrait of the poet. I saw there also a portrait of Darwin. It is curious to note that the great scientist came to Christ's with the original intention of going into the church! This college has a special interest for Indians, as the late Mr. A. M. Bose (India's first Cambridge wrangler and a high one, too) and Sir J. C. Bose took their degrees from here.

I took a walk through the parklike grounds on the side of the Cam opposite to that occupied by some of the colleges and appreciated their shady character and the absence of all bustle and noise. Of course, during Terms, they cannot be so quiet.

I must not forget to mention my visit to the far-famed Cavendish Laboratory. On the spot I could bring to mind some far more imposing laboratory buildings which I had seen in India, whose scientific achievement is either nil or quite insignificant. While not at all underestimating the value of proper equipment, I could not but resist here the thought that it is the *mind* which works in a laboratory which matters most. Intellect we have here in India, but it has to be freed, and encouraged and given opportunities, though some few intellectuals among us have overcome obstacles and made their own opportunities. When I had just finished having my look at the rooms and apparatus at the Cavendish Laboratory there was a heavy downpour of rain, which lasted for 10 or 15 minutes. It was the only heavy downpour that I saw during the whole of my stay in Europe.

I lunched at a restaurant in Cambridge and found the service and food good. I visited the Cambridge Union, and after washing my face and hands, had a drink of

good, cool water, and took rest for some time in its library.

Unlike Cambridge, Oxford has a place in history apart from the life of the University. But I will not dwell on its history. I will only mention the fact that during the Civil War it was the Royalist headquarters.

Just as in the case of Cambridge, so in that of Oxford, I shall have something to say on some of the Colleges and some other institutions, but not according to any fixed plan. Intending visitors will receive little help from this letter of mine, if they want to economise time and also want to see all that is most worthy of seeing. They had better follow some guide-book.

When approaching Oxford from London by rail, one catches an alluring glimpse of turrets, domes and spires. The exit from the station, however, is far from alluring.

Christ Church is a magnificent college, founded by Cardinal Wolsey, and having one of the most magnificent college Halls in Great Britain. Its Library is also remarkable and contains some 80,000 volumes, together with a fine collection of coins. It is rather curious that among the special features of this college is the extremely massive Kitchen. That it took precedence of other buildings was the source of a good deal of badinage at Wolsey's expense. Of Magdalen College also the Kitchen is a special feature. There are numerous fine portraits on the walls of the Hall of this College, many being by famous artists. Owing to the overcrowding of the walls portraiture is now occupying the windows, on which there are portraits of Wolsey, More and Erasmus. On the north wall by the west entrance to the Cathedral is a Roll of Honour as a war memorial. There are such rolls of honor elsewhere too in college chapels. It has seemed to me that such memorials of the great world war are an incongruity in places of worship—nay, they desecrate them. It is sometimes recorded, no doubt, that those whose names are there died fighting for God, King and Country. But I do not believe that anybody fought for God, not that God requires anybody to shed blood for Him.

Of the Colleges at Cambridge and Oxford, each may claim to have produced a number of notabilities—some more, some less. Christ Church claims to have produced 5 archbishops of Canterbury, 9 archbishops of York, 5 bishops of London, 8 bishops of

Durham, 4 bishops of Winchester, 10 prime ministers, and 8 Governor-Generals of India.

When I saw Magdalen College, I strolled along Addison's Walk, named after Addison, who was a demy or half fellow of that college. It is on the left bank of the Cherwell. Its solitude adds to the charm of its avenue of trees.

New College is not at all new, as it was founded under Royal Charter in 1379 and opened in April, 1386. Oxford and Cambridge colleges have generally a monastic appearance. Walking along the cloisters of New College, I felt as if I were in a mediaeval monastery. When the old colleges in these universities are repaired or restored the work is so done as to leave intact the ancient appearance of the buildings.

Manchester College differs other from Oxford Colleges in many respects. It was originally founded in 1786 at Manchester as the Manchester Academy, and dedicated to Truth, Liberty and Religion. It was then removed to York in 1803, brought back to Manchester in 1840 and removed to London in 1858. Finally it was removed to Oxford in 1889, and formally opened in 1893 by that great philosopher and theologian, Doctor James Martineau. It is a free Theological College open to all denominations, no doctrinal subscription being required either from teachers or students. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association has, for some years past, been providing a Brahmo Samaj student with a scholarship to enable him to pursue theological studies here. Several such students have been trained here. The College contains a statue of Dr. Martineau.

Ruskin College, is a working man's college, giving opportunity for study similar to those afforded by other Colleges.

Of Colleges for women, Lady Margaret Hall is a strictly Church College, and Somerville College (originally Somerville Hall) is undenominational. In other respects the two institutions are like each other. Among other institutions for women are St. Hugh's College and St. Hilda's Hall. As my younger daughter-in-law was educated at St. Hilda's, I was naturally interested in it. That being so I asked the chauffeur of the taxi to drive to that College. Arriving there, I found the gate closed with a notice stuck to it, "Closed to visitors for the vacation." But having come so far to see the College, the Indian student who was with me urged that we should ring for admission. So the

button was pressed, and in a minute a maid came and opened the gate. But she told us immediately that it being vacation time, we could not be shown round. But when it was explained to her that I had come specially to see my daughter-in-law's College and her maiden name was mentioned, the maid smiled and agreed to show us all that we wanted to see. So we saw the Library, the Hall, the rooms where the students resided, and also the garden. I bought a picture postcard and posted it the same day at Oxford to my daughter-in-law. In the beautiful garden I found a gardener weeding some flower-beds. Finding a very small stream with limpid waters bordering the garden I asked him its name. "It is the Cherwell, Sir," said he. The prospect from the college was quite charming.

I do not find it practicable to say something about each of the bigger Oxford Colleges even, for which I hope to be excused by the collegians of all the colleges which I have not mentioned. Of Balliol men in particular I beg pardon, as it is related that one such, on being asked to what college he belonged, said, "Is there any other than Balliol?"

The far-famed Clarendon Press I saw from the outside, it being closed at the time of my visit. It was built with money raised by the sale of *The History of the Great Rebellion*, by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the copyright of which, rendered perpetual by Act of Parliament, was bestowed by his son on the University.

The Sheldonian Theatre is not a theatre in the ordinary sense. It is a building in which is held Commemoration, which means the annual ceremony which commemorates the opening of the theatre. It is at Commemoration that all Honorary Degrees are conferred. When I visited the building I recollected that the most recent Indian recipient of an honorary Oxford degree was Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, ex-Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University. There is a book kept in the building in which visitors write their names, the date of their visit, and the place they come from. I also did so. The old English woman who was the caretaker complimented me by observing that my countrymen always put down these items in the proper columns! In appreciation of her great compliment, I observed that as we *had* to learn English almost from infancy, we became equal to

the difficult task of perceiving which column was meant for which item. She also accepted a tip in return for her above mentioned recognition of the scholarly attainments of Indian visitors! Outside the Sheldonian Theatre runs a railing decorated at intervals with stone busts, now so weather-worn that the sages they represent cannot be identified. Elsewhere, too, in Oxford I found some sculptures similarly weather-worn, due perhaps to the nature of the stone used. As regards the Sheldonian Theatre railing busts, I have also heard that once upon a time some mischievous under-graduates had smeared their faces overnight with some highly adhesive paint, in trying to remove which the busts had become still further disfigured.

It is best to mention the Bodleian Library and the Radcliffe Camera together, as the latter is the reading room of the former. The "Camera" is a tower-like building, from the gallery at the base of whose dome a magnificent view of the towers and spires of Oxford and of the country round about can be obtained. The array of tall thick volumes which constitute the catalogue of the Bodleian is quite imposing. It is one of the libraries in Great Britain and Ireland which are entitled according to the Copyright Act to a copy of every new work published in those countries, not being an unaltered reprint. The treasures of this library are numerous. The picture gallery contains busts and portraits of sundry celebrities, interesting relics and so on. In a glass case I saw the manuscript of that book of Shelley's on the "necessity of atheism" for writing which in his teens he was expelled from Oxford, as also some other small things belonging to him. The whirligig of time brings on strange revenges. The University which expelled the boy now treasures these belongings of his as precious relics!

In Oxford Thursday, not Saturday, is the early closing day, on which shops close at 1 p. m. On ordinary days most of the shops close at 6 p. m.

As in Cambridge, so in Oxford, I went into a restaurant for lunch and had some vegetarian dishes. Not being accustomed to the European style of cooking, I did not quite appreciate most of the dishes during my two voyages and in the countries of Europe to which I paid short visits. But as regards attention, cleanliness, and freshness

of the meals served the Oxford restaurant was quite as good as any other.

I am not qualified to dwell on the respective special characteristics of Cambridge and Oxford, nor to decide which is the better university, taking everything into consideration. The old-world atmosphere of these universities appealed to my mind. At the same time I found that they were well-equipped for modern scientific and other studies. They also afford facilities for manly games and for keeping in touch with public life and affairs. The college chapels, with their beautiful interiors, the splendid stained glass windows, and the "dim religious light" within, are very favourable for quiet contemplation and devotional exercises.

At the time of my visit to England, Sir J. C. Bose was spending some days at Great Missenden, a village in Buckinghamshire. I went to see him and Lady Bose one day. The village being situated at some distance from the Railway station, Lady Bose very kindly came to the station, thinking perhaps that I might otherwise have some difficulty in discovering their whereabouts. The great scientist was then engaged in writing a new book. He and Lady Bose resided in a house which formed part of a Garden School for girls which was then closed for the vacation. I found the village scenery quite delightful. I enjoyed a walk through a pine wood in the morning, Lady Bose showing Sir J. C. Bose and myself the way. I had intended to return to London the same day, but as I was asked to stay for a day, I, as an old student of the great professor, felt bound to obey. One of the women teachers of the school explained to us the method and system of education followed in the school and showed us some of the painting and literary work done by the girls as well as the geological and other scientific collections made by them. The 'girls' work, all done by them without their teachers' help was quite remarkable. Professor Bose also showed and explained to me his new instrument.

When the teacher of the school was showing us the pupils' work, one of the pupils came to the door on horse-back from her neighbouring village home. On seeing her approaching, the teacher rose, exclaiming "O Mary!" But for this exclamation, could not have perceived at once that the rider was a girl. For she wore what seemed to me like male riding costume and rode like a man with her two legs on the two sides of the saddle. Her hair, too, was cut short. On nearer view, of course, and probably helped by the name Mary, I found something in her looks which would not be found in a boy of the same age. The sanitary arrangements in this school in a small village are as up-to-date as in town houses in England. The day of my return to London being Sunday, no 'bus or other conveyance was available in that small village by which I could go to the railway station. I did not also know the way to the station. So Sir J. C. Bose and Lady Bose very kindly walked with me to that place in the hot sun for about three quarters of an hour. This they did of their own accord, it being impossible for me to make any such request. As soon as I had reached the gate of the station, a train to London left it. I was, however, told by the station-master that I should have another in 21 minutes which I did. In the compartment of the train in which I was, there were at first two young Englishmen; subsequently a number of little schoolboys entered. While in it some paper happened to fall from my hands on the floor of my carriage. Immediately one of the young men picked it up and gave it to me, for which I thanked him. I mention this trifling incident because in India few Englishmen or Anglo-Indians, however young or old, would think of being obliging to an unknown Indian, or, in that matter, to the best known Indian. I have heard that Indian students in some British Universities and other Indians elsewhere in Great Britain do not always receive just and polite treatment. That is quite probable.

INDIANS ABROAD

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT

AFTER days of suspense and suspicion, the terms of the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa as decided upon at the Round Table Conference at Capetown between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India Deputation have at last been published. The main points of the terms of compromise include 1. Abandonment of the humiliating Class Areas Bill 2. A scheme of 'assisted emigration', 3. Entry of wives and minor children, 4. Fixing western standard of life for the Indian community, and 5. Appointment of an Agent in South Africa by the Government of India to look after Indian interests.

The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have said at Capetown at the City Hall under the auspices of the Cape British Council, held after the Conference, that :

"The Deputation had now every hope that, as a result of the Round Table Conference with the Union Government, a basis of perfect understanding had been reached of which, if they of the Deputation might not see the full fruition, many there who would be blessed with the length of days would see it. They left with hopes practically fulfilled and with expectations raised still more."

Mr. C. F. Andrews was also no less optimistic. He summed up the results of the Conference as follows :

"Firstly, India's dignity is now unstintedly recognised; Secondly, her social status is upheld; Thirdly, a friendly atmosphere is now regarded as normal; anti-Asiatic outbursts discredited; and Fourthly, a determination has been reached to settle everything in future by Conference and not force. These all appear essential gains whatever else has been agreed upon in camera besides."

And he has now given his whole-hearted support to the compromise, which he describes to be "honourable to both parties."

We are not yet informed what the Rt. Hon. Sastri would say now when the actual points of the Compromise have been published but the South African Indians cables Mr. Andrews, "do not seem to be elated with the agreement." Thus the *Natal Mercury* gauged the situation correctly when it declared just after the closing of the deliberations of the Conference that it was mysteriously disappointing.

"We receive no indication wherein the perfect basis of understanding lies. Natal, which is peculiarly interested, has a right to know how matters stand. Here mystery won't do. Every one is left in suspense. Mr. Sastri's jubilation is bound to cause serious apprehension. Does he imply that some form of Indian Franchise has been agreed upon ?

Whether the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri implied anything like this, it is difficult to say, but it is sufficiently clear that no such provision has been agreed upon in the Compromise; nor is there any express or implied understanding equivalent to the "determination to settle everything in the future by Conference and not by force"

Mahatma Gandhi has characterised the Compromise as 'honourable' to both the parties, but he does not fail to say that

"it is not the best that could be conceived but it is the best that was possible. A perusal of the settlement warrants satisfaction but like all Compromises this one is not without its danger points. Dropping of the Class Areas Bill is balanced by Repatriation re-emerging as re-emigration. If the name is more dignified it is also more dangerous. Repatriation could only be to India. Re-emigration can be to any country. This assisted emigration to other countries I hold to be dangerous, for there is no knowing what may happen to poor ignorant men going to an unknown land where they would be utter strangers. Such countries as would take them would only be either Fiji or British Guiana. Neither has a good name in India. It is decidedly a disadvantage to have been a party to assisted emigration to any other part of the world. It is a good point that whereas before the settlement repatriates lost their domicile, the re-emigrants now retain it and lose it only if they absent themselves so long as to warrant the inference that there is no intention to return to South Africa. How many assisted emigrants can hope to refund the assistance money they might have received or how many can hope to return with their families is a different question. The non-forfeiture clause is clearly designed not so much to guarantee a substantial right as not to hurt national self-respect."

There are also other points in the Compromise 'fraught with grave danger.' One to which Mahatmaji directs attention is the following :

"The Union Government is 'to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban which will include the question of limitation of sale of municipal lands subject to restrictive conditions.' I don't know what is aimed at in this paragraph, but my suspecting mind (and my suspicion is based upon previous bitter

experience of interpretations, warranted and unwarranted, that a strong party places upon agreements with a weak party to the latter's advantage) ever conjures up all kinds of frightful consequences arising from this proposed committee and limitation. Already the Durban Corporation has been invested with powers which it has utilised for the suppression of its Indian citizens. So far as I know, a committee can bring to light nothing that is not known to Corporation or Government. Appointment of advisory committee of Indians may be a simple padding. The Health Committee may bring in a hysterical report as a previous committee, to my knowledge, has done, and limitation may be put upon the purchase of municipal lands by Indians, which may cramp the Indian community residing in Durban. Nor do I like the paragraph which seems to imply that Provincial Governments are at liberty to take any action they might against Indian settlers without reference to the Central Government."

But he thinks the Compromise to be acceptable inspite of the dangers referred to, not so much for what has been actually achieved, 'as for the almost sudden transformation of atmosphere in South Africa from one of remorseless hostility towards Indians to that of a generous toleration, and from complete social ostracism to that of admission of Indians to social functions.' Regarding the appointment of an Indian Commissioner in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi insists on the Commissioner being an Indian and suggests that the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri is the fittest person available at the present moment.

Quite naturally Indian public opinion is divided over this important question.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, President of the South African Indian Congress, characterises the agreement as "a memorable and indeed a marvellous performance", but cannot disguise from herself

"the liveliest apprehension in regard to the scheme that tends to encourage migration to other parts of the Empire and in the unfettered liberty of executive action afforded to the Provincial Governments in their dealings with the Indian community without reference to any central authority."

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, the accredited liberal leader of Madras, asks the following pertinent questions in connection with the Malan-Habibullah agreement:

(1) What is exactly intended to be denoted by "Western standard of life?" (2) In the case of Indians domiciled in the Union who desire to conform to the Western standard of life but are not provided with means, or have not been equipped with education necessary to enable them to attain such conformity, what does the Union Government propose to do? Are they to be trained an equipped by the Union Government

or is pressure to be exercised upon them, and, if so, in what shape, for the purpose of compelling, or inducing them to emigrate? (3) Will Indians be allowed to compete with Whites in the market for labour, both skilled and unskilled? Will Indians be admitted into Trade Unions along with Whites? (4) In the case of Indians who possess the necessary education, means and desire to conform to the Western standard of life, will they be subjected to restrictions in regard to occupations and residential areas, or will they enjoy the same freedom as the Whites? (5) "Is there any chance of trade licensing laws being so revised that racial considerations shall be allowed directly or indirectly to influence a decision? (6) Will Indians domiciled in the Union and possessed of the necessary qualifications for conforming to Western standards of life, be allowed to acquire landed property in towns and elsewhere free of restrictions? (7) Is there any likelihood of political and municipal franchise being conferred on Indians domiciled in the Union in cases where they do not now possess any such franchise?"

The Indian Government have hurriedly ratified the compromise document without consulting the the legislatures and the people and Mrs. Naidu rightly complains that the

"Indian Government committed a serious indiscretion in ratifying a document of such grave importance and significance without the previous counsel or consent of the Central Legislature."

The Council of State, at the instance of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, however, have come to the rescue of the Government of India by indirectly approving the procedure of the Government.

But while the British Press is rejoicing over the agreement "as a notable triumph of imperial statesmanship" and Indian publicists are dreaming of a bright future, a storm is brewing in South Africa. The following Press messages from Mr. Andrews speak for themselves.

CAPETOWN, FEB. 23.

AN anti-Asiatic attack has now begun against the Malan settlement from Natal politicians, but up to the present there has been no public demonstration.

Everything points towards a quiet acceptance after much grumbling. One Provincial Councillor publishes the following sentiment: "The whole thing is a wash-out. Dr. Malan has been beaten."

DURBAN, FEB. 24

A PARLIAMENTARY correspondent at Capetown telegraphs to the effect that the Transvaal Nationalists are following Mr. Tielman Roos (Minister of Justice) in a bitter objection to the Indian agreement, declaring that Dr. F. S. Malan has been outwitted. They have threatened to attack Dr. Malan politically by joining hands with the Natal members.

Despite the support accorded by the Press, Dr. Malan is likely to have a hard time for what is regarded as a weak concession.

The storm is brewing everywhere slowly against the settlement.

Will the storm of opposition subside or sweep off everything before it ?

EAST AFRICA

While a 'compromise' has been sought to be effected in South Africa, the seeds of evil are still being sown in East Africa. A communication from Mombasa to the "Indians Abroad" states :

"The Economic Commission Report that was published in 1919 was the most damaging document which, without a shadow of fear, emitted pure and undiluted venom against the Indian settlement and Indian emigration on the so-called Economic reasons. It endeavoured its level best to put a permanent check on the Asiatic hordes supposed to be marching to these shores. The white man's supremacy is disturbed in the way even of waking up of the Natives of the soil who are detribalised, because there exists the intermediary, the Indian race. The report has entirely ignored the fact that it was the Indian traders and the Indian craftsmen that were responsible with their constructive genius for building up the colony of East Africa as it is today. And yet the rising tide of colour seems to have no ebbing"

Of pledges broken and promises unfulfilled there are instances innumerable to cite. The same communication states :

"The white paper of 1923 deprived the Indian Community of the right of common franchise, of immigration and the right of buying in the Highlands, throwing only some crumbs in the form of non-segregation in residential areas. But the Government of the colony dominated by the will of the white settlers have thrown this written pledge overboard, and have proposed to sell residential plots on Mombasa island to Europeans only, thus debarring the Indian Community to buy or to reside in the buildings erected thereon. The site chosen for the Indian Hospital at Nairobi has been abandoned under the threat of European Citizen's petition. The Local Government Commission is collecting materials probably to prove that Indians do not deserve to have municipal franchise owing to their insanitary ways of daily life. Thus the various forces bred up by the white race have been working hard to sap the very foundation of the Indian life in East Africa."

Nor is this all. The scourge of the white supremacy is noticeable in every walk of life.

"The land and the labour policy of this Government is daily becoming uniformly consistent with a view that the Native will not be spared of his limbs as he is not spared of his land. Compulsion in labour, open or secret, there is to be ; for South Africa's note of warning in the question of imported labour is predominantly listened to. And because the Indian intervenes in the onerous burden of the white man of uplifting the native by forced labour, the white race has found it necessary to whip secret scorpions upon the peaceful and settled Indian community. Here is the latest stunt."

COLONIAL INDIANS

Mr. J. A. Luckoo, K.C., Bar-at-Law, writes an article on "The East Indians in British Guiana" :

"There is a great tendency among our brethren to imitate Europeans in their ways of life. It must be confessed that Europeanism has certain attractions which are quite irresistible to the uneducated. The higher strata of Indian society in this colony have shown a tendency to follow them on these lines. It need hardly be said that the education which they receive strongly predisposes them to such a defection from Hindu tradition.

"The fault is not entirely his. The Colonial Indian who thus merges himself in the vast ocean of inferior classes is more often than otherwise a victim of circumstances. His condition is the direct result of the unsolved difficulties in the question of Indian education in which alone lies the remedy for these conditions."

Is there any chance of the difficulties in the question of Indian Education being solved for the betterment of colonial Indians in the near future?

INDIAN EDUCATION

The problem of Indian Education in the Colonies calls for immediate solution but constant appeal and agitation have failed to rouse the colonial authorities to action. In East Africa the Editor of the *Tanganyika Opinion* interviewed the Director of Education, who promised to make a move in the direction provided the Indian Community was ready to contribute its quota, to which a satisfactory response was not very late in coming. But the Government has not yet done anything, writes the *African Comrade* :

"to perform its own part, that is, to finance Indian Education during the last six years of its establishment in the Country. Any one who is conversant with facts can say, without hesitation, that it has done nothing practically so far, not a single Indian School has been in receipt of a red cent.

True, the Government has been showing a sympathetic attitude for the last few months by interesting itself in the matter. But that is a lip sympathy only."

"If the Government wishes that the above belief should disappear it must take a right course. That course is immediate commencement of work of the proposed building with the sum of £ 3000 that is still lying unused. The sincerity of the Indian Community is evident from its readiness to hand the Government what has been collected up till now and from its determination to continue collecting further contributions. If the Government is serious and desires to prove its sincerity not only by lip-sympathy but by doing something practically, then it must pursue the above suggested course."

KENYA AND BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

In the course of an article entitled "Empire Makers or Profit Makers?" published recently in the *New Leader*, a well known Labour weekly Mr. H. Snell, M. P. says.

"In regard to Kenya, the British Labour movement can truthfully assert that its hands are clean, that it has never ceased to demand for the humblest black native living in the British Empire decent, just and generous treatment, and that even if we were in the position of South Africa the great eternal principle of justice would not be altered. Discussing labour problems in South Africa the writer makes the following remarkable suggestion.

The remedy would appear to be in the hands of South Africa herself. Let the white employer refrain from taking a mean advantage over these backward, unorganised, and defenceless people by paying them a wage on which men of his own blood cannot live, and the end of the immediate problem will be in sight. The factories of South Africa are stuffed with law-paid native labour, simply because it is cheap. The white employer cares little or nothing for the needs of his own race. He is a profit-maker not an Empire-maker, and by his avarice he produces both racial hatred and political insecurity. If the black man, when called upon to do a white man's job, were paid as he should be white man's price for it, the white boy would get his chance in life, and the most troublesome racial difficulty in South Africa would be solved."

INDIANS IN PANAMA.

We reproduce the following extract from the *Indians Overseas* supplement to the *Indian Social Reformer*

"Mahatma Gandhi refers in a recent issue of *Young India* to the Immigration Restrictions Act passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Panama. There are only about 30 Sindhi

Indian merchants of fancy goods settled there and it cannot be said for a moment that their presence there is a menace to the Republic. The Act applies with retrospective effect to them and only those who can show a continuous residence of 10 years can be exempted from the operation of the Act, which condition Mahatma Gandhi points out, not even a few can fulfil. The matter seems to be now before the Colonial Office and on its decision rests the fate of our countrymen already in the Republic as well as of those who may emigrate there to earn their honest livelihood."

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA

From the same journal we gather that by Acts which have recently been passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, British Indians in Australia

"have been admitted to the benefits of invalid and old age pensions and maternity allowances. The old age pension is payable to men above 65 years of age or above 60 years if they are permanently incapacitated for work and to women above 60 years, provided such persons are of good character and have resided continuously in Australia for at least 20 years. The invalid pension is obtainable by persons who being above 16 years of age, and not in receipt of an old age pension have, whilst in Australia, become permanently incapacitated for work by reason of an accident or by reason of being an invalid or blind, provided they have resided continuously in Australia for at least five years. The maternity allowance, which has been extended to Asiatic mothers in Australia who are British subjects, amounts to £5 and is given to a woman, for every child to which she gives birth in Australia, provided the child is born alive and the woman is an inhabitant of the Commonwealth or intends to settle therein. The improved position of Indians in Australia is in no small measure due to the impression created by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri during his tour in Australia."

NOTES

The South African Settlement

There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu know more about the South African situation than ourselves. So that when one or more of such persons say that the South African settlement is the best that could be had in the circumstances, we cannot but accept any such opinion as indisputable. Nevertheless it may be permissible for us to give expression to some

thoughts suggested by the terms of the settlement.

We are not convinced that hostility to the presence of the Indians in South Africa has disappeared. The mailed fist is still there; the only change that has taken place is that the Boers and the Britishers in South Africa have learnt to greater perfection the diplomatic art of wearing the velvet glove to conceal the mailed fist.

It is clear that the Indians are still considered either a nuisance or a menace;

otherwise there would not be, as there is, any provision for "assisted re-emigration." The Boers and the Britishers must have agreed to part with some of their money to assist the re-emigration of Indians, in order to get rid of this nuisance or menace.

The Indians being thus expressly or by implication declared to be unwelcome aliens, we cannot consider the settlement "honorable" to us. The predominant partner evidently considers the Indians racially inferior.

After a visit to South Africa, Bishop Fisher stated more than once in the clearest possible language that the hostility of the European settlers in South Africa to the Indians settled there was due to the fact that the Indians were more intelligent, more sober, more thrifty and more honest than the South African whites. As the Bishop is an American, a Christian and a white man, there is no reason why he should be prejudiced against his white co-religionists in South Africa. His estimate of the intellectual and moral worth of the Indians there may, therefore, be considered correct. On that assumption one may be allowed to hold that the Indians in South Africa are not inferior in morals and intelligence to their white neighbours. Therefore, when it is proposed to elevate the Indians to the Western standard, it cannot have any reference to the morals or intelligence of the Indians. The reference is probably to their style and cost of living, the sanitary or insanitary condition of their dwellings, the amount of literary or other knowledge they possess, etc. But if the Indians be given equal opportunities with the whites to follow all professions and vocations and equal facilities for education, they can easily earn sufficient money and acquire sufficient knowledge to live in comfort in healthy homes. But under present conditions, their earnings cannot equal those of the whites, nor have they got equal educational facilities. For these reasons, the proposed elevation to Western standards is misleading. An unmerited slur on oriental civilisation is also implied in it.

But supposing the Indians are an inferior people, when they have been made as "superior" as the whites, will they be given equal political and other rights with the whites? The settlement is silent on this point.

The success or failure of the experiment of raising the standard of the Indians depends principally on what facilities the South African

Government may provide for the purpose. Considering its attitude and that of the nationalist Boers, it cannot be expected that the facilities would be provided on a generous or even on a barely adequate scale. The experiment, therefore, seems bound to fail. What will then happen?

League of Nations Bound to Maintain Status Quo

The Articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations nowhere say that the League will undertake to liberate subject peoples or raise their political status. What is stated in Article 10 of the Covenant practically amounts to determination on the part of the League to maintain the *status quo*. It runs as follows:

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

As India does not possess any independence, the League's burden of preserving the independence of its members has been reduced to some extent! But as it is bound to preserve the territorial integrity of all member States, and as India is part of the territories of the British Empire, the League can do nothing to free India from the British yoke. In the case of other countries also, it is bound to preserve the *status quo*. Let us see what the *status quo* really means.

The area of the continents is shown below.

Continents.	Area in square mile
Asia	163,0000
Africa	11090000
North America	7620000
South America	6860000
Europe	3670000
Australia	3010000

Except for a small strip of land round about Constantinople the whole of Europe is inhabited and ruled by peoples speaking European languages. Australia is mainly inhabited and entirely ruled by people of European extraction, speaking some European language. Similar is the case with North America and South America, the difference in the case of South America and that of in some parts of North America being that there the

people who speak European languages mainly are following of mixed European descent. In Asia the following countries may be considered independent :—

Countries	Area in Square miles
Japan	236000
China	4300000
Persia	630000
Afghanistan	246000
Siam	200000
Nepal	54000

Total 5666000

Deducting the total area of these countries from that of Asia, we find that 10704000 square miles of Asiatic territory are in some sort of subjection or other to European peoples. That means that the major portion of Asia is in an enslaved condition.

Coming to Africa one finds that only the following countries may be considered free, that is, not ruled by people of non-African descent, though Egypt is not completely free :—

Countries	Area in square miles.
Abyssinia	350000
Egypt	363181
Liberia	40000

Total 753181

Deducting the total area of these countries from the area of Africa, we find that the greater portion of Africa, comprising 10336819 square miles, is under the dominion of peoples of European descent speaking European languages.

It is clear from this survey that at present almost the whole of the habitable surface of the earth is ruled by peoples of pure or mixed European descent speaking European languages. In North and South America and in Australia these peoples have no political opponents in subjection worth speaking of, seeking to be free, because the aborigines inhabiting these vast regions have been almost totally exterminated. This reminds us of the story told of a notorious duellist who, being convicted of murder, was ordered to be executed. He was visited in prison by a priest, who exhorted him to make his peace with God by forgiving his enemies. Thereupon the man said, "I have no enemies." The priest was astonished, and exclaimed, "You are such a notorious duellist, and yet you have no enemies!" "Sire," replied the prisoner, "I have

killed all of them." That the ruling peoples of North and South America and Australia have now no political opponents seeking to be free is the result of a similar process.

It is rather unfortunate that in Asia and Africa, which are by far the biggest continents, the indigenous inhabitants continue to exist and multiply. What is equally or more inconvenient, they want to be relieved of the white man's yoke. But Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations declares in effect that they must not aspire to be free.

That is what the preservation of the *status quo* amounts to.

Verily the late world war was fought for democracy and freedom of the world!

Romain Rolland on Beethoven

Our readers will be glad to learn that an article on Beethoven by Mon. Romain Rolland will appear in the next issue of this Review. It arrived too late, on the 28th of February, for publication in the present issue.

Switzerland's Interest in Indian Anthropology.

In the last issue of the MODERN REVIEW an account was given of the visit of Professor Wehrli of the University of Zurich to collect ethnographical objects from India. Another Swiss anthropologist, Dr. P. Wirz of the University of Basle, is now on tour in India. For many years Dr. Wirz has been carrying on researches in the Melanesian islands. His work entitled "Die Marindanim Von Hollandisch-Sud-Neu-Guinea" (Bands I and II, Hamburg, 1922) on the primitive tribes of Dutch Southern New Guinea, has for the first time revealed facts of utmost importance relating to the material and social institutions of these interesting peoples. Besides discovering many new factors, Dr. Wirz's enquiries have thrown a great deal of light on the composite culture of the Melanesian people, specially with reference to their relationship with Indonesia and Southern Asia. Dr. Wirz's Indian visit is mainly in connection with this latter object and he is at present in the Naga Hills trying to trace the source of some of the important culture traits of the inhabitants of Southern New Guinea.

When is India going to show a little of the interest that Switzerland is taking in the institutions of her own people?

Bengal Women's Educational Conference

For the first time in the history of Bengal a representative gathering of women from all parts of the province met in the hall of the Y. W. C. A. to discuss the steps that should be taken to spread and improve education among all sections of our women. The conference lasted from the 16th to the 19th of February with a daily average attendance of about 300 women. On the first day, the morning session was presided over by Her Highness the Maharani of Mayurbhanj and the subject of Primary Education was taken up. Lady Bose, who opened the discussion with an excellent paper (published in this issue of the *Modern Review*), made some important suggestions as to how the rudiments of knowledge could be brought within easy reach of every girl in Bengal. Miss A. L. Baker, who has many years' experience of teaching in Calcutta, gave an account of the existing facilities for primary education among girls in and around this city and suggested that the first steps towards compulsory free primary education of girls could be taken of by establishing a board of sympathetic and understanding men and women and arranging voluntary teaching work by girl students during their holidays. Later on local schools might be started staffed by by local educated person as far as possible, from funds raised by subscriptions from private individuals and public bodies, and if necessary special taxation for educational purposes should be resorted to.

The scope of the curriculum in the primary schools was discussed by Miss Shome and Miss Hussain of the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School. In the afternoon session Mrs. P. K. Ray presided and the subject discussed was the representation of women in administrative and educational bodies. In her paper Mrs. Kumudini Basu showed the present unsatisfactory condition of educational bodies from the woman's point of view and suggested that a much larger number of qualified women should be included in these bodies, as without them the requirements for women could never be fully apprehended and sympathetically considered

by men, however honest their intention might be.

On the second day the discussion was on secondary education for girls. Miss G. M. Wright, Principal of the Bethune College, presided over the morning session. In a very able paper Mrs. P. K. Ray said that to improve the present unsatisfactory condition of girl's education in High Schools the existing curricula must be changed and that the Government should be asked to create a Special Secondary Board for girls composed of qualified men and women with at least 8 schools under its management to start with. The subject next discussed was the Home and its relation to the School and the University. In the interesting discussion on this subject Mrs. P. Chaudhuri, Mrs. Latika Basu and Begum Sakina Munwayyidzada (the first Moslem lady who took her Master's degree from the Calcutta University) took part. Mrs. Latika Basu suggested that one way of establishing a closer contact between home and school or college would be by teaching Domestic Science, Hygiene, Child Psychology and Citizenship along with other subjects. A great deal could also be done in this line by women's organisations through social gatherings, lectures to purdah-nashin women etc. Begum Sakina Munwayyidzada spoke of the evil effects of the Purdah system and said that in its present form it was not sanctioned by Islam. She urged that Moslem women themselves should initiate a campaign against it, for until it was removed no progress could be made with the education of Moslem women.

The afternoon session was presided over by Mrs. Sarala Devi and the question of the training of women teachers was taken up. In a very interesting paper Miss R. Ghose showed the inadequacy of the existing arrangements for the training of women teachers and suggested that a separate college for women should be started by the Government. Miss Hiranmayi Sen, discussing the causes of dissatisfaction in the teaching profession, pointed out that unless more leisure and better remuneration could be given it would be difficult to make the teaching profession more attractive for women. In her opinion facilities for sports and games and better social intercourse are urgently required if the dull monotonous life of women teachers is to be changed.

On the third day University education among women was discussed. In the

morning session the chair was taken by Mrs P. Chaudhuri and two very important papers were read by Mrs Rajkumari Das and Miss Theodora Wright on the essentials of academic study. Mrs. Das showed that owing to the inadequate provisions in the existing girls' Colleges the choice of subjects was very limited for girls and she suggested that more science subjects should be included. A great deal of the defects of the present educational system could be remedied if Arts and Crafts schools for girls were opened.

Miss Wright also spoke of the inadequacy of the existing college curriculum for girls and suggested that more attention should be paid to utilitarian subjects and in her opinion Geography and the study of the Human Race should most certainly be taken up by College girls. In the discussion that followed Miss G. M. Wright, Mrs. B. M. Sen and Mrs. P. Chaudhuri took part and the questions of raising the standard and of the medium of instruction were discussed.

The Conference next considered the subject of teaching Religion in schools and colleges and two papers were read by Miss Helen Rowlands and Mrs. Sarala Devi. The latter rightly pointed out that the teaching of religion should not be merely academic but rather the idea of social service should be fostered. Mrs. P. Chaudhuri gave a timely warning against mechanical religious teaching and suggested that the spirit and not the dogma of religion should be taught.

In the afternoon session the president was Miss Stella Kramrisch. The subjects discussed were physical training and medical inspection in schools and Art and Handiwork in Schools. In the absence of (Mrs.) Dr. B. C. Ghose Dr. Stapleton urged the introduction of systematic medical inspection in the girls' schools, as the present physical condition of girls is very unsatisfactory. Like the imparting of knowledge, the responsibility to look after the health of the students equally rests with the school authorities. Miss Carlswell and Dr. Miss Bose took part in this discussion and a scheme to provide adequate facilities for sports, including swimming baths in schools and colleges was adopted.

The Conference then discussed the subject of arts and handicrafts in girls' schools. Mrs. Percy Brown urged the introduction of training in music, Indian embroidery, etc. Miss Hanley, Mrs. Taylor and Dr. Kramrisch spoke on the importance of art and artistic

outlook in everyday life in decorating and arranging the house and furniture and making one's own dress, etc.

The last day was occupied in giving a resume of the previous days' proceedings in Bengali, after which the conference came to a close. Much of the success of the conference was due to the initiative and active part taken by Mrs. Lindsay (the organiser of the Conference), who, as Mrs P. K. Ray put it, "very cleverly and tactfully pulled the wires from behind", as well as the enthusiasm and earnestness shown by the large number of college women taking part in it and the interest shown by such prominent persons as Lady Bose, Mrs. Sarala Devi, Mrs. P. K. Ray, Mrs. P. Chaudhuri, Mrs. Rajkumari Das, Miss Wright, etc.

Among the most important resolutions adopted in the conference are the following—

(1) The establishment of a special training college for women by the Government.

(2) The necessity for a higher standard in the medium of instruction in the schools.

(3) Recognition of physical culture as an essential part in the girl's education and that Government be urged to establish a centre of physical culture for women.

(4) The traditional arts and crafts of India should be encouraged and systematic teaching of drawing should be introduced in every school.

The Case of the Detenus

On Wednesday, February 23, 1927, Mr. Bijay Kumar Chatterjee moved the following resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council:—

"This Council recommends to the Government:—

- (a) To take immediately necessary steps to release all persons belonging to Bengal who have been placed under personal restraint under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818; and
- (b) to release all persons detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925."

It need hardly be stated that what Mr. Chatterjee moved in the Council was supported by public opinion all over the country and was merely a demand for the barest of legal justice. What, Mr. Chatterjee said in support of his resolution fully bore out his sincerity of purpose in moving the same. It was a striking condemnation of the British political attitude towards a powerless people whose well-being and progress they declare to the world to be their special

and God-given trust. He said in the course of his speech,

"The cases of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and Jibanalal Chatterjee and Purna Chandra Das among others and the incidents of the Insein Jail are enough to stagger humanity. I am almost tempted to put the words of Warren Hastings in the mouth of these rulers, when he said: 'Slaves I found them, and as slaves I have treated them.'

"I cannot conclude my speech without giving a note of warning to the Government. I do so because I owe a duty towards the Crown. The Government cannot defy the laws of justice and morality for all time to come. It can defy the Indians; it can defy humanity, it can defy morality for some time only. But a time will surely come when it will have to pay for its past sins.

"Do not disobey the tenets of morality, because the strength of the Government lies in the happiness of the people. Be the protector; be not the destroyer, as a kingdom cannot be permanent if based on injustice. The weak cannot be trampled under foot with impunity, because the strength of the weak is that of God himself."

Statements at once so true and so weak! We have slid down to such a pitiable state of impotent serfdom that the only way left to us to obtain justice from our masters is to quote ethical principles and seek the aid of Providence!

Mr. Moberly's Declaration

The Hon. Mr. A. N. Moberly followed up Mr. B. K. Chatterjee's speech with a lengthy statement in which he put the cart before the horse with such eloquent subtlety that one almost began to believe that his extravagant conclusions were logical automobiles which needed no well founded data to put life and usefulness into them. The Government he represented were standing charged with having imprisoned numerous innocent people without trial and on mere suspicion, and Mr. Moberly said:

"The Government have always made it clear, and I repeat to-day that *their sole object in keeping my man under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages, and that they are prepared to release him the moment they are satisfied that their release would not defeat this object.*"

But we are not at all satisfied as to the alleged complicity of the victims of the Government's suspicion in what Mr. Moberly calls terrorist outrages.

Let there be an open trial of these *innocent prisoners* and let Mr. Moberly display his eloquence in the open Court of Law as public prosecutor (if he is qualified to act in that capacity) instead of wasting it in the Council Chamber; for even if the Bengal

Legislative Council believed (which fortunately they do not) in the guilt of the *detenus*, we should still consider them as innocent so long as they are not openly tried and convicted. The familiar argument of terrorist intimidation of witnesses (if they exist) is too feeble to deserve serious consideration. The Government have never in their life hesitated to use witnesses against either political or non-political criminals and, although intimidation is a constant factor in all trials which concern desperate people, few witnesses have ever suffered actually as a result of having given evidence against criminals. The case of Rai Bhupendranath Chatterjee, who was murdered in jail by some convicts does not prove any contention that it is necessary for the safety of witnesses to imprison persons without trial, nor does it prove the existence of a widespread conspiracy. Police officers are very often rough and insulting in their dealings with convicts and even accused persons. It is not therefore improbable for convicts, to murder an officer purely from motives of personal revenge. We do not say that Rai Bhupendranath Chatterjee ever kicked, abused or spat on prisoners in jail, far from it. He was murdered may be because he knew too much. What we want to point out is that his murder may prove of all sorts things but *it proves nothing against the detenus*, nor that there is a widespread conspiracy in Bengal. We ask Mr. Moberly, "It was no doubt a ghastly business, but what about it?" If some British soldiers in India commit some ghastly murders (as has been the case occasionally), should we therefore imprison without trial the President of the European Association and some European Clive Street merchants to protect the lives and honour of old women in cantonment stations? Relevancy is a great virtue, but it is not practised by Government officials.

Santi Lal Chakravarti was not an informer, says Mr. Moberly. Yet he cites the murder of the same Santi Lal Chakravarti as proving the danger of bringing out witnesses against the terrorists in the open court. "He was murdered," says the Hon. Mr. A. N. Moberly, "because he was suspected of having made a statement to the police." How does Mr. Moberly know? What grounds has he to say that Santi Lal Chakravarti was "suspected" of treachery by his terrorist friends (if he had any; for does not Mr. Moberly say that Santi Lal was acquitted

after trial in connection with the Mirzapore street bomb outrage")? It must need great powers of thought-reading (of unknown men) to make such a statement. It would have been the truth to say that the motive of Santi Lal's murder has not been discovered. It is a peg on which Mr. Moberly surely cannot hang his pet theories of widespread terrorism and universal rising and what not. We are on the threshold of a bloody social upheaval, according to the Bengal Government. How is it that the country has felt no premonition of this, and only Government officials are growing restless over thoughts (dreams)? of it?

Agents Provocateurs

There is an idea prevalent in Bengal that the so-called terrorists are only neurotic youths who have been excited into collecting ancient weapons and stray bottles of acid, and writing bloodcurdling letters to similarly disposed friends, by *agents provocateurs* employed by police officials, who thus attempt to provide themselves with a *raison d'être*. Nobody has probably been mad enough to suggest that these *agents provocateurs* are directly employed by the Government; for such things can be expected only of interested police officers who in one way or another would like high officials to believe that but for them the country would be plunged into anarchy. So that Mr. Moberly's answer to those who believed the police in Bengal to be guilty of employing *agents provocateurs* has missed its mark. If there are *agents provocateurs* in Bengal, they are not known to Mr. Moberly, nor to most officials. If they are receiving Government money, they are doing so indirectly, not as *agents provocateurs* but probably as ordinary spies or in some other capacity.

Startling Documents

Mr. Moberly has also shown us how the terrorists think and feel and why they desire a revolutionary rising in Bengal. He gives us an extract from a letter written by a terrorist to a fellow terrorist in whose house it was discovered by the police. The portion quoted by the Hon. Mr. Moberly runs as follows.

'Non-co-operation will not produce any good result now-a-days. The present condition of the country is not fit for that movement. The era that

is coming is an era of bloodshed. That era is more terrible and you are the heroes of that age. Perhaps you can remain idle at the present moment, but a time will come when no one will be able to remain inactive. Therefore I say, prepare yourselves for that time. The day is near at hand. Acquire strength in your body, rid your mind of fear and awake the inner force within you. Freedom is ever achieved in India, it will come through bloodshed alone. India can never be independent without bloodshed. Why India alone? All dependent nations and countries have become independent through the path of blood. Terror must be instilled into the minds of the people; they will have to be shown that the Bengal Government know how to die for their country and to shed their blood for it. When this fact can be driven into the bones of the people, then the country will blaze up in flames, such flames as none can extinguish.'

This is exactly how one terrorist can be expected to write to another; but in its finish lies the weakness of the letter. It sounds too much like the composition of a literary terrorist writing specially for the press and not much like an extract from a letter. Can Mr. Moberly guarantee it to be a genuine extract from a genuine letter written by a genuine terrorist? It is also very surprising that such a letter should be left undestroyed by the terrorists for the police to discover.

An alleged statement made by a person arrested under the C. L. A. Act, contains the following:

'People have got no history of a general rising or guerrilla warfare in India, and so we thought of taking part in this. We know that Government would post military, oppress the innocent and hang many men and eventually crush the movement, but still we ventured to bring it upon the country, as the people would get some precedence to take part in this in future. Men become more bold by failures and oppressions, and we wanted to create an atmosphere when people would be killed by hundreds. We wanted to see the blood of our countrymen flowing by torrents.'

'Men become more bold by failures'; such nonsense can hardly be uttered even by a demented Sub-Inspector of police! Mr. Moberly wants us to believe that there are such fools among educated Bengalis. He would say things like the above, and I would at the same time have us endorse his view that intellectual men of the stamp of Subhas Chandra Bose and the leaders of terrorist opinion in Bengal. His document conclusively proves that either there is no terrorist movement in Bengal or that the movement is restricted to the comparatively ill-educated and unenlightened. Then where is the occasion

to imprison without trial the flower of Bengal's intelligentsia ?

The Duty Of The Press

The leaders of public opinion and the Press were not denied a fair share of his valuable advice by Mr. Moberly. He said :

What I do urge is that the leaders of public opinion and the Press should unreservedly condemn the methods of terrorism, the cult of the revolver and the bomb, murder and dacoity, even though the object be political. I do not ask that the patriotism and enthusiasm of these men should be belittled. But I do ask those whose convictions will permit them to do so to stress the fact that in employing methods of terrorism these men are misguided and are misapplying their talents ; that far from advancing the cause of their country they are retarding it.

Give advice when there is a demand for it, is a good motto for those who are constantly obsessed by the thought of other people neglecting their duty. Since the dawn of the nationalist movement in India, the leaders and the Press have always advocated non-violence and exhorted the people to follow the path of peace. If some people are driven desperate by the empty promises of the British and by the continued restrictions put upon their elementary rights and liberties, it is probably Mr. Moberly's idea that the leaders and the Press should be to blame for it ! Why does he not ask the Government to appoint an international and impartial Commission to enquire into and report on the causes of the present discontent and proceed to divide the honours of being at the root of the trouble among the Press, the Leaders and the Government after he has gone through the findings of the Commission ?

Very Near the Mark.

Mr. Moberly in the course of his speech said :—

I know that there are some who believe that the pronouncement of constitutional advance which was made in 1917 was extorted by the success of the former terrorist conspiracy: this is abundantly clear from the writings of the old revolutionaries. Such persons may believe that no further advance will be secured except by similar methods. But I do not think that they can complain if Government take measures to counter the methods which they advocate; all Governments are bound to accept and meet the challenge of violent coercion.

Instead of exhorting the Government to accept and meet the challenge he should have advised them to prove that such belief was unfounded, by granting further political boons without waiting for Indians to press the point, violently or otherwise.

Italy under Mussolini, and other European Countries.

An esteemed and distinguished European correspondent writes:—

"...In the last October issue of the *Modern Review* we find the remark to the effect that the tyranny of Mussolini is not very different from the tyranny prevailing at present in France, in England or in Germany.

"But at the very height of the war which suspended constitutional liberty, a Professor of the University, W. Foester could sustain publicly in Germany his ideas against war without being harassed by the Imperial powers of Germany and without even being deprived of his title and his professorial functions. During the very climax of the war-fever, E. D. Morel, Bertrand Russel and several members of the British Parliament founded in England the *Union of Democratic Control*, grouping 800,000 adherents against the war and the Government policy, and defending publicly the *conscientious objectors*; they suffered no doubt in that political warfare a few months of prison but came out of it honoured and triumphant. E. D. Morel defeated in election the chief English imperialist minister Churchill.

"When war raged with the utmost fury, then Mon. Romain Rolland, while being insulted and calumniated by the press and by public opinion in France, was never for a single moment threatened by the French Government. When M. Rolland re-entered Paris, he came there as a free man, and if he had to suffer from *individual* intolerance he had, personally speaking, nothing to complain of against the State.

"In Italy of to-day, Deputy Matteotti, a pure-hearted hero who, during the war, was a conscientious objector denounced bravely in the Italian Parliament the lawlessness and the crimes of the Mussolini regime and for that he was assassinated after having been mutilated. There political assassinations are counted by hundreds; the opponents of the government, men and women, are battered and their houses are ransacked; the Labour banks and the Labour universities are burnt

down; the government servants, the professors, the intellectuals, etc., are held by oath to Fascism; for that mad tyranny is not content with mere submission and defeat, it demands even the adhesion of conscience, a thing which no species of European tyranny, excepting the mediaeval Roman Church, dared to exact. Those who think otherwise have no other alternative but to lie in public or to face complete ruin, nay even more, Death! From here I listen to the distressing cries of hundreds of the unfortunate who can neither come out of Italy; nor live in Italy, for all the means of living have been taken away from them. The non-fascist villagers are deported *en masse* to another end of the country, and their houses and property are given to the fascists. The history of Molinella by Salvemini bears this out. Hundreds of Italians escape at the risk of their very lives. The South of France, Paris, London are filled with these Italian *emigres*. The leaders of Italian socialism and the rare class of liberal officials who could escape, like Nitti, Turati, Modigliani, etc., have struggled to fight the evil till the last; they became voluntary exiles when all other means of fight was refused them. At the present hour (January 1927) *there is not a single Italian Journal* which is not in the hands of the Government. No other opinion but the Government one could be expressed. Hence the voice of *Free Italy* cannot possibly make itself heard except in foreign lands through the Italian journals founded in Paris, in Toulouse, and in England and Germany. Never has such a monstrous yoke been imposed on a nation of Europe.

Evidently such a regime would not have been possible in any other country of the Occident (possibly with the exception of Spain, where we should see if there are conscientious objectors more heroic.) Italy is a country which came very late into political life. Her nationhood dates only from 1859; the political unity there is hardly realised and civic education remains completely to be done in the future; the people are not yet interested in their liberties and their parliamentary rights. It took centuries for England to teach her citizens the use of their civic rights; France came into the field later than England and has probably just begun to appreciate them. Both England and France, specially the former have strong organisations to fight against any despotism that would try to

get established and these organisations can appeal quickly to the enlightened public. Nothing similar to these exist in Italy and the country is given up to the hands of the Fascist bands by the shameful betrayal of the King, who, through fear of being dethroned, has joined the fascists and placed the army in their hands. Here the minority of liberals and the poor labourers find themselves divided, disarmed, strangled, without even the means of making their voice heard, for the entire Press is gagged.

"Where in the rest of Europe is the condition of things approaching that described above?..."

* * *

"I came to know later on that the *Modern Review* has published also an article on Matteotti and thus it has made another bell than that of Fascism heard, however feebly, through its pages.

"I would expect a journal when it enters the dangerous ground of political controversy, to publish the articles in the form of a "Free Tribune" where the opposing parties would be able to make themselves heard simultaneously, in the same issue if possible, so that the impartiality of the journal would be maintained."

* * *

Our "Comment and Criticism" section is meant to enable all our readers to show the other side of the medal. For lack of the necessary up-to-date documents and other sources of accurate and adequate information, we are not always able to present both sides of a question simultaneously in the same issue.

It may be mentioned here incidentally that the note entitled "Mussolini A Genius and Patriot" in the *Modern Review* for December 1926, pp. 694-5, was sent by a contributor whose initials were omitted through the inadvertence of the printer, the necessary correction being made on page 128 of the January number.

The Work of the Calcutta Improvement Trust.

The paper read before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts by Mr. C. H. Bompas, C. S. I. on the work of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, in so far as it relates to the work actually carried out by the Trust, is an admirable one, but the things that it

leaves unsaid or lightly touched upon are the more important from the point of view of the ratepayers of Calcutta. The first point that strikes one in the paper is the initial arrangement by which the representatives of the ratepayers of Calcutta shall always be in a minority in the Board, though even at the outset the contribution of the ratepayers was nearly half.

1. In the last fourteen years the income of the Trust has nearly doubled, having increased from 20 lakhs to 35.66 lakhs.

2. The direct burden of the cost on the Calcutta ratepayer, which was estimated at eight lakhs, now amounts to 20.8 lakhs, which is in excess of the total original demand.

3. The percentage of the cost proposed to be borne direct by the Calcutta ratepayer has risen from 42½ p. c. to 58.3 p. c. whereas the jute trade now bears 31.3 p. c. in place of the 40 p. c. proposed, the terminal tax only 6.2 in place of 10 p. c. and the provincial government 4.2 p. c. in place of 7.5 p. c.

4. The present annual income of the Trust, fourteen years after its inception, is 35.66 lakhs, the increase being 15½ lakhs in 14 years on an expected income of 20 lakhs. If the rate of increase in future be the same and there does not seem to be any reason why it should not be, the net capital sum available for expenditure should be nearer 30 crores than the estimated 7 crores.

If the above facts are kept in mind and then the work of the Trust reviewed in the light of the schemes and estimates prepared previously, one cannot help feeling some uneasiness when the Trust pleads want of finance as the cause of not pushing on with the improvement works already sanctioned.

As stated by Mr. Bompas, the estimated sum available for net capital expenditure was seven crores and Messrs. Maden & Shroobree's estimate of expenditure, based on an inspection of every "property included" and a separate estimate of its value, was 7½ crores gross and 3½ crores net on land plus 64 lakhs on engineering works for improvements in the city area and 1¾ crores for engineering works in the suburbs where land, it was estimated, would not cost any thing, the Trust being able to amply recoup all costs through sale of surplus lands.

We now find that the capital expenditure has already exceeded nine crores gross, whereas the major portion of the work set out

in the report still remains untouched. The only reasons given by Mr. Bompas for this state of things are the high rate of interest at which four loans amounting to about 2 crores of rupees were floated during the years 1920 to 1924, the high cost of engineering materials during the same period, and the boom followed by a slump in land values. Considering the unexpected and abnormal increase in the income of the Trust, the first two out of the three stated above may safely be ignored. With regard to the third, the people are under the impression that it was the wrong policy of the Trust in trying to create a corner in land and force up values that have brought about this state of things prevailing at present and we should have very much liked to have more light on that aspect of the case.

Mr. Bompas seems to have been guilty of playing with words when he stated that no official representations were ever made to the Trust. The absence of official representations was only due to their futility: the Government being the ultimate arbiter the general feeling was, that they would always uphold the Trust and keep up their prestige. Numerous representations which might not have strictly complied with the terms of the Act and were not thus strictly official were however made by the Corporation. But as they also found their way ultimately into the waste paper baskets, even the Corporation ceased after a time to make these representations. Mr. Bompas has himself recognised that Calcutta opinion was not opposed to the improvements but to the drastic powers given to the Trust, and when the people found that all their requisitions and objections were cries in the wilderness, they naturally ceased to make these unavailing and unnecessary efforts.

Mr. Bompas, like many a better man every penny of whose savings and the cost of whose maintenance has come out of the Indian taxpayers' pockets, could not resist the temptation of having a dig at the Indians he has been associated with in his work here, but this is a phenomenon we are now so used to that we hardly need to take any notice of it.

It appears to us that the policy of the Trust is actuated by too much caution and very great timidity and the ratepayers of Calcutta are not getting value for their money. It is fourteen years since the Trust commenced operations and it is really astonishing to think that Burrabazar, the

greatest plague spot in Calcutta, still remains absolutely untouched. It is no wonder that Mr. Bompas pays such a high tribute to the resignation, cheerfulness, good sense and good temper of the citizens. Other people sometimes call them by other names like apathy and helplessness, but that is merely a matter of opinion.

We were disappointed to find that though the Trust, the Corporation, the Housing and Transport Committee and practically each and every public institution in Calcutta has urged upon the authorities the greater need of facilities of quick transport, the Trust has so far done practically nothing beyond providing a few wide roads. It was in 1860 or thereabouts that the question of a railway with a central station in the city was first discussed and nearly seventy years later we are still discussing it. Heaven only knows when we shall get any further.

In conclusion we would like to say that as far as we can judge from available sources of information at the time of the British occupation, India was behind no other country in the world in point of civilization, prosperity or material development. After hundred fifty years of British occupation, we are possibly 300 years behind the advanced countries of the world. Progress now-a-days is so rapid that our only fear is that by the time we have finished our improvements other progressive cities might have gone on so much further that comparatively speaking we might be further behind them than we have ever been before.

L. M. S.

The Mahabharata

The world of Orientalists is familiar with the mission given in 1918 by Shrimant Balasabeb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh, to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to prepare a critical edition of the text of the Mahabharata. The work was inaugurated in April 1919 by the Nestor of Sanskrit research in India, the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, who, alas! lived to see only the tentative edition of the Virataparvan, prepared under the scheme by Mr. N. B. Utgikar. The Secretary of the newly constituted Mahabharata Editorial Board, reporting further progress of the work, now announces that a fascicule containing the Parvanukramani and the

Parvasamgraha, the first two Adhyayas of the Adiparvan, will be published very shortly.

The Board, we understand, has spared no pains to give to this edition the strictest scientific form and character. The constituted text is based on a comparison of fifty manuscripts, collected from different parts of India and written in the various Indian scripts. The critical apparatus includes collations from the important Kashmir version as also from a rare Maithili manuscript from the Kathmandu Library of Nepal, material lying buried in Indian libraries, hitherto totally unutilised. The editor has further made profitable use of the valuable commentaries of four scholiasts, Devabodha, Arjunamisra, Ratnagarbha and Nilakantha. The constituted text has been prepared by the General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in collaboration with the Editorial Board comprising the following scholars: Prof. Vajjanath K. Rajvade; Mr. Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Bar-at-law; Rev. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S. J.; Prof. Dr. V. G. Paranjpe; and Mr. N. B. Utgikar. The fascicule, which will be accompanied by a coloured illustration prepared under the direction of the Chief of Aundh, is being printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.

We do not doubt that this issue will fully justify the high expectations raised by the reputation of the scholars now in charge of the monumental work of editing critically the Great Epic of India.

J. M. P.

Calcutta University Convocation

The usual annual convocation of the Calcutta University was held this year on the 19th February. The most important item on the convocation programme has always been the addresses delivered by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor being the head of the Government, his address is always accepted as embodying the official views on University and allied matters. The Vice-Chancellor's address stands for the opinions of those non-official persons, who in co-operation with the Government, carry on the work of higher education in Bengal. It is in the Vice-Chancellor's address that we look every year for a resumé of the University affairs of the previous year. This year also the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, gives us in his convocation address, a list of

outstanding events connected with the University, before he proceeds to have a heart to heart talk with the new graduates regarding their future life and ideals.

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar begins his address with the usual expression of gratitude and paying of compliments to the Chancellor and then goes on to recount the important items of the year's University history. He tells us that during the year under review the University passed a School Code formulated for the guidance of all non-Government Schools. This it is expected will bring order and uniformity in an organisation set up to educate the children of a people numbering 45 millions. The Senate has also approved of a Scheme for creating a Board of Secondary Education which will relieve the University of the heavy burden of School Supervision and enable it to pay undivided attention to higher education only.

Next we are told that during the year under review the University adopted finally the principle of using the vernaculars as the medium of school teaching and examination. The University has also made during the year a definite stand against the "gradual decline in the standard of examination and the consequent lowering of the intellectual equipment of college students." In both the above items we find much to congratulate the Senators of the University of Calcutta. The Vice-Chancellor also tells us that during the year some much-needed changes have been effected in medical teaching leading to better instruction, a higher standard of examinations and a more comprehensive course of studies.

Among other items of information, the Vice-Chancellor gives us a running summary of the financial help received by the University from the Government during the last few years. An average annual grant of 4, 09,000 during the last five years, a special annual grant of Rs 1, 29, 000 to non-government Colleges for building laboratories and libraries, a grant of Rs two lakhs to finish the third storey of the Asutosh Building, a lakh and a half yearly for the last two years to several non-government colleges for meeting their maintenance charges and the expenditure incurred in connection with carrying on post-graduate teaching for the University in the Presidency College, are mentioned by the Vice-Chancellor as Governmental grants to the University. He does not appear to be satisfied with these grants only; for he says:

I am confident that the Post-graduate department of this university can afford to be judged by its work, and when the five yearly term of the present grant is over we shall be able to make out a strong case for an increase in its amount.

In another place Mr. Sarkar compliments Lord Lytton the Chancellor for having kept his promise (in a generous and full measure) to help the University financially. His hopes of inducing Government to increase the grants in future, perhaps does not rhyme perfectly with his entire satisfaction with whatever Lord Lytton has done for the University; but this may probably be explained by the fact that the Vice-Chancellor did not expect anything more from Lord Lytton and did not think it courteous and in good form to express dissatisfaction with the work of a departing Chancellor who has risen above the traditions of his Government in affording a fair amount of financial help to the University. The Vice-Chancellor next turned to the intellectual affairs of the University. He pointed out how the scholars connected with the University were progressively making a name in the world of learning. He eulogised Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. Niranjana Prasad Chakravarti and Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi for their achievements in the field of linguistics and archæology.

Turning to the conditions of service endured by the teachers of the University Mr. Sarkar emphasised the necessity for improving the same in regard to security of tenure. Another great need was that of Providing the professors, readers and lecturers with adequate housing near the University area; for at present most of them live too far away from the University area to help the Students in more ways than by delivering the necessary number of lectures at their appointed hours.

The University Science College is at present split up into two parts, the Biology department being situated several miles away from the main institution. Mr. Sarkar said that the Biology department should be located nearer the main Science College. The advantage of this is obvious. Moreover by effecting such an improvement this department will benefit largely by the help of Sir J. C. Bose, who has offered to help it if it is located near the main Science College which is next door to Sir J. C. Bose's Institute.

The Secret of Nation Building

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar's Convocation address contains some very thoughtful words. We reproduce some of them below for the benefit of the would-be Nation-Builder and Reformer.

To the pure scholar the legacy of his University is a scientifically trained intellect, methodical habits of work, a quenchless thirst for truth. To the specialist it is technical skill in his special branch of work. The professional man will expect from it the necessary mental equipment for practising his profession. Others will look for a general liberal culture as the result of their University days. But there is one thing of supreme value to man in his relations with other men and the material world, which a good University can teach more thoroughly and more universally than any other agency. It is community of life and thought.

Leaving out the spiritual side of our nature, as purely personal and private, we are bound to admit that there is a very large basis for agreement among civilized men in most matters of their material existence, in their method of investigating truth, in their ethical code, and even in their outlook upon life. Behind the external differences of race and creed, caste and climate, there is a broad unity among men in all things that really matter—in the essentials of life and thought. Science has demonstrated the existence of this common element. History proves that no people can form a nation, no nation can become great, unless it realises the supreme value of this community of life and thought and establishes it among its citizens by transcending the barriers of caste and creed, the privileges of birth, and communal peculiarities,—unless a fair field and no favour is accepted as the national policy and all are made equal in the eye of law, equal in political status, equal in the opportunities of life, equal in social standing. A nation that has acquired and widely diffused among all its members this community of life and thought, becomes almost independent of personality and the accidents of birth and death among its leaders. Its fortunes do not depend upon one king or general, but like the ancient Senate of Rome its governing council is a vast assembly of kings.

The belief that a certain caste is the eldest son of the Creator, or that a particular race is the chosen seed of the Lord, or that a particular country is destined by Providence to lord it over all others,—is opposed to scientific truth, contrary to the teaching of history, and fatal to the world's peace and progress.

Nor has such a narrow communal pride, such nursing of racial peculiarities, promoted the real good of the favoured creed or race. On the other hand, every people that has attained to a commonness in all that really matters in human relations and human thought and established the same rights and rules for all,—wisely allowing diversity and individual freedom in minor matters and private life, has succeeded in assimilating diverse tribes and races, created homogeneous nations, and even founded world empires. Such were the ten tribes that nestled on the slopes of the seven-hilled city. Such are the happy islanders

whose laureate has boasted "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we."

This ever-expanding community of life and thought has been the secret of origin, the vital force, the binding cement of the world-empires of ancient Rome and modern Britain. On the other hand, the races that have clung to the lines of communal cleavage, magnified the differences in the externals of life and thought, and ignored the unity possible in the essentials, may have produced a few great poets, holy saints or master craftsmen, but they have contributed nothing of enduring value to the ever-growing civilization of the world. To such races we can say,

Lo! all your pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!

Associating with such a people is like travelling with a coddled darling of his mother who can live only on certain special dishes cooked in a special manner by the ladies of his family. If we emphasise the external differences between man and man, creed and creed, if we constantly harp on the special genius of our race, the ancient heritage of our country, and our unique position as a peculiar people with a peculiar mission on earth, then we shall only miss the substance for the shadow.

It is the duty of a University to impress this secret of national progress upon all who come under its influence, to convince them of its supreme importance and to send them forth into the world to preach and practise it.

Let us strive, honestly, manfully, ceaselessly, to acquire this community of life and thought with the wide ever-moving civilized world, let us give up nursing our provincial or sectarian pride and prejudice, and then and then only will an Indian nation be possible. Then and then only will an Indian nation be capable of rising to a sublimer height where national differences and prejudices sink away in shame and give place to a recognition of the supreme claims of the broadest humanity, the common brotherhood of all men in a loving equal family of nations. This universalism, this world-embracing humanity, has been taught by the most ancient philosophers of our land and by our latest master-singer whose message has laid a healing balm on the heart of war-stricken Europe. Let our University make this community of life and thought the intellectual property and the rule of conduct of every one of her sons, if we wish to see a new dawn of peace and hope in our land.

The Vice-Chancellor's Friendliness to Government

Anybody who takes the trouble to go through Mr. Jadunath Sarkar's Convocation address will see that Mr. Sarkar is not one who is constitutionally a thirst for the blood of British officials. He does not believe in the superiority or "chosenness" of the British race but does not, at the same time find it repugnant to work in co-operation with those Britishers who are at present masters

of Indian's destiny. In his Convocation address he shows a good deal of friendliness to the Government and this has been explained by his critics in the press to mean that Mr. Sarkar is a hired slave of the Government or something equally bad. We would strongly oppose any attempts by the Government to officialise the University, for we do not believe that any good can come of such an arrangement; rather, it will ruin the future of higher education in Bengal. It is of the greatest importance that the University should be *democratically* managed by its own members, and we do hope the constitution of the University will be suitably changed for the fullest realisation of this ideal. Mr. Jadunath Sarkar will undoubtedly take the lead in effecting any such change. As for the friendship shown by him to the Government in his Convocation address, we are not convinced that it can be accepted as a receipt confirming the sale of Mr. Sarkar's soul to the British Government. On the other hand, demonstration of exuberant friendship has always been a feature of convocation addresses and as such may be accepted as merely conventional and formal. A few quotations from some previous convocation addresses delivered by the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who was a "Tiger" for freedom, would show how in their convocation addresses even the most advertised defenders of academic liberties poured out honey to the British lords of India. In the heat of the Swadeshi days Sir Ashutosh once used the words quoted below:

We have the gracious announcement by His Excellency the Chancellor about the foundation of a University Professorship which has been received by all with feelings of intense satisfaction, and which will make the administration of His Excellency gratefully remembered for ever as the era of effective and substantial support by the State to the cause of the highest education of Indian youths. [Convocation Address 1908. See Convocation Addresses vol. IV, p. 1102]

In 1912 Sir Asutosh Mukherjee said:—

I rejoice in the thought that I am justified in claiming our learned Chancellor as a sympathiser with the new aspirations; and to make on this point a statement final and crowning as it were, it is to me a source of the most intense satisfaction and pride that the special need of the Indian, which I am now endeavouring to set forth, has been clearly discerned and emphatically stated by no less an authority than our wise and gracious King Emperor himself. For in his ever memorable reply to the Address presented by our University—a reply which we have resolved to engrave on marble in letters of gold,—etc., etc. [Convocation Addresses, Vol IV, 1227]

In recent times (1921) Sir Asutosh said in connection with conferring an honorary degree on the Prince of Wales:

What then can be more eminently befitting than that he (the Prince of Wales) should prove to be one of the greatest of ambassadors that have ever served the British people—the founders of commonwealths, the pioneers of progress, the stubborn defenders of liberty?

* * * * *

It is indeed by a wise dispensation of Providence that the destinies of India have been united to those of a Western nation so progressive and enlightened as Great Britain; this has rendered it possible for us to maintain and develop our highly cherished national culture.....we look for comradeship to the nation which has been a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed and a Sanctuary for the rights of mankind,—that comradeship which is the key to all well-being and happiness in the democratic life of the British Empire to-day, comradeship between nation and nation, between race and race, between people of all ranks in all walks of life. [Convocation Addresses, Vol. V, pp. 443-444.]

Such words as the above abound in nearly all the convocation addresses delivered by a long line of Vice-Chancellors who have built up the present University, and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar's address does not differ in spirit from any delivered by any previous Vice-Chancellor. Rather, it is less honeyed compared to what we have quoted above.

Mr. Sarkar's Oversight

He has forgotten to mention the names of people who have died during the year after serving the University for a long time. Such a one we remember in Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose than whom the University seldom had a sincerer and more devoted servant.

All the credit that Mr. Sarkar has given to Lord Lytton may also not go to him fully. There have been other outstanding persons, who should have been named, who helped to make the Government see reason.

Among the scholars named by Mr. Sarkar we do not find the names of some notable figures in the field of science. The scientists of the University have been rather neglected in the Vice-Chancellor's address.

Arrival in India of British Secretary of State for Air

Lord Irwin gravely uttered the following sentences in the Council Chamber at Delhi;

A recent event of outstanding interest has been the arrival in India of the Secretary of State for Air in the first of the great air liners sent out to this country by the Imperial Airways Company. In so far as India is concerned this development of aviation marks the introduction into the country of a new form of civil transport. India is a country of vast distances as it has hitherto been reckoned. The increased speed of air transport, coupled with the facilities which it offers for surmounting geographical obstacles, will be a potent factor in shortening the communication of India with other countries and also in linking up her own widespread provinces, thus drawing them more closely together as members of a single nation.

Every word in the above extract is true, and yet there can be no greater insult and menace to India than the introduction of aviation in it without previously making the least effort to train Indians in civil and military aviation. Aviation would be the strongest link in the chain of India's slavery, if the exclusion of her children from learning and practising it here were continued. They are not naturally incapable. Indra Lal Ray fought in the air force gallantly and died in the world war. Captain Patwardhan has done good work as a flight captain in Afghanistan. Given the training and the opportunity, Indians can shine in aviation as they have done in other fields.

How would Lord Irwin have liked the arrival of a German air pilot in Britain if Britishers had been prevented in their own country from learning or undertaking aviation?

Germany has now taken the lead in commercial aviation in Europe. In November 13 last year, the sea-plane high speed honors of the world were wrested from America by Italy in Norfolk, va., America. Great Britain herself has built the largest dirigible for the India-Australia service.

The question will naturally arise in the minds of Indians as to what part Indians will play, either in the future internal air-services of the country or in the India-Australia or other transcontinental air services. Of course, they will have the privilege of being carried like goods—that is plain. And they may also be coolies to cleanse the machines. We should all take note that, in India, "the personnel of the batteries of Horse, Field and Garrison Artillery is wholly British, except for a portion of Indian drivers. The Tank Corps and Royal Air-Forces are wholly British. The Royal Air Force in

in India comprises 16 squadrons organised in 8 wings of 2 squadron each; the Aircraft Depot and Aircraft Ports are directly under Royal Air Force Headquarters, India. Its establishment is 28 officers and 1,757 British and 139 Indian of other ranks"

Thus there is not one Indian officer in the British Indian Air Service and it is the deliberate policy of the Government to keep Indians out of Artillery, Tank and Air forces, whereas we find that in all Asiatic States, including Siam and Afghanistan, not to speak of Japan, China, Turkey and Persia, that nationals are becoming proficient in aerial navigation. Afghanistan is employing Russian experts to train Afghan aviators; in Persia, French and German experts are establishing air stations; and in Turkey the Government has decided to establish a special school for training aviators and a factory to build air-ships. The people of India are not inferior to those of any other land; what India lacks is a national Government and a far-sighted programme for national regeneration.

Our people should not rest contented with merely blaming the British Government. They should organise private national efficiency. India should send capable engineers to Italy, France, Germany and other countries to master the science and art of aeronautics.

The Editor's Explanation

Private duty obliged me to start for Rangoon on the 13th February last. I expected to return to Calcutta in time to be able to write all the Editorial Notes. But as I could not get a berth in the steamer which left Rangoon for Calcutta on the 22nd February, my return was delayed, and I could reach Calcutta only yesterday. While at Rangoon I had so many private and public engagements that I could not collect myself to write any notes. For these reasons I have been able to write only a few notes for the present issue of THE MODERN REVIEW.

Feb. 28, 1927.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.





Clay Model of Sj. Nandalal Bose's Death of Satee

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WASTAGE OF INDIA'S MAN-POWER

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.

I. INTRODUCTION

THE greatest assets of a nation are its human resources, upon the conservation and utilisation of which depend both its progress and prosperity. Man-power is that part of the human resources which is directly or indirectly concerned with the creation of social values, such as those which are ethical, religious, aesthetic and economic. Sometimes the term is used to include only those persons who are engaged in the creation of economic values or national wealth. In the latter sense, man-power is synonymous with labor. That labor is the directing factor in the productive process is too evident to require any discussion. Equally important is man-power in various social and political activities. The development of the physical and mental energies of the people and the transformation of these energies into creative forces is the supreme end of society.

2. VOLUME OF MAN-POWER.

Of the world's area of 54.2 million square miles, India occupies 1.8 million square miles or 3.3 per cent. of the total. A still larger proportion of the whole of mankind is constituted by her population, which, with the exception of China, represents the largest human resources of the world. Of the world's estimated population of 1,850 millions in 1921, India possessed 319 millions, or 17 per cent.

The period of life between the ages of 15 and 60 may be regarded as the most active in the creation of social values and all persons of this period may be said to represent a nation's man-power. From this view-point, the volume of India's man-power in 1921 amounted to 178 million persons or

56 per cent. of the total, consisting of 92 million men and 86 million women, as shown in the table below :—

INDIA'S MAN-POWER IN 1921

Classes	Persons of all ages in millions	Persons between 15 & 60 No. in millions	percentage
Men	164	92	56
Women	155	86	56
Total	319	178	56

Owing to the vastness of her human resources, India has also the largest volume of man-power in the world, with the exception of China. But in proportion to the total human resources, the man-power in India is only fair as compared with other countries, under as shown below. It will be seen that the proportional man-power in the ten countries consideration varies from 62 per cent. in the United States to 51 per cent. in European Russia, as against 56 per cent. in India, which stands ninth in the list.

Proportion of Man-power in Various Countries (in millions) *

Country	Year	Total population	persons between 15 & 60		Total	Percentage of total population
			Men	Women		
France	1911	39	11.9	12.2	24.1	61
England & Wales	1911	36	10.6	11.5	22.1	61
U.S.A.	1920	106	33.7	31.3	64	60
Belgium	1910	7.4	2.2	2.2	4.4	60
Spain	1910	20	5.4	5.9	11.3	59
Germany	1920	64	17.7	20.2	37.9	58
Japan	1920	56	16.1	15.6	31.7	56
Italy	1911	35	9.2	10	19.2	55
India	1921	319	92	86	178	55
Russia	1920	90	19.1	27.1	46.2	51

* Adapted. Annuaire Statistique, France, 1924, pp. 194-95; Census of India, 1921, Report, 1: 128

3. WORKERS AND DEPENDANTS

Of the 319 millions of India's population, occupational statistics are available for 316 millions, of which 46 per cent. are workers and 54 per cent. dependants. Assuming that the remaining 3 millions have the same proportion of workers and dependants, the number of dependants would amount to 172 millions and of workers to 146 millions, the latter consisting of 100 million men and 46 million women. (*Census of India, 1921, Report, I: 284-85*)

In comparison with other countries, the proportion of workers to dependants does not seem to be unfavourable to India, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the proportion of workers to dependants in the nine countries under consideration varies from 55 per cent. in France to 41 per cent. in the United States as against 46 in India, which stood fourth in the list.

Proportion of Workers to Dependants in the Chief Countries

	Workers	Dependant
France 1911	55	45
Austria 1910	53	47
Italy 1911	53	47
India 1921	46	54
England & Wales 1911	46	54
Germany 1907	45	55
Belgium 1910	44	56
Hungary 1910	41	59
U.S.A. 1920	40	60

It must be remembered that owing to the lack of compulsory primary education, a large number of children aged nine were eligible for factory work, when the census was taken, and children aged twelve and helping in field work were included among active workers in the industrial census (*Census of India, 1921, Report, I: 240*). If these children are excluded from the class of workers, as in the case of other countries, the proportional number of workers would be much lower.

The figures for workers are, however, too low. Even the number of the persons aged between 15 and 50, which is regarded by the industrial census to be roughly the

working age period in India (*Census of India, 1921, Report, I: 241*), would amount to 156 millions or about 49 per cent. of the total, that is, 10 millions more than the figures given in the industrial census. But the working period lasts beyond the age of 50 or even 55, the last age being the maximum for government officials in India. There is no doubt that most of the officials can work and often do work efficiently beyond that age. So that the period between the ages of 15 and 60 assumed for man-power in general can also be safely taken for active work in gainful occupations. According to this view, the number of active workers in India would amount to 178 millions.

The division of the population into workers and dependants is, however, more or less arbitrary. The dependants consist of such classes of the people as the following:

(1) the disabled and infirm, (2) the old and retired, (3) infants and children, and (4) household workers. Although the first three classes may be classed as dependants, household workers are as active as the production of social values as any other class engaged in so-called gainful occupations. The number of the active male workers would accordingly amount to 92 millions and of the active female workers to 86 millions, instead of 100 millions and 46 millions respectively as given in the industrial census. Among the 86 millions women workers are included 46 million workers in gainful occupations and 40 million workers in households. It must be remembered that most of the gainful workers are also household workers and women begin household work much earlier than 15. These changes in the numbers of workers and dependants would make a very little difference in estimating the proportion of wastage.

THE DISABLED AND INFIRM
In every country, there is a class of people who are defective or disabled or have been made so since birth through old age. These are all the persons who are truly dependants and deserve sympathetic and charitable treatment by society. Some of the advanced nations have established various forms of social insurance for their care but in India such persons still depend upon their relatives or on private charity. Persons who have reached the age of 70 or more might roughly be classed as

infirm persons. The number of such persons in India amounted to 5 millions or 1.7 per cent of the total in 1921. (*Census of India, 1921 Report, 1:228*) In comparison with other countries, the number of infirm persons is the smallest in India, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the percentage of infirm persons in the seven countries under consideration varies from 4.9 in France to 2.4 in Germany, as against 1.7 in India.

Persons aged 70 and over in various countries. *

Country	Year	Total population in millions	Persons aged 70 and over in millions	Number percent
France	1911	36.9	1.9	4.9
Italy	1911	35.1	1.3	3.7
England and Wales	1911	36.0	0.9	2.5
Austria	1910	29.0	0.7	2.4
Hungary	1910	20.0	0.5	2.5
Germany	1910	53.1	1.3	2.4
India	1921	319.5	5.0	1.7

The reason why India has the smallest number of infirm persons is that her rate of mortality is the highest. This must also be added the defectives, whose number amounted to .8 million in 1921, including the insane, deaf-mute, blind and lepers. (*Statistical Abstract for British India, 1926, p.53*). This appears to be an under-estimate.

5. PREMATURE DEATHS

One of the most important causes of the loss of India's man-power is premature death. The average longevity of men in India is 24.8 years, and of women 24.7 years, or an unweighted average of 24.75 years for both men and women. This mean age has been practically maintained in India with very slight variations during the past 40 years, as shown by the statistics of longevity given below. It will be seen that the average longevity for both men and women was 24.85 years in 1881 and fell to 24.75 years in 1921. The variations are so slight that the average longevity may be said to have remained practically the same.

Average Longevity in India from 1881 to 1921

Year	Men	Women	Total	Unweighted Index
1881	24.5	25.2	24.85	100
1891	24.4	24.9	24.65	99.2
1901	24.7	25.1	24.90	100.2
1911	24.7	24.7	24.70	99.4
1921	24.8	24.7	24.75	99.6

Compared with other countries, the longevity of mean life is the shortest in India, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the mean life in the nine countries under consideration varies from 56 years in Norway to 44.3 years in Japan, as against 24.7 years in India. Taking the average longevity of all other countries, which is 50 years, as base, the index of India's longevity is only 45.

Average Longevity in Various Countries

Country	Year	Average Longevity	Index
Norway	1915	56	112
South Africa	1920	55.6	111
Holland	1915	55.1	110
England and Wales	1910	51.5	103
United States	1910	50.0	100
France	1910	48.5	97
Germany	1910	47.4	95
Italy	1910	47.0	94
Japan	1910	44.3	88
India	1921	24.7	45

It is thus seen that in order to keep up her social population, India has to spend 122 percent more energy than the average of other countries under consideration. The real loss to the country is, however, still higher. If the first fourteen years of childhood, forming the debit side of life, are subtracted the man-power period becomes only about 11 years in India as against 36 years in other countries. It might be pointed out here that the low mean life in India also cuts down the old age period as compared with other countries. This consideration would, however, make so little difference in calculations that it might be neglected. It is thus seen that the average active period of India's manhood or womanhood is only percent as compared with that in other countries. But the actual loss is still greater. Since the usefulness of a person to society increases with his growth

in knowledge and experience, he becomes more valuable in the later periods than in the former. The average man or woman in India does not get the chance of acquiring this higher social usefulness.

6. USELESS MOTHERHOOD

The propagation of race is a natural phenomenon. But the number of women who take part in the propagation of children varies in time and place. The progress of hygiene and medicine has decreased the death-rate in almost all advanced countries within the last half a century or more, and, at the same time, there has been a gradual diminution in the birth-rate, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that in the course of fifty years, the average birth and death rates in eight European countries fell from the quinquennial averages of 3.72 and 2.97 percent. for the years 1871-75 respectively to 2.53 and 1.67 percent. in 1921. The birth and death rates in India varied from the averages of 3.58 and 2.74 per cent for 1885-90 respectively to 3.06 per cent in 1921.

Variations in Birth and death Rates in Various Countries, 1870-75 to 1921. *

Country	Births per 100 Inhabitants		Deaths per 100 Inhabitants	
	1871-75	1921	1871-75	1921
England and Wales	3.55	2.24	2.20	1.21
Germany	3.89	2.61	2.82	1.48
Austria	3.93	2.28	3.26	1.71
Hungary	4.28	2.29	4.54	1.93
Belgium	3.26	2.19	2.34	1.35
France	2.55	2.07	2.50	1.77
Spain	3.65†	3.05	3.09†	2.15
Italy	3.69	3.04	3.05	1.75
Average	3.72	2.53	2.97	1.67
India	3.58§	3.22	2.74§	3.06

Now, in the ideal condition of society, fecundity should be adaptative, i.e., regulated according to social needs. Most of the countries scarcely need any increase in population, unless for purposes other than social welfare, and such an ideal condition has been more or less achieved by France. The population of India is already too large to need any augmentation, at least for the next half a century. Her birth-rate could

be adapted to her death-rate with a small margin for safety. If her death-rate could be brought down from 3.06 percent to 1.67 percent, which is the average death-rate of the countries under consideration, her birth-rate could also be reduced from 3.22 percent to 1.67 per cent, that is, her birth-rate could be decreased by 51 per cent. In other words, 49 per cent. of the women annually undergoing motherhood in India could be saved from unnecessary gestation and lactation and the consequent troubles.

At the birth-rate of 3.22 per cent. the number of mothers in India would amount to 10.2 millions in 1921, out of which about 5 million women could thus be saved from unnecessary motherhood. It must be remembered that the largest number of the infants born every year die before they reach childhood or youth anyway. The extent of loss to a mother through the loss of her child can not be determined in material terms. But if the gestation, lactation, rearing and devitalising cause a mother to lose at least six months of her time, the loss to India through 5 million unnecessary or unsuccessful mothers would amount to the productive and creative energy of 2.5 million women a year.

7. THE OLD AND RETIRED

There is another class of so-called dependant persons who have retired from active participation in gainful occupations, but who are still useful members of society. All persons between the ages of 60 and 70 might roughly represent this class. There were 11.4 million such persons or 3.6 per cent of the total in India in 1921. (*Census of India, 1921, Report. 1:128. Adapted.*) As compared with other countries, the proportion of old and retired persons in India is the smallest in the world, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the proportion of the old and retired persons in the nine countries under consideration varies from 7.7 per cent. in France to 4.3 per cent. in the United States as against 3.6 per cent. in India. The small proportion of such persons in the United States is due to the fact that a large number of her population are immigrants, who went there in the prime of their life, but in India it is due to premature death.

* Adapted. *Annuaire Statistique, France, 1922*, pp. 199-200. Austria, Germany, Hungary, France and Italy as newly constituted.

† For 1866-70. § For 1885-90.

Proportion of Old and Retired Persons in Various Countries.

Country	Year	Percentage of total
France	1911	7.7
Italy	1911	6.5
Japan	1913	5.7
Hungary	1910	5.3
Austria	1910	5.3
England and Wales	1911	5.1
Germany	1910	5.7
United States	1920	4.3
India	1921	3.6

Owing to education and experience in different branches of social activities, this class of people is a source of great benefit to every country. But India is deprived of their experience for two reasons:—First owing to the lack of facilities for education and training either as children or as adults, they fail to acquire in the active period of their life the same socially beneficial experience as in other countries. Second, there scarcely exists any organisation for utilising their experience for social purposes. Although a few of them are engaged in different kinds of social work, the experience of the majority of them is lost to the country.

8. INFANTS AND CHILDREN

Children are the most important of the human resources of a country. Because of their helpless condition, society owes them both duty and sympathy. Moreover, as they are the prospective members of society, the conservation and development of their physical strength and mental energy are of paramount importance to a nation.

In 1921, the number of children under the age of 15 amounted to 124 millions or 39 per cent. of the total population of India. In comparison with other countries, India has the largest proportion of children, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the proportion of children under 15 varied from 25.3 per cent. in France to 35.4 per cent. in Japan, as against 39 per cent. in India.

Proportion of Children in Various Countries.*

Country	Year	Total population in millions	Persons under 15 years of age in millions	Percentage of total
France	1911	39	10	25.3

(1) *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Altergliederung der Bevölkerung*, p. 260; *Census of India, 1921, Report, I*.

* Computed. *Annuaire Statistique, France, 1924* pp. 194-95.

Belgium	1910	7.4	12.2	29.7
England and Wales	1911	36	11	30.5
United States	1910	92	29.4	31.9
Italy	1911	34.6	11.7	33.6
Germany	1920	60.4	17.2	34.0
Spain	1910	19.1	6.7	35.0
Japan	1920	55.9	19.8	35.4
India	1921	318.9	124.0	39.0

Of these 124 million children, 40 millions or 12.6 per cent. of the total population were under the age of 5.47 millions or 14.8 per cent. were between 5 and 10, and 37 millions or 11.6 per cent. were between 10 and 15, as shown below:—

Classification by age of Children in India 1921.*

Ages	Number in millions	Percentage of total population
0-5	40	12.6
5-10	47	14.8
10-15	37	11.6
Total	124	39

By far the major part of the physical strength of the children, especially of the infants, remains undeveloped or is lost to the country. What the infants need are sufficient nutrition and proper care. But the supply of milk has become notoriously insufficient in "agricultural" India as compared with "industrial" England or Germany. Moreover, the extreme poverty of the majority of the people, from one-third to two-thirds of whom are estimated to be on the verge of starvation, scarcely gives any opportunity for proper nutrition to the infants. To this must be added the ignorance of proper sanitation. It is no wonder that infant mortality is the highest in India, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that while the infant mortality varies from 7.5 per 100 children born alive in England and Wales to 16.6 in Japan it reaches as high as 19.4 in India.

Infant Mortality in Various Countries.†

Country	Year	Per 100 Children born living.
England and Wales	1924	7.5
France	1924	8.5
Belgium	1922	10.7
Germany	1924	10.8
Spain	1923	14.5
Italy	1918	16.1
Japan	1922	16.6
India	1921	19.4

* Census of India, 1921, Report, 1: 128.

† Adapted *Annuaire Statistique France, 1924*, p. 204; *Census of India, 1921, Report, 1: 131*.

It has been estimated that over two million children die in India every year in their infancy. In addition to a large number of the still-born. The number of children who die before reaching youth is considerable. Ten million children die between the ages of 10 and 15. But the number of those who suffer from ill nutrition and bad sanitation is much larger than those who succumb to the acute diseases. Long victims either in succumb soon after birth to carry on their life process in broken health and spirit to the detriment of their wealth and welfare of the country as a whole.

Equally important is the loss arising from the lack of conservation and development of the mental faculty of India's vast childhood. The period of childhood is more or less indefinite, but it might be said to extend from 5 to 14 inclusive, as has been assumed in this study. Now, in almost all civilized countries, there exists free and compulsory primary education for children, although the period of such education differs in different countries. Under the present political and economic conditions, it is assumed that the period between 5 and 10 should form the period of compulsory primary education in India; the number of children in this primary education would amount to 64 millions, of whom only 16 millions were receiving primary education in 1921, and 999 million children remained without any provision for education.

In comparison with other countries, the number of children in primary schools in proportion to those of school-going age is the smallest in India as shown in the table below. It will be seen that in five countries for which statistics are available, the number of children attending primary schools, as compared with those of school-going age varies from 92 per cent. in Denmark to 76 per cent. in Sweden, as against 12 per cent. in India.

Number of School-age Children in Primary Schools in Certain Countries.

Country	Year	School-age children in primary schools	Number in thousands	Percentage of total
England	1920	5980	5199	87
Wales	1920	780	681	87
Scotland	1920	450	414	92
Denmark	1921	920	708	76
Sweden	1921	4810	4044	84
Austria	1910	47000	6000	12
India	1921			

* *Annuaire Statistique France, 1924, p. 213.*
* *Report of the Census of India, 1921, p. 161.*

The number of children in primary schools as compared with those of the school-age is large also in other countries, although accurate statistics for them are not available. Some rough idea may, however, be had from the number of children in primary schools as compared with those under 15 years of age as shown below. It must be remembered that the period of age for primary education differs in different countries. It will be seen that the number of children in primary schools, as compared with those under 15, was 35 per cent. in Germany, 27 per cent. in France, 24 per cent. in Japan, and only 5 per cent. in India.

Country	Year	Children in primary schools	Under 15 years of age	Percentage
Germany	1920	17	53	35
France	1920	11	43	27
Japan	1921	1	6	24
India	1921	1	20	5

In comparison with other countries like the United States, where compulsory education extends up to the age of 14 or more, there should be added to the 47 million children in India, another 37 million children between 10 and 15, of whom only 23 millions were receiving secondary education in 1921. It is thus seen that out of 84 million children between 5 and 15, only 16 millions received primary and secondary education, and the mental faculty of the remaining 68 million children remained undeveloped and was more or less lost to the country.

But the period of general and technical education extends much further than the age of fourteen in most of the countries, and in this respect also, the number of students in India is insignificant. The total number of students in all institutions in India amounted to 833,000, or 3.4 per cent. of the total population in 1921. (*Indian Year-book, 1923, p. 451*). When it is considered that there is no system of adult education in India, the lack of facilities for education and training becomes still more apparent.

INSUFFICIENT WORK
The lack of sufficient work for the people is a common complaint in India. The

Compiled. Annuaire Statistique France, 1924, pp. 195, 215.
* *Report of the Census of India, 1921, p. 161.*

work done by the average cultivator in the Punjab does not represent more than 150 days work in the year. (Census of India, 1921, Report, I, 245). The present writer's investigation in the United Provinces and Bengal in 1925 also showed that the average peasant or artisan does not have work for more than 7 months in the year.

The other classes of the people fare scarcely better. Unemployment among the middle classes is a well-known fact and has already received the (as yet fruitless) attention of several provincial governments. The Governments of Bengal, Bombay and Madras have the reports of their commissions on unemployment under consideration; as one of the main causes of unemployment is definitely known about the extent of unemployment among workers in organised industries. But some idea of it may be had from a few facts. First, absenteeism has been found by the Bombay Labour Office to amount to 10 per cent or more in Bombay factories. Second, labour turn-over amounts to about 100 per cent in some of the mills at Madras, as noted by the present writer in *Factory Labour in India*. Third, strikes and lockouts caused 270,423 workers a loss of 12,578,129 working days in 1925, an average of 46 days per worker. (*Labour Gazette, Bombay, 1926, pp. 779-82*).

It is thus seen that there exist both underemployment and unemployment among all classes of people in India and they have scarcely sufficient work for more than 6 or 7 months in the year. It may be very conservatively said that the average man or woman in gainful occupations in India loses about 4 months in the year. In other words, out of 92 million men and 46 million women engaged in gainful occupations only 36.2 million men and 30.6 million women might be said to be actually employed throughout the year.

30. SICKNESS AND DISEASES. The prevalence of diseases in India is an acknowledged fact. Epidemics like cholera, small-pox and influenza are always present in some part of the country or another. But the most common diseases devitalising India's manhood are endemic diseases like malaria, hookworm and tuberculosis. Malaria, which was once restricted to the districts of Lower Bengal, has now spread almost all over the country, causing the death of 1,300,000 persons per annum.

Tuberculosis is found in large industrial centres, especially in the overcrowded slums. The prevalence of hookworm has been revealed by investigation and it has been found that practically all the rural population in Madras and 70 per cent of the population in Bengal are infected with hookworm. (Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, p. 162). To these must also be added the weakness or sickness arising from insufficient nutrition or starvation on the part of the majority of the population, which has been variously estimated to be one-third to two-thirds of the entire population as noted before.

Aside from death, what is the annual loss of India's man-power resulting from sickness and starvation, as regards determining? But there are instances in the Ceylon and Darjeeling tea-gardens showing that the output of the labour forces has increased by 25 per cent, as the result of the hookworm treatment with vermifuges. (Report of Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, p. 162). Considering the prevalence of starvation and sickness throughout the country, it may be very safely estimated that at least one-fourth of man-power is lost to the country from those causes. This means that out of 61.2 million men and 30.6 million women nominally employed in the production of national wealth in India, only 45.9 million men and 23 million women are actually and efficiently employed.

11. IGNORANCE AND EXPERIENCE. Attempts have been made to show the industrial inefficiency of the workers in India as compared with those in other countries. It has been appointed out that 2622 factory workers at Madras would produce the same thing as 932 factory workers at Lancashire, thus indicating that 2622 Indian workers are equal to one British worker. (*Gt. Britain Papers, 1909, Vol. 68, Cd. 4519, pp. 313-14*). It has also been shown that in 1923 the average production of coal per worker in mines was 98 tons in India as against 226 tons in England, thus proving that 2.3 miners in India are equal to one miner in England. (*Indian Coal Statistics, 1924, p. 41*).

Now, the present writer has shown in his book *Factory Labour in India* the fallacy of such comparisons without taking into consideration the conditions of work, raw material, machinery, management and social

and other conditions in the two countries. Regarding mining labor, it might be pointed out that if 2.3 Indian miners be equal to one English miner on the basis of production, the same argument would make 2.9 English miners equal to one American miner, as the annual production of coal per miner, is 665 tons in the United States as against 226 tons in England—a conclusion which would be regarded as absurd. The present writer has also shown in his book on the *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast* that the Indian worker is as efficient as any Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, American, and Canadian worker.

The fact remains, however, that owing to ignorance and inexperience, the production of an Indian worker under the present conditions does not amount to more than half of what is generally produced in America or Europe. In the same way, it has been pointed out by the present writer in his *Production in India* that agriculture in India is only 86 per cent as efficient as the average production in the world. But compared with most of the European countries, it would be scarcely more than 50 per cent. as efficient. It might, therefore, be roughly concluded that the per capita production in India is only half of that in other advanced countries.

Now, apart from ill-health, the fundamental cause of inefficiency is the lack of education and training, as indicated by illiteracy. The total number of literate persons in India in 1921 was 22.6 millions. If it be assumed that 8.3 million students in that year were among the literate and that the remaining 14.3 millions belonged to the class between 15 and 60, still out of 178 million workers, 163.7 millions or 92 per cent were illiterate. In comparison with the workers in other countries, the Indian workers are the most illiterate, as shown below. It will be seen that the percentage of illiterate persons between 15 and 60 varies from .03 in Germany to 30.6 in Italy, as against 92 in India.

Illiterate Persons between 15 and 60 in

Various Countries. *

Country	Year	Percentage of illiterates
Germany	1910	.03
Holland	1910	1.0
France	1910	4.7
Belgium	1910	8.9
Italy	1905	30.6
India	1921	92.0

* *Annuaire Statistique, France, 1924, p. 214.*

The loss of 25 per cent. of efficiency has already been ascribed to ill-health or sickness and diseases. The other 25 per cent. must be ascribed to ignorance and inexperience or lack of education and training. That is, out of 61.2 million men and 30.6 million women engaged in productive processes, the work of another 15.3 million men and 7.6 million women must respectively be subtracted.

12. HOUSEHOLD WORKERS

Out of 86 million women between 15 and 60, 40 millions are household workers, as noted before. All of the household workers are regularly employed. The loss of their energy or labor arises from two causes: First, they are as much subject to sickness and diseases as the workers in other occupations in India. Second, they lose as much time owing to the lack of education and training as those engaged in so-called gainful occupations. Husking, milling, washing and similar other household works are so primitive in India that the women in India can scarcely accomplish half as much work as the women in other advanced countries during the same period of time. Anyway, they cannot be expected to be more efficient than the men and women in other occupations in India. Thus, partly owing to sickness and diseases and partly owing to ignorance and inexperience, the household workers lose about half of their efficiency. That is, out of 40 million women in household work, only 20 millions might be said to be effectively employed.

13. EXTENT OF WASTAGE

It is difficult to estimate with any pretence to accuracy the extent of India's total wastage in human resources including manpower. A very rough idea may, however, be had from a few chief sources of wastage.

First, the most important source of wastage is the lack of conservation of the physical strength and mental faculty of 124 million children, consisting of 40 millions under the age of 5, 47 millions between the ages of 5 and 10 and 37 millions between the ages of 10 and 15. That most of the children have no proper nourishment and care is seen by the annual death of 2 million infants before they reach the age of one year and also by the death of 10 million children between the ages of 10 and 15. Out of 47 million children between 5 and 10, only 6 millions receive primary education and out of 37 million children between 10 and 15

only 1.6 millions receive secondary education. Thus, through lack of provision for proper nutrition and sanitation as well as for adequate education and training, India loses a very large part of the physical strength and mental faculty of 124 million children, forming 39 per cent. of her total population.

Second, India's womanhood consists of 86 million persons between the ages of 15 and 60, thus forming 56 per cent. of her 155 million women of all ages. Of these 86 million women, 46 millions are engaged in gainful occupations and 40 millions in household work. Of the 46 millions gainfully occupied, insufficiency of work causes a loss of labor equivalent to one-third of the total number, i. e., 15.3 millions. Of the remaining 30.6 millions in gainful occupations and 40 millions in household work, sickness and diseases cause a loss of labor equivalent to one fourth or 17.6 millions, and ignorance and inexperience another one-fourth or 17.6 millions, and useless motherhood still another 2.5 millions. In other words, out of 86 million women, the labor or energy resources of about 60 million women, might be said to be lost.

Third, of the total number of 92 million men between 15 and 60, there occurs a loss of labor or energy from several causes and this loss might be estimated to be equivalent to the following amounts: (1) insufficient work—one-third or 33.3 millions; (2) sickness and diseases—one-fourth of the remainder or 16.1 millions; (3) ignorance and inexperience—another one-fourth or 16.1 millions. In other words, out of 92 million men, India loses the labor or energy of 65.5 million men.

It is thus seen that out of the total man-power of 178 million persons, consisting of 92 million men and 86 million women, India loses annually the labor or energy resources equivalent to 45.9 millions through insufficient work, 32.9 millions through sickness and diseases, another 32.9 millions through ignorance and inexperience and 2.5 millions through useless motherhood, as shown in the table below. In other words, the labor or energy resources of 114 million persons, or 64 per cent. of the total man-power, is annually lost to the country.

WASTAGE OF INDIA'S MAN-POWER

Causes of wastage	Men in millions	Women in millions	Total in millions
Insufficient work	30.6	15.3	45.9
Sickness and diseases	17.6	17.6	32.9

Ignorance and inexperience	15.3	17.6	32.9
Useless motherhood	"	2.5	2.5
Total	61.2	53.1	114.2

To this must also be added the loss of the major portion of the energy of 7 million persons between 60 and 70, whose valuable knowledge and experience could be very well utilised for social benefit through adequate means. The last but not the least wastage of India's man-power comes through premature death. The mean length of life in India is about 24.7 years as against 50 years in several advanced countries and, as compared with these countries, India thus loses 112 per cent more of her energy in order to preserve her social population. But what is of the greatest importance is that the average period of activity for India's man-power is only 11 years as against 36 years in other countries.

14. CONCLUSION

India is immensely rich in natural and human resources, but still she is the most indigent, illiterate and helpless country in the world. The fundamental cause of her backwardness in social, political and industrial development is the inability to conserve and utilise her human resources, including man-power. Practically the major part of the physical strength and mental energy of her children remains undeveloped and about two-thirds of her man-power are unutilised. Moreover, the average active period of the life of her men and women is only 30 per cent. of that in other advanced countries. It is the wastage of her human resources which have led to her moral, mental and material degeneration.

The reason why India still holds an apparently high position in the world is threefold:—First, the richness of her social heritage, which once made her a leading country in the civilised world, still carries some prestige. Second, the vastness of her area and population has made her important as a market for the purchase of raw materials and for the sale of finished products. Third, the control of her government, industry and education by an advanced and powerful nation.

But the ancient civilisation, including folkways, lores, institutions, laws, religions, philosophy and art, have become antiquated and obsolete and can scarcely equip her men and women for the struggle of modern life.

The abundance of her raw materials has invited foreign exploitation rather than led to the prosperity of her own people. And foreign domination can scarcely be helpful to the development of her national life.

The most important problem of India

is that of the conservation and utilisation of her human resources. It is the development of the physical strength and mental faculty of her population upon which depends her national prosperity, political development and social progress.

THE REVIVAL OF INDIAN ART AND THE LUCKNOW SCHOOL OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

BY SUNTI KUMAR CHATTERJI M. A. (CALCUTTA), D. LIT. (LONDON),

Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, Calcutta University.

IN the heat and hurry of our endeavour to win political emancipation, we are very often apt to lose sight of a great many vital problems in our national well-being. In the present disturbed and unbalanced state of our country we cannot view anything except from the stand-point of politics, or of economics which is the basis of politics. Our political leaders great and small are in the forefront, and they want to instil in us a sense of our right to live, and to be free; and they are eager to take us with them in striving to realise this right. We must get along to get on. We are lacking in the world's goods, we are poor, we are not masters in our own home. We have lost enough time already: we cannot afford to waste any more time in thinking: we must take up the obvious that presents itself to our eye and promises immediate return. A superficial education, and that too not on any sane line, has given us an enormous confidence in our own ways of thought and action. We do not care to reflect on our true needs and requirements, viewing them both absolutely and in the light of history. Our political leaders to whom we have largely abandoned the power to shape our courses for us have to our delight generally proved themselves to be truly democratic in accompanying us and pushing us along to where we drift in our inertia, and but rarely trying to draw us away to where we should go. The result has been that with our apparent political education and our widespread political movements we have achieved precious little in the constructive work of nation building,

even in those spheres where there is no question of external forces over which we have no control. We are gaining in political consciousness, perhaps; but we seem to be losing in cultural sense and in real national consciousness. Our notions of the life and freedom which is our aim are now not of the clearest. Catchwords now dominate our thoughts and direct our plan of action. Under the hypnotising influence of these catchwords, we put, for instance, literacy above culture, and machines over men. But fortunately, we have had the blessing of God on us in the guidance of a number of clear-visioned men, our saints and sages and thought-leaders who have told us each according to his lights and with reference to his own special field what we should strive for, for the profit of our soul. Their views generally are ridiculed, and occasionally they are given a tardy and a chary reception not through conviction but through an embarrassing appreciation from the West, the valuations of which we consciously or unconsciously all accept. Sometimes the personal appeal of a teacher compels the homage of the mass which can never properly appreciate his teachings. Whether they succeed in this way in gaining a hearing from the people or not is a different question: but all honour to these men who cry halt to us in our aimless advance, to these true nation-builders who force us to ponder on our ideals and thereby to conserve as well as to break and build anew, in a discriminating spirit.

Life is not a simple thing, especially civilised life; it is a blend of many complexes.

and many forces, and it mirrors itself through many and various expressions, which again reflect upon it in its further development. Among these forces and expressions, Art is one of the most obvious, and most important. But unfortunately in India, more than in any other country, no other element of culture has been more neglected than this one. In literature there has been a certain amount of progress in the modern Indian languages, especially in Bengali, and the Indian spirit in literature did not undergo any brusque check or decay; rather it has obtained a fuller life, and has transfigured itself by a vivifying contact with the modern spirit of the West. The story has been different with regard to the plastic arts; it has been one of decay and degeneration, both on the fine and the industrial sides. The harmony of Indian life and culture—the good and the beautiful and the true in it—found its most natural and beautiful expression through line and form and colour in painting, in architecture, in sculpture, and in the objects made by the hand of man which we require for our daily life—in the stuffs that we wear, in the pots and pans that we cook in or eat from, in the temple furniture with which we carry on the ritual of our faith, and in the thousand and one other articles big or small which civilised man has evolved to live in comfort. But all that beauty is fast becoming a thing of the past. Want of the power of appreciation of what India achieved in the realm of Art, which was largely engendered in us by our Western Art teachers both by their contemptuous silence or active condemnation of Indian art and by our being brought face to face with the very obviously successful Renaissance and post-Renaissance art of Europe, undermined the necessary faith in a national art among our *intelligentsia*; and commercialism and competition from the West, which began to pirate our Indian motifs and flood with cheaper and inferior machine-made copies of the articles of daily use our markets, which so long used to be supplied with superior and truly artistic hand-made goods, gave the death-blow to our industrial arts. In the general decay, the great folk-art that we possessed could not but vanish. The result has been that while we think we are advancing in nationalism, we have been becoming bankrupt in our national culture: in her Art, India has well might become a province of Europe, and a very eighth-rate province too—instead of

remaining, if no longer the inspirer of other lands, at least independent and original, maintaining the stamp of her national ideals and her culture and history in her Art, as much as Japan and China have continued to do. To have to acknowledge our inferiority in this most beautiful expression of our national life, even where the inferiority does not really exist, is a very great humiliation indeed. It only requires a true training in Art, a new perspective which is not at all blindly national but is also the perspective for viewing all art, no matter of whatever age or nation,—to realise the greatness that is in Indian Art. But this is a matter which does not give any qualms to the conscience of our political leaders, who are all burning with a great zeal to see our motherland great and glorious, and above all, free from all humiliation. It does not seem to occur to the majority of people that for a nation otherwise handicapped by absence of political freedom her greatest source of strength is her National Culture. But we do not have the eyes to see where this culture finds her abode.

Fortunately, however, the much-needed change in the angle of vision has come into our country. It was late in coming—but better late than never. The attempt to conserve all that is good in our national art traditions, and to revive it by studying and assimilating both the spirit and the technique, instead of throwing it overboard by cold neglect, has manifested itself in several groups of artists, art-critics and art-lovers in India. The history of this picking up of a great national heritage is not a very old one, and the tale may be told some day by those who have been intimately connected with it. The inspiration came from two men, and their names deserve to be enshrined in the records of India's culture as of two of her greatest benefactors, who helped her to know herself and to find herself. They are E. B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore. We have a saying, *Daitya-kule Prahlada*—a miracle of a saint like Prahlada may happen even in the tribe of the avowed foes of the Gods. E. B. Havell, great name in the study of Indian Art, was Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, and he was unlike the usual run of Principals of art schools in those days in India (and outside India) who pinned their faith on the dogma that there was no true art outside of Ancient

Greece and Modern Europe. In the early years of the first decade of this century he sought to wean his Indian students from an unintelligent, slavish spirit of homage to European art in his school to the serious study of the neglected and maligned ancient art of their country to act as a magnet to draw out their own latent powers. Mr. Havell approached the problem in the spirit of a true lover of Art, who was convinced of the value of Indian Art as a great heritage of humanity that deserved to be fostered for equally great or even greater achievements in the future. But strange to say, his endeavours were misunderstood, and our intellectual snobdom took up a hostile attitude, and a strong opposition even from some of our nationalistic organs was all the co-operation he met with for a time. In Abanindranath Tagore, the founder of the New Indian School of Painting, however, and in a number of art lovers and critics, both Indian and European, in the city of Calcutta, that Havell found staunch supporters. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, who had obtained previously a very good training in European methods under some English artists, joined the Calcutta Art School as Vice-Principal, and in this way he obtained an opportunity to co-operate with Havell in the new reform. In the year 1907 was founded in Calcutta the *Indian Society of Oriental Art*, which quickly obtained an influential membership both among Indians and Europeans, and which became the premier organisation for encouraging Indian Art and for reviving it, by its publications of books, pictures and metal objects, and its annual exhibitions, and by maintaining a small school of art and art-manufactures. The establishment of the society as representing the activities in India on behalf of the national art took place some ten years after the foundation in 1897 of a similar society in Japan by that rare artistic spirit Okakura Kakuzo—the *Nippon Bijutsuin*—to bring the Japanese people back to a sense of the greatness of their own art, as well as of China and incidentally of India. In 1908 Havell published his epoch-making book, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*; the first enthusiastic vindication of Indian Art; and other critics came forward, notably Ananda Coomaraswamy and Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly. Havell had also made the efforts of Abanindranath and his pupils at recreating the modern Indian School of Painting known to the

artistic world of Europe by a number of sympathetic articles in the London *Studio* from 1902 onwards. The appreciation of Europe produced by reproductions in Havell's articles and by exhibitions in European art centres of the work of Indian artists did a great deal to allay the prejudice of the Indian *intelligentsia* against the national art of their own country, ancient, medieval or modern,—a prejudice which the *Modern Review* and its Bengali counterpart the *Pravasi* have been successfully combating for the last twenty years. Meanwhile Abanindranath Tagore was carrying on his work, nobly assisted by a band of young artists who had acknowledged him as their master. They were silently working a renaissance in the world of Art in India; and their influence slowly but surely was being felt. Apathy and even hostility have now given place to a sort of toleration in most quarters; and with many, the Modern Indian School has been able even to call forth enthusiasm. The movement, which started in Bengal with Abanindranath Tagore and his pupils, and was for some time regarded as a craze or at the best as mere phase in experimentation in Bengal, has gradually been able to evoke proper sentiments in artists and art-lovers outside of Bengal, and the ideas behind it have been taken up in many a centre of art education in India. The pupils of Abanindranath, the most prominent of whom are Nandalal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, Samarendranath Gupta, Kshitindranath Majumdar, and the late Surendranath Ganguli who met an early death after showing great promise, have been carrying on the work of their master themselves and through their pupils in Calcutta and elsewhere. That adopted daughter of India, Sister Nivedita, whose life was truly one of dedication to the cause of Indian religion and culture, was an enthusiastic supporter of the movement. Abanindranath retired from the Government Art School in 1915, after officiating as Principal for some time; and the present Principal, Mr. Percy Brown (who succeeded Mr. Havell), well-known as the author of the excellent little hand-book on *Indian Painting*, and of the standard work on *Mughul Painting*, is in complete sympathy with the aims and ideals of his predecessor in office. In 1916 was formed at the instance of Rabindranath Tagore the *Vichitra* Society at the family residence of the Tagores in



Yuan-Chwang Explaining the Chinese Scriptures By Mr. Asit K. Haldar

Calcutta, a society of literature and art, with a school of art attached. The *Vichitra* found its fuller life in the *Visva-bharati* University at Santiniketan, Rabindranath's educational institution, and the *Kala bhavana*, the Art Department of the *Visva-bharati*, under the direction of Nandalal Bose, now has become the heart of the movement in India. The Indian Society of Oriental Art continues to flourish, and do good work; and Abanindranath Tagore continues to take a personal interest in the *Visva-bharati Kala-bhavana* and in the Society, and in his residence maintains a small school where a few youngmen including some members of his family (some of whom have already shown good promise) are being trained by the master.

Calcutta is a modern city which has no place in the annals of pre-British India. The artistic traditions of Jaipur or Delhi have not been among its inheritance. The Santiniketan *Kala-bhavana* is but an offshoot of Calcutta, so far as its personnel is concerned. The result achieved in Calcutta and at Santiniketan among a few Bengali artists and a few of their pupils from outside Bengal has been primarily with people who are not members of castes or guilds of hereditary craftsmen who are in possession of a tradition in a particular line. When the idea behind the movement is given the opportunity of working in those places which still continue to preserve relics of the old artistic tradition, either in fine art or architecture or in the crafts, Indian Art may be well assured of a new and glorious career. The plant which seemed to be withering away would then be counted upon to produce fresh flowers in the garden of Art. Hence the encouragement of 'Indian Art' in such old cultural and artistic centres should be hailed with acclamation as an auspicious omen of a rebirth of the artistic soul of India. And already there is ample evidence that such encouragement is forthcoming. Exhibitions of Ancient Indian Art—Rajput and Moghul painting, old art-ware etc., as well as of the works of the Modern Indian School have stimulated curiosity as well as appreciation. Pupils of Abanindranath Tagore, and their pupils, who have obtained inspiration at the mainspring of the movement, have been sought and asked to take up work of teaching and organising instruction in Art: in most places they have been successful in creating interest, and even in starting the

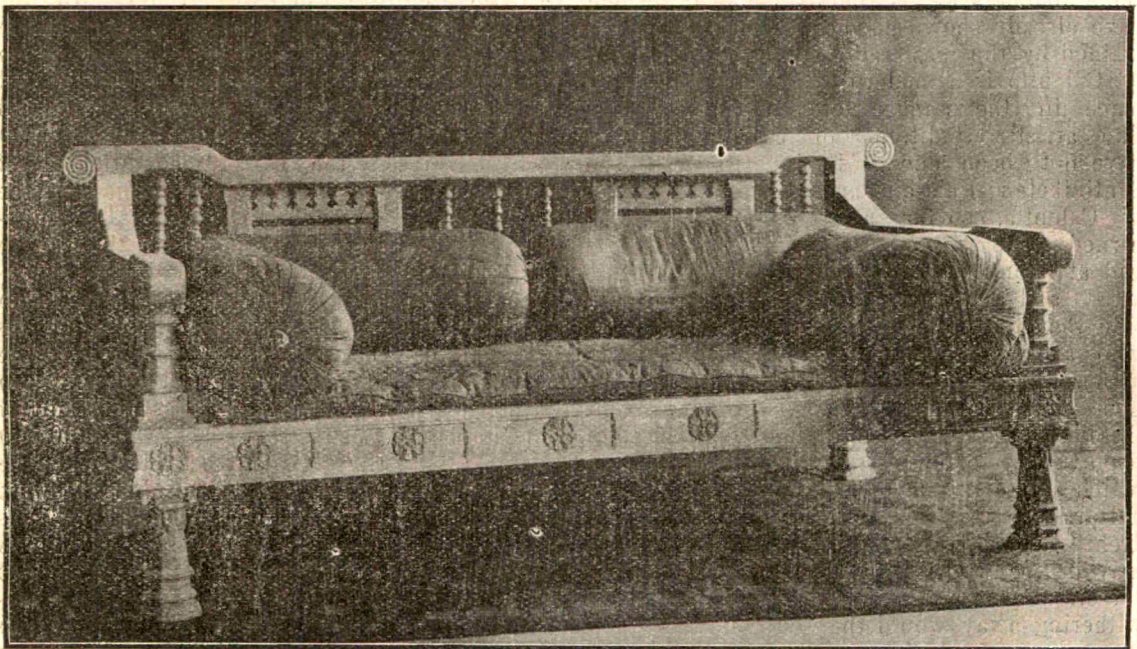
nucleus of local types of the revived Indian Art. The *Andhra Jatiya Kala-sala* at Rajamahendri, the State School of Art at Jaipur, the Government School of Art at Lahore, the Art School of the Ananda College at Colombo, the *Kala-bhavana* at Baroda, and the Government School of Arts and Crafts at Lucknow are among the institutions, old and new, which now show the working of the new spirit.

The work done by each of the above institutions, and the promise of future good to come out of them, would be an interesting and instructive study in the history and prospects of the building up of the artistic culture of New India. In the present paper, I shall try to give some idea of the work that is being done in the Government School of Arts and Crafts at Lucknow which I had the pleasure of visiting last autumn.

I have seen the Government School of Art at Calcutta, and I know intimately the *Kala-bhavana* of the *Visva-bharati*. The Lucknow School is easily ahead of the above institutions in its equipment and its arrangement, and it speaks well of the interest taken by the Government of the United Provinces in its upkeep and its expansion. The Lucknow School was originally started in 1911 as a 'School of Design', as a result of an industrial conference held in 1907 at Naini Tal by Sir Harcourt Butler when he was Revenue Secretary to Sir John Hewett, then Lieutenant-Governor. Among the objects of this school was 'to provide instruction in those branches of art, design and handicraft which bear on the more artistic trades and professions now practised or which may be developed in the province.' The name was altered to the present one of 'School of Arts and Crafts', and the school was stabilised as a permanent institution in 1918. Among the usual artistic crafts followed in the province, it was decided at first to teach carpet-weaving and stone-carving and sculpture as a matter of course, but these were abandoned, and the Government wanted to concentrate on some special crafts only. But there was arrangement to teach painting in addition to crafts and a painting class was also started. Mr. Nat Heard, A. R. C. A., was the first Principal. It was his interest that gradually made the school the well-equipped and efficient institution it developed into, into one of the finest art schools in India. But he seems not to have been interested in the

preservation of the traditional character of Indian Art: the atmosphere brought in during his regime was primarily of *imitation* of European designs and motifs rather than preservation and adaptation of the old Indian ones which had centuries of history behind them, or of creating new things on the basis of the old ones. This is to be deplored, as the artistic traditions of the Indian craftsman are not dead and effete because they are old, but still are living, although languishing for want of support. Craftsmen of the old school were appointed at first to train up pupils in the school, and these latter

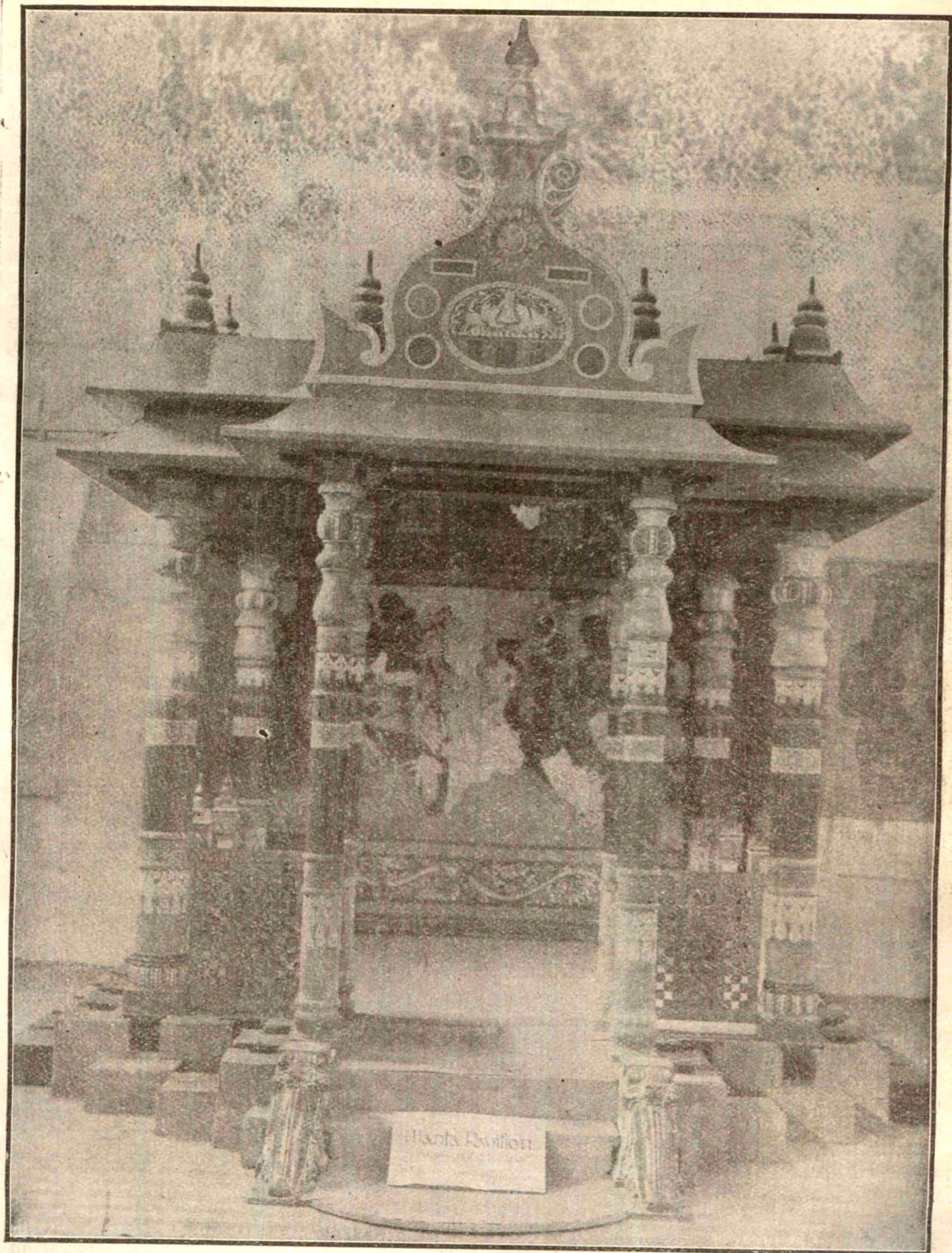
After Mr. Heard, the principalship was held for short periods by three English artists (1923-1925), and in February 1925, Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar was placed in charge of the institution. To have a personality in Art like Mr. Haldar is to ensure the maintenance of the best ideals in an art school, as results have amply shown. Dr. James H. Cousins in his penetrating note on Mr. Haldar's art in the volume devoted to the latter in O. C. Gangoly's series of monographs on *Modern Indian Arts*, says of Mr. Haldar that he 'has earned a distinctive place in the hierarchy of Indian Artists as a painter who,



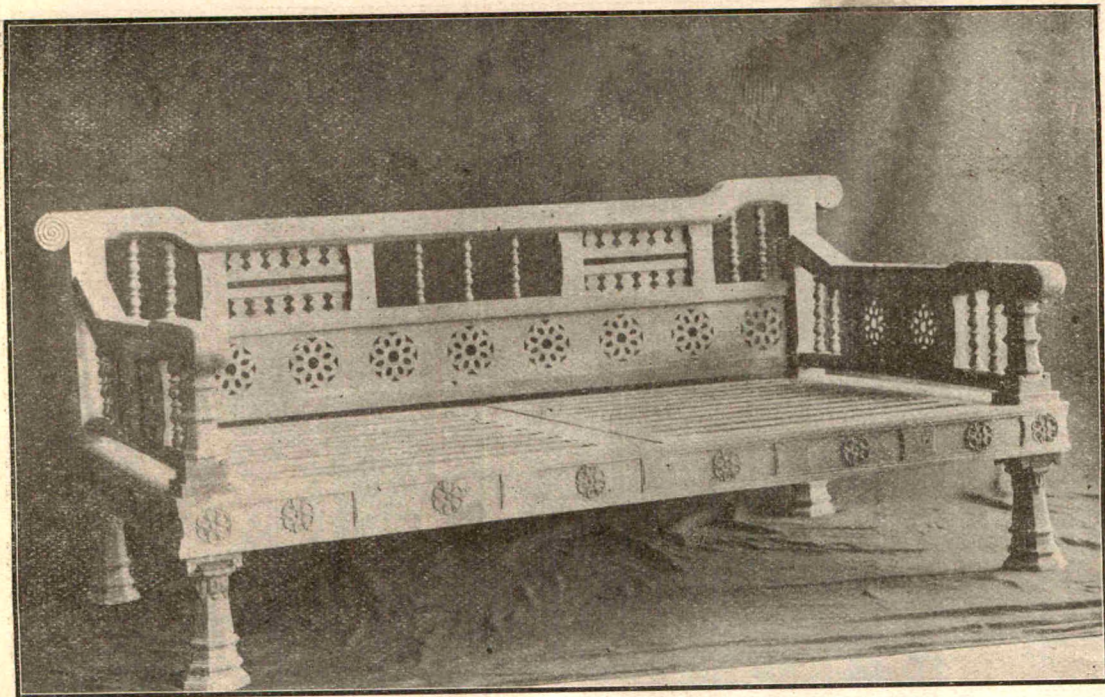
Carved Teak-wood Couch with Shot Silk Cushion and Bolsters
Designed by Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar for the Hon., Minister of Education, U. P.

gradually replaced their masters. This sort of recruitment of teachers was fraught with effects both good and evil. On principle, however, there should be closest sympathy and co-operation between the master craftsmen of the old type and the artists trained along modern lines, and there should be nothing to suggest exploitation of the former in the interests of the latter, any more than there should be exploitation in the academic world of *Pandits* and *Maulavis* of the old school by scholars acquainted with modern methods, and the relegation of the former to an inferior cadre as regards pay and position.

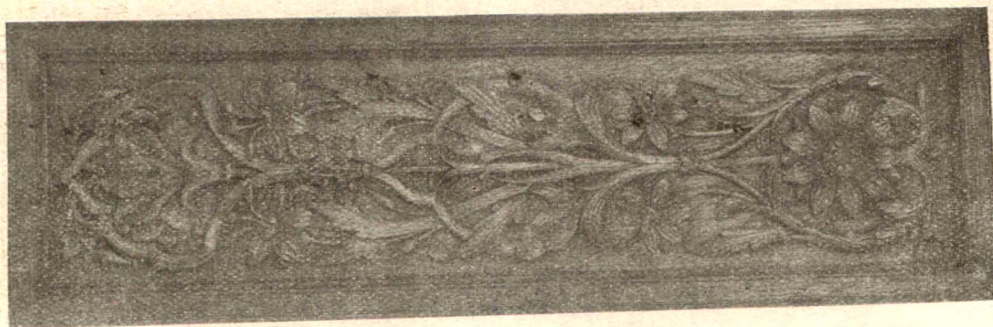
whether dealing with mythology and symbolism, with history or with humanity and nature, invests his work with a pervasive sense of the intermingling of the human spirit with the Divine Spirit.' With the resources of a well-equipped and flourishing institution at his command, and backed by the moral support of the men of culture of the province, amongst whom the most illustrious is the Minister for Education for the United Provinces the Hon'ble Rai Rajeswar Bali Sahib, and ably supported by his subordinates, Mr. Haldar has raised the Lucknow School of Arts and Crafts into one of



The Ajanta Pavilion
Designed by Mr. Asit Kumar Halder and Executed by the Government School of Arts
and Crafts, Lucknow



Carved Teak-wood Couch
Designed by Mr. Asit Kumar. Halдар



Flower and Foliage—Teak-wood Panel

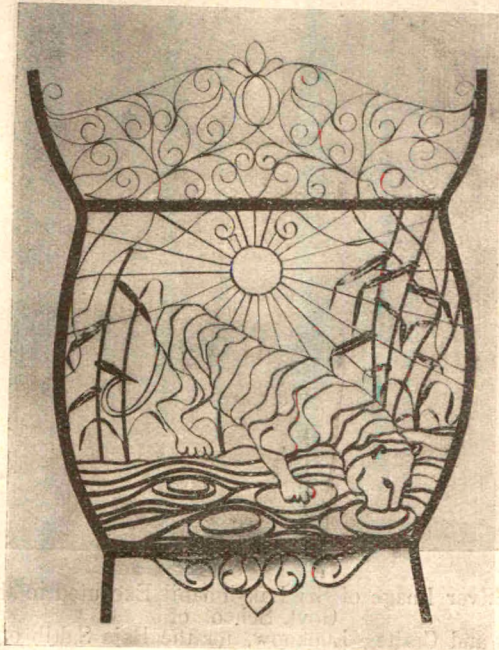
the best and most efficient schools in India. It struck me that with the newly founded University, the School of Arts forms a great centre of culture in Lucknow. And when the proposed College of Indian Music is started through the munificence of both Government and the *Taluqdars* of Oudh, Lucknow will become once more a premier culture city of India, conserving and distributing through these three institutions the intellectual and scientific culture of the West in combination with the best that the intellect and the artistic spirit of India can show. Mr. Halдар at the helm of affairs of the school has proved himself to be no mere dreamer of dreams, no simple artist of

imagination who only puts into wonderful visions of line and colour the spirit divine showing itself through the human form and through the forms of nature. It was a delight to see how he has put into practical shape, for the benefit of both art lover and art student, his enthusiastic love for the Art of the past and his creative instinct for newer forms of artistic expression. Imagination, and the innate feel for the Art which is the product of the civilisation of the people, have been wedded to 'hundred per cent' efficiency.

Thus in the Crafts Departments, the old subjects have been infused with the spirit of Indian Art, and besides, some new crafts have

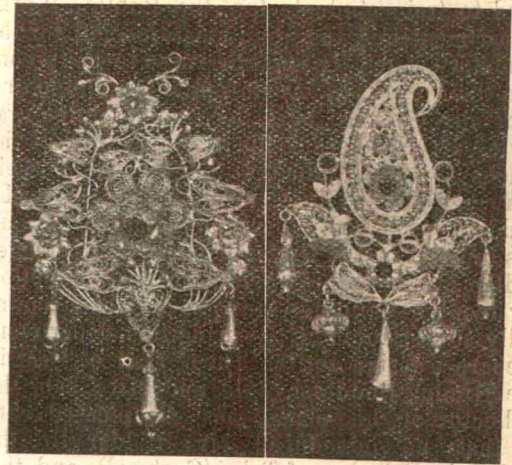
been introduced. Students in the Carpentry class are producing beautiful furniture in the old Indian Style, adapting them for modern requirements wherever necessary, instead of only turning out, as before, furniture to suit the Mid-Victorian taste as found in English catalogues. The Ironsmith class was hitherto turning out workmen and apprentices for the railway loco shops: a very necessary function, no doubt, but hardly within the scope of a school of arts and crafts. The artistic spirit has now been invoked by the Artist

the brilliant red of Jaipur could never be produced at Lucknow, blue being the only colour which they could produce there well. A teacher of the Jewellery department was sent



Tiger
Ornamental Tree-guard in Iron
Designed by Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar

Principal: and we have among other things fine tree guards or fire-screen frames in wrought iron which while being Indian in subject will rival the work of Japanese designs along similar lines. The Coppersmith and Jewellery sections were occupied in essaying imitations of English designs in copper-ware and silver-ware; but here there has been a restoration of old Indian designs, and a real attempt to keep up the high artistic traditions of the Indian jeweller. The local (Lucknow) art of Enamelling is a languishing craft and moreover it was not up to the mark beside the more famous enamels of Jaipur:



Filigree Kalgi and Sirpeeh



Silver Figure of Kal Bhairav
Designed by Mr. Bireswar Sen
for the Municipality of Benares

to Jaipur for training and he has learned the craft well, and it is hoped that he will be instrumental in introducing the art of making enamels as fine as those of Jaipur into the city of Lucknow, thus creating the nucleus of another centre of the art in India. From Enamelling and Jewellery Architecture presents

the other extreme of applied art, and the achievement of Mr. Haldar here has been most unique. There has been a department of Architectural Drawing and Designing, which used to train students for the Public Works Department and the municipalities and for the feudatory states. The practice used to be to confine their work to 'Anglo-Indian architecture' and also to the later decadent architectural style of Northern India. The quality of the teachers and students, judging from their drawings, seemed to be astonishingly high. Mr. Haldar has taken fullest advantage of it, and has brought in the study of purer and robuster Indian styles with a view to their adoption for modern buildings, and he has been eminently successful in it. He made this department prepare a design for the Town Hall of Orai in the Hindu Buddhist Style, and Mr. Shah, the Collector of the place, was so pleased with it that he introduced Mr. Haldar to the Maharaja Bahadur of Tehri (Garhwal), and this enabled him to demonstrate in a striking manner what his artistic genius can do as an architectural designer and a town-planner. In the state of Tehri there is a good old custom that when a new Raja ascends the *gaddi*, he builds a new town in his own name. The present Maharaja's accession is to be commemorated in this way by founding the new city of Narendra-nagar. This city will be on the site of an insignificant village called Orathali in the Himalayas, at a height

so that these designs were hardly satisfactory. Mr. Haldar was then entrusted with preparing a plan, and in paying strict attention to the nature of the ground, and by employing the local style of architecture, and proposing a harmonious distribution and setting of the various buildings, he has achieved an artistic triumph which is also a feat from point of view of



Silver Image of Sri Lakshmanji Executed in the Govt. School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, for the Raja Sahib of Jaunpur after a Painting by Mr. Sailendra Nath Dey



Elephant in Brass Repousse.

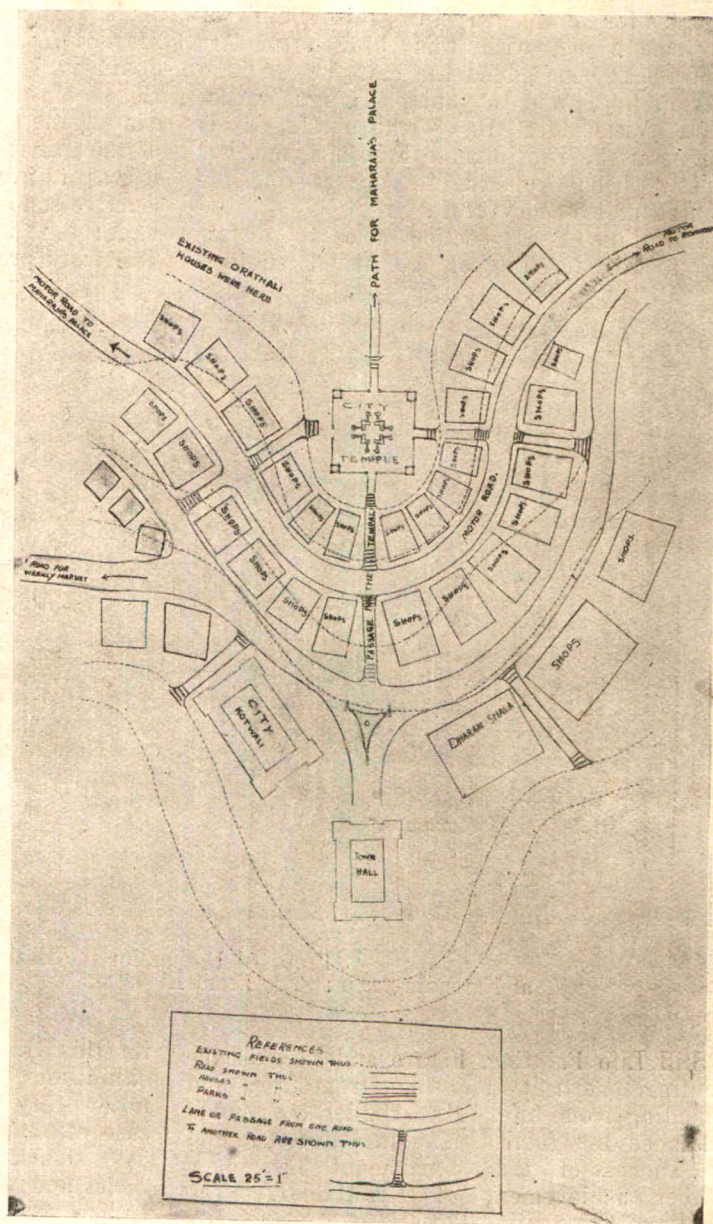
of 4000 feet between Hrishikes and Lachman Jhola, near Hardwar. The terraces levelled on the slopes of the mountain for rice fields will form the terrain of the town. The Maharaja, who is an orthodox Hindu, had plans made for the town by a number of learned *Pandits*, who prepared their designs following the theories and descriptions given in some medieval Sanskrit works, without any reference to the actual site,

engineering. The town will rise tier upon tier along the terraced sides of the hill. It will in general effect remind one of Borobudur in Java. The highest of these tiers or terraces will be occupied by a temple; and the houses and shops will form a sort of entourage for the temple. The temple has been given the dominating position in the new town; the city with its homes for men and its houses for their meeting and trafficking and pleasure—its town hall, guest house, home member's quarters, high school, hospital, market place and park, will seem to nestle at the foot of the house of God, and be commanded from its spire. The generous provision for roads and lanes will prevent the congestion of a

medieval city. The planning of this town as an artistic thing, not losing sight of engineering and sanitation, would seem to be an achievement of which any similar institution may be proud. Here is creation in the truest sense of the word, and not the soulless copying which has largely been the lot of this branch of the Fine Arts in India. Thakur Kalyan Singh and the senior students of the Architectural Decoration and Drawing class executed the architectural drawings under the guidance of the Principal. For the encouragement of a national architecture, support from the state is essential; and even a small state like Tehri is in a position to work wonders with the cooperation of a true artist. We can contrast the plight of Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterjee in Calcutta, that enthusiastic worker for a revival of Indian architecture, whose voice has until now been a voice in the wilderness, to which few indeed have paid heed,—although it is hopeful to see that a few have heard and have sought to put into practice his preaching.

The Brass Foundry department of the School is showing similar activity under the touch of the new spirit, and the artistic metal work done at the school is quite in keeping with the excellence of the best old brass work of the province. A very high level of craftsmanship in artistic metal work which was praised very much was shown in a solid silver image of Lakshmana made from a design by Sailendra Nath De, an artist of the Modern Indian School, for the Raja Sahib of Jaunpur; and some other specimens of brass work which the present writer purchased at the School show both in the choice of the design by the Principal and in the execution a remarkably high degree of excellence. Mr. Haldar has introduced

suitably to the circumstances of the times, the new craft of preparing half-tone, line and three-colour blocks for printing. There was a department of lithography and photogravure printing, which has had a fine record in



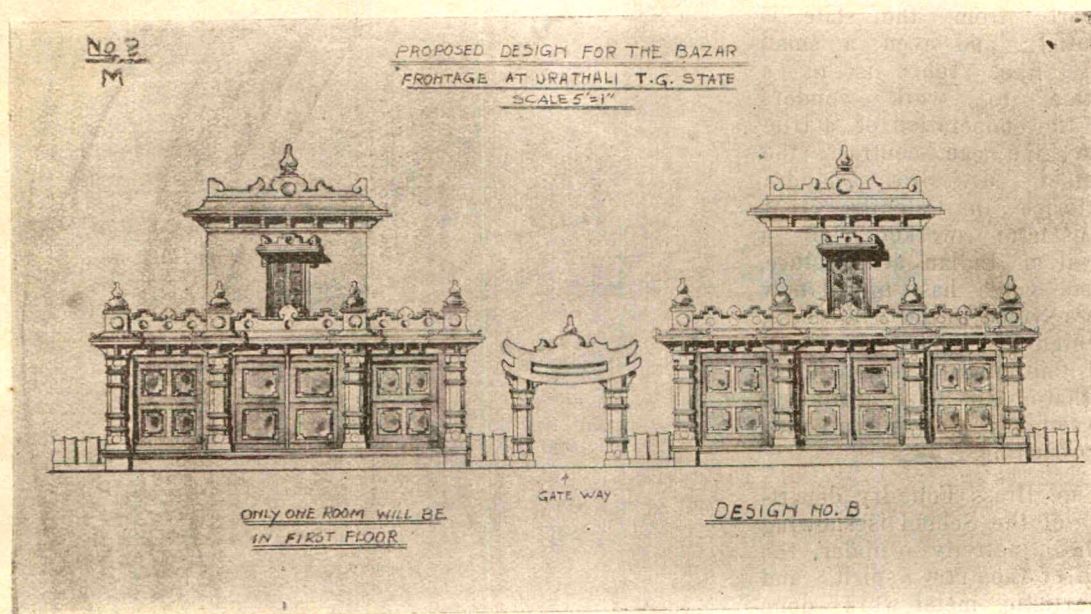
Plan of the Proposed Town of Narendra-nagar in Tehri (Garhwal State) designed By Mr. Asit Kumar Halder.

poster and other printing ; and the addition of the other and commoner processes now followed in reproducing pictures shows that progress is not divorced from the attempt to

get back the Indian spirit in Art. Teachers have been sent to Calcutta to learn the art from some of the leading firms there, and in future the United Provinces will be able partially at least to meet her growing demand for craftsmen in this line of printing. Along with this branch of Art Printing has been added the craft of Artistic Book-binding, and a young Telugu artist, Chitra Virabhadra Rao, who obtained his training at the Santiniketan Kala-bhavana, has recently been placed in charge of the teaching of this new craft.

The Fine Arts section used to devote itself to the teaching of the usual subjects

artists, and he is very optimistic in making the Lucknow School a centre of artists. He has got an able collaborator in a highly talented young Bengali artist, Mr. Bireswar Sen, who is cultured and is an M. A. in English. (Some of Mr. Sen's work has already been published in the *Modern Review*). Mr. Sen joined the School in February 1926, as Head Master—the former Head Master Mr. M. Ghulam Husain becoming the Vice-Principal. The enthusiasm of the masters has infected the pupils, and it was a great pleasure to see how a distinctive school was growing up at Lucknow under the inspiration of these two artists. The work produced by the Lucknow students



Proposed Design for the Bazar
at Narendra-nagar: The Front Elevation of Shops and Gateway

of Still Life Painting, Figure and Landscape Painting, Portrait Painting from Life, and Modelling from Life. Mr. Halidar has added Advanced Design and Indian Painting, and the success of this department has been another achievement of Mr. Halidar. The Painting Class in the School previously was not much of a success, and the policy followed previously aimed more at training craftsmen rather than at producing artists. Attempts were previously made to abolish this section altogether, thus taking away the Fine Arts department of the School. But Mr. Halidar believes in creating a school of

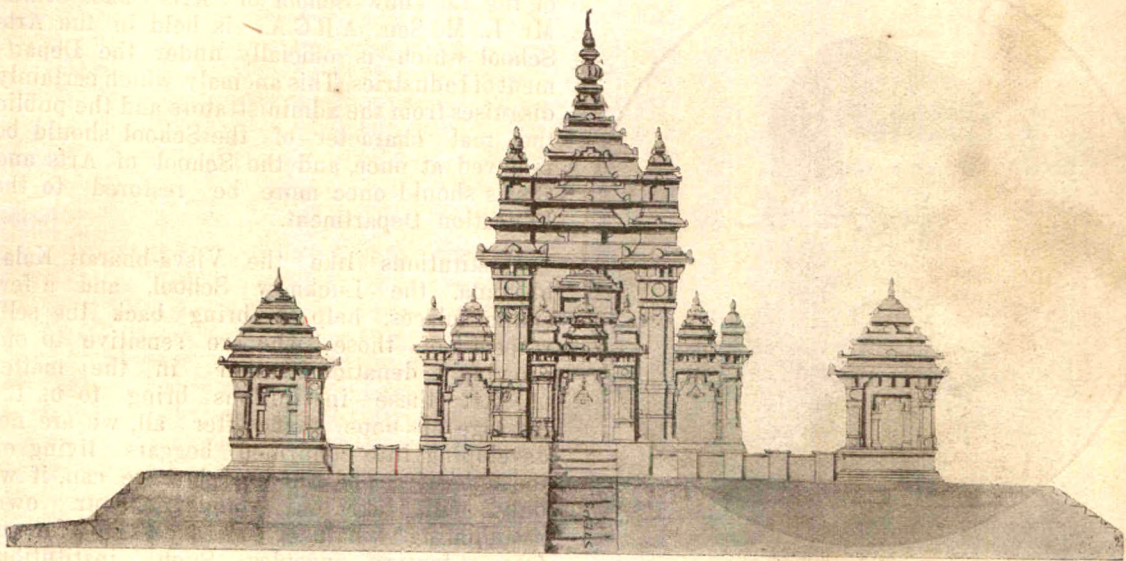
in this line which was sent to several exhibitions has obtained high praise. One noteworthy feature in Lucknow has been the case of an Indian Christian Student, who has struck a new path for himself by a novel and successful treatment in Medieval Indian terms of the life of Christ. His name is A. D. Thomas, and a picture by him was published in the *Pravasi* for Bhadra Bengali Year 1333.

Lucknow rivals the town of Krishnagar in Bengal for skill in clay modelling, and Lucknow terracotta figures are deservedly famous. Mathura Singh, the celebrated clay

modeller of Lucknow, is a teacher at the school Mr. Halдар here has brought in his artistic consciousness in the selection of subjects, and he is always watching with a careful eye lest the banality or even vulgarity of the design would make the conscientious execution of the craftsman suffer, and is seeking here to make the craftsman have the artist's fineness of feeling. He has been quite successful here also. A clay model of Nandalal Bose's great picture, Siva mourning for the death of Uma, has, inspite of certain minor divergences, succeeded in reproducing the spirit of the original with creditable fidelity.

Crafts Emporium. The latter has now been removed from the school building, and under the new arrangements, with Mr. Halдар gradually building up a collection of old Indian paintings, the Lucknow School of Arts and Crafts will in due time be in possession of a Museum of the Fine Arts as well as Industrial Arts as important as that of Calcutta or any other place.

There are other institutions connected with the School, two in the city of Lucknow itself—the evening schools of wood-work and jewellery and repousse work at Aminabad and the Chowk,—and three in other towns—a brass-work school at Benares, and



Front Elevation of the Temple at Narendranagar designed by Mr. Asit Kumar Halдар

At the All-India Fine Arts Exhibition held at Lucknow in January 1926, Mr. Halдар demonstrated what he could do with his colleagues and students in the way of reconstructing the vision of India's past glory in architecture and painting by designing and executing a magnificent Ajanta Pavilion, which now forms one of the permanent exhibits at the School Museum.

The School has been in possession of a good collection of art objects—ceramics, brass, ivories, etc.,—which has been made the nucleus of a Fine Arts Museum by Mr. Halдар. The value of a museum for an art school seems not to have been properly understood. The school collection could not be fully utilised previously since it formed practically a part of the United Provinces Arts and

the industrial schools at Nagina and Moradabad.

From the account given above of the activities of the Lucknow Art School, it would be apparent that it has already become a real centre of Indian Art education in Northern India, thanks to the enlightened zeal and energy of its Artist-Principal. The United Provinces Government has done a great deal, more perhaps than any other provincial Government has done in this line; but one can never do too much for such a good cause. The institution is giving training of the best kind in the Fine as well as Industrial Arts to over 200 students. It is an educational institution, and one of the most efficient. But it is curious to find that the school has been placed within the

Department of Industries. Uptil 1919, the School was under the Director of Public Instruction, but why the United Provinces Government should decide suddenly that Education in Art properly belonged to Industry and Manufacture is beyond comprehension. Training in arts and crafts, which has its primary aim in producing objects of beauty for those who have the taste and the means to enjoy and possess them—at least such is the case in India—has been relegated in no other province of India to the Director of Industries who has quite a distinct field of work. 'Industry' in the modern sense of the

very institution. The most successful Arts and Crafts schools—to name two—the Royal College of Art in London where the crafts are also taught, and the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Bombay—are administered by the Education Department. No government should regard an art school as an industrial concern, to be controlled by an Industries Department; and it should not expect it to be a paying concern either, under ordinary circumstances. The necessity of art education has been recognised in all schemes for general education. The United Provinces Department of Education maintains a class for training drawing teachers for schools, and this class, conducted by an ex-student of the Lucknow School of Arts and Crafts, Mr. L. M. Sen, A.R.C.A., is held in the Arts School which is officially under the Department of Industries. This anomaly which certainly disguises from the administrators and the public the real character of the School should be removed at once, and the School of Arts and Crafts should once more be restored to the Education Department.



Asit Kumar Haldar

term aims at mass production; Artistic Craftsmanship has far other ideals—it aims at the production of an article of both beauty and usefulness in which the joy of the maker's creation is evident, and in the formation of which the maker has not been hustled either by hunger or by fear. To regard the handmade artistry which such institutions propose to teach and foster from the point of view of the large scale manufacturer who wants speedy out-turn, would be to kill the

Institutions like the Visva-bharati Kala-bhavana, the Lucknow School, and a few similar places, help to bring back the self-respect of those who are sensitive to our growing denationalisation in the matter of Art—these institutions bring to us the message of hope that after all, we are not developing into confirmed beggars living on the charity of Europe, but we can, if we only will, take our stand on our own, assimilating whatever is necessary for us from foreign peoples. Such institutions as a rule do not occupy a big place in the national vision, especially where the atmosphere is Philistinical. But nevertheless they are, owing to the subtle spiritual influence they exert on the nation's mind, potent factors in moulding the character of the people. And those silent workers who are teaching us to realise ourselves—our *Indianness* in all its sweetness and nobility and truth and profundity—through Art, deserve the best gratitude of the nation.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

III

KING EDWARD IN CALCUTTA

THE first time I saw Calcutta was at the end of 1875, when King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, visited India. My farther had to go to Patna where the Prince was to hold a Darbar, but he permitted me to join a party proceeding to Calcutta. We arrived in the metropolis on the same day that the Prince landed at Prinsep Ghat from the troopship *Serapis*. I remember how the first sight of the great city impressed me from the Howrah side of the Hughly, and how my feeling of wonder grew as I drove through the crowded streets to the northern part of the city. Calcutta was *en fete* on account of the Royal visit and there was a great rush of visitors to the city. Our first move, after leaving our luggage and taking some food, was to Theatre Road where a house had been taken for the Maharajkumar of Betiah, who wanted to see the grand sights in Calcutta and then proceed to Patna for the Darbar. The Bengali tutor of the young nobleman knew us and he was to get for us permits to visit the *Serapis* and the *Osborne*, the Royal yacht that was accompanying the troopship, and the palaces, grounds and menagerie of the ex-king of Oudh at Metiaburuj, Garden Reach. As we were sitting with the tutor the Maharajkumar rolled in. He was an enormously stout boy of about eighteen, gorgeously dressed in brocade robes, and was about to go out somewhere. We left with the permits in our pockets. We witnessed the magnificent display of fireworks by Messrs. Brock & Sons, the famous pyrotechnists of Crystal Palace, London, on the maidan. On the night of the illuminations we engaged a hackney carriage but were held up at Lalbazar, a little beyond the Police Court. There were long queues of carriages of all kinds on the main roads leading to Chowringhee, for the police barred the roadheads and no carriage could be let through until the Royal procession had passed. We left our carriage and slowly

worked our way through the press of humanity on the footpaths round the Great Eastern Hotel to the Esplanade junction, which offered a fine vantage ground. There were no staring, unwinking electric lights in those days. Coloured lamps of blown glass were twinkling in the more pretentious buildings, while the humble *chirag* was flickering elsewhere. Gas lights were used at the entrances of houses and in some of the arches on the roads. On the roof of the Museum, which had not been quite completed, was a silver canopy reflecting dazzlingly a powerful light that was being played upon it. Chowringhee Road was kept clear by troops and the police. Slowly the procession came in view, passing northward from the southern end of Chowringhee. First came an escort of British Hussars, followed by the full squadron of the Viceroy's brilliant and stately Bodyguard, with jingling spurs and nodding pennons of light lances held in rest. The Viceroy's State coach and four, with English outriders, drew all eyes and cheers burst out as the Prince of Wales passed, sitting by the side of Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy. The two figures presented a striking contrast; the Prince, short of stature, but of broad girth, with a beard carefully trimmed and a full, round and jovial face; the Viceroy, long and lean, pallid and austere-looking. The prince was in uniform with gold lace and wore a gold-braided cap with a brim; the Viceroy was in plain civilian clothes. No one had any eyes for the carriages containing the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the British noblemen who had come out to India with the Prince of Wales. On another night I saw the Prince driving to the Seven Tanks Villa at Belgachia, where the Indian gentry had arranged an entertainment for him. The Prince drove along Cornwallis Street and the route through which he passed was illuminated.

The Visit to the *Serapis* and the *Osborne* marked a red-letter day in my calendar. I had never seen a steamer, let alone an

immense troopship like the *Serapis*, and I do not think another yacht like the *Osborne* has ever again been seen in any Indian harbour. The big liners and the floating palaces that are now seen belong to another type. An intelligent and courteous sailor showed us over the *Serapis*, and the size and dimensions of the monster vessel filled me with amazement. The big engine room was like a great, under-ground cavern dark and silent, though the fire had not been drawn and was glowing in the furnaces like the eyes of a gigantic afrit. I imagined that when the huge piston rods and the machinery were set in motion they must resemble the gambols of the jinees of the Arabian Nights. The *Osborne* was as big as a fair-sized steamer and as both she and the *Serapis* were painted white from the plimsoll line upwards they could be easily distinguished from the other vessels lying at anchor in the river. The Royal yacht was a thing of beauty and a joy to the beholder, upholstered and furnished in perfect taste with a beautiful and harmonious blending of sober colours. The cushions and linen were embossed with the Royal Arms and bore the monogram "A & V" (Albert and Victoria). The *Osborne* was built in the lifetime of the Prince Consort.

The public were not admitted into the grounds of the ex-king of Oudh except for a single day in the year, but in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta the grounds were thrown open to the public for three days, but passes had to be obtained for admission. There was a large number of visitors on the day that we went to Garden Reach. There were four or five palaces and the ex-king divided his time between these mansions. Only part of one palace was shown to the visitors and we saw some gorgeous furniture and large collection of curios. The palace occupied by the ex-king at that time was indicated by a cloud of pigeons circling over it. Wajid Ali Shah was very fond of watching the flight of pigeons and there were several thousands of them. They were so well-trained that when one of the keepers waved a flag over his head the pigeons came fluttering down and settled on the ground. A few minutes later another flag was waved and the birds rose in a body and resumed their circling flight.

When we passed near the palaces the ladies of the harem peeped shyly from

behind the venetians. There was a large collection of wild animals kept in good condition. I was particularly struck by a number of pigeons occupying the same large cage as a cat. They were on the friendliest terms. The cat was mewling and purring and moving about the cage among the pigeons while one of the birds would sometimes perch on the back of the cat without a trace of fear.

With the passing of Wajid Ali Shah the glory of Matia Buruj has departed. The palaces and grounds have become the sites of jute mills, and the magnificence of the dethroned and exiled King is now only a memory.

WAJID ALI SHAH

Wajid Ali Shah was the last reigning king of Oudh. He has left sons but he was the last ruler of the dynasty of which the founder Sabdar Jang lies buried in Delhi in a splendid mausoleum beyond Raisina on the way to Kutub Minar. Owing nominal allegiance to the Moghul Emperor at Delhi the kings of Oudh were virtually independent sovereigns, but they ceased to be vigorous rulers in a few generations. The corrosive canker of luxury which was eating into the vitals of the Moghul capital at Delhi rapidly extended to Lucknow and the city became the last word in effeminacy. Wajid Ali Shah was a feeble ruler who could scarcely hold the reins of a kingdom, but he was not without accomplishments in the gentler graces. He was an excellent musician and a fine dancer, and he was reputed to be the author of an opera called *Indra-Sabha*. The language of the play is Hindustani, but it contains some beautiful Hindi songs. There is one about the Hori (Holi) that I can recall even now: "*Pan lagon kara jori, monse khelo na hori*"—a Gopi is saying to Krishna, "I bow down at your feet with folded hands, do not play *hori* with me." Wajid Ali Shah was the composer of the well-known tune known as Lucknow *thoomri*. He was so enamoured of his own invention that he set to this lively tune a tragic song that he had composed of his deposition from the throne: "*Angrez bahadur zulum kia, mera mal mulko sub loot lia*"—the brave British have committed an act of oppression; they have looted my treasure and kingdom." It were as if a funeral threnody had been set to jazz music. It is said—I repeat the story as it

used to be told—that when the British troops forced their way into the king's palace at Lucknow, to remove him as a State prisoner to Calcutta, Wajid Ali Shah was sitting on his bed and wanted to come out of the room when he heard the outcry of the women and the servants. But he discovered to his consternation that his slippers were not properly arranged and it would be necessary to turn them before he could put them on. He shouted for his servants, but they were already under arrest, and when the political and military officers entered the room they found the king sitting helplessly on his bed, because it had never occurred to him that he could turn his slippers and put them on himself!

I saw Wajid Ali Shah once later on in Calcutta. It was the last day of the Durga Pujah and the ex-king had come out of his seclusion to see the images of the goddess being carried to the river. I had a good look at him while he drove slowly in a large barouche escorted by a nondescript troop of bodyguards riding indifferent horses. Wajid Ali Shah was placidly smoking his hookah, while behind him, on the syces' seat, sat his *hookaburda* (hookah-carrier), holding the hookah. The ex-king was an old man, but very well preserved and fair as a ripe mango (to use an admirable Bengali idiom). I looked at fallen Majesty and pondered over the gyrations of the whirligig of Time.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

When the Duke of Connaught first came to Calcutta on his way upcountry to join his appointment in the army at Meerut he had a warm reception. There were some illuminations and decorations, although not on a lavish scale. I was standing outside the Presidency College when the Duke passed one afternoon, and the students and the populace cheered him. In acknowledgment of the plaudits the Duke took off his hat and waved it. I saw him and the Duchess again at the Lahore railway station. The third time I saw him at Karachi, where he laid the foundation stone of the Victoria Museum. I was then a Municipal Commissioner of Karachi and along with the other Municipal Commissioners received the Duke of Connaught on his arrival with the Commissioner in Sind. After performing the ceremony the Duke read out with very

clear enunciation a short speech, which was afterwards handed to me for publication. It was written on an ordinary note-paper in a clear, bold hand, and I noticed that the strokes and lines of the letters were heavy. At that time the Duke was Commander-in-Chief of Bombay with a seat on the Governor's Council. I saw the Duke of Connaught for the last time in Bombay when he came out to open the new Legislatures on behalf of the King-Emperor. I happened to be passing by and saw the silent procession passing along deserted streets. The young Prince I had seen in Calcutta had aged with the years, while the manner in which his last visit to India was ignored by the people presented a melancholy contrast to the warmth of the reception given to him on his first visit.

"OWEN MEREDITH"

Lord Northbrook was succeeded as Viceroy and Governor-General of India by Lord Lytton, the son of Bulwer Lytton, the famous novelist. Lord Lytton did not come out to India with a great reputation as a statesman or an administrator, and he created a good deal of dissatisfaction in this country by his hurried passing of the Vernacular Press Act. He presided at the Delhi Durbar on January 1st, 1877, when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. Lord Lytton was the author of a number of poems which he wrote under the *nom de plume* of Owen Meredith in imitation of the style and manner of Tennyson, but he did not achieve literary distinction. I saw him for the first time at Wilson's Circus in the Calcutta maidan, but I had a closer view of him on another night in the Town Hall. There was a *conversazione* arranged by the Mahomedan Literary Society of which Nawab Abdul Latif, Police Magistrate of Calcutta, was the Honorary Secretary. Lord Lytton came up to a table near which I was standing watching some interesting chemical experiments by Dr. Tara Prasanna Ray, Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bengal. Lord Lytton affected slightly the Bohemian manner of the man of letters and his hair, instead of being parted or brushed, was roughly tousled on his head.

DR. ATMARAM PANDURANG

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang was a well-known medical practitioner of Bombay, a

leading citizen and was at one time appointed Sheriff of Bombay. He was a social reformer and a member of the Prarthana Samaj. One of his daughters married an Englishman, a missionary of the name of Littledale. Dr. Atmaram was a great friend of Satyendranath Tagore in Bombay and a man of considerable culture. I once saw him in Calcutta at the Albert Hall where a reception was held in his honour. He was a fair man somewhat below the medium height, with a pleasing and benevolent expression on his face, and bore some resemblance to Ramtanu Lahiri. He was dressed as a Deccani, and was wearing a *dhoti* and Deccani shoes, with a Poona turban on his head. He made a short speech in simple and graceful English. One of his sons, Mr. Ramchand Atmaram, is my neighbour at Bandra. He reads Bengali, and is a great admirer of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda, whose Works and Life he keeps in his library. He has given Bengali names to his sons, one of whom is named Rabindra.

THE THREE PEDESTRIANS

Towards the beginning of the eighth decade of the nineteenth century several well-known people in Calcutta were in the habit of taking a morning constitutional on the streets or along the riverside. On the Cornwallis Street between Mooktaram Babu Street and Grey Street the most familiar figures seen every morning were those of Dr. (afterwards Raja) Rajendra Lal Mitra, Kristo Das Pal and Raja Digambar Mitra. The two first were constant companions, while the third was occasionally Maharaja Durga Charan Law. The dress was the *chapkan* and pantaloons with the head either bare or covered by a cap or puggree. Rajendra Lal Mitra was always well and carefully dressed while Kristo Das Pal was the reverse. They were good sized, upstanding men, and would have attracted attention even if their identity were unknown, but of course, every one in Calcutta knew them by sight. They used to walk abreast along the street, never availing themselves of the footpath. It was interesting to watch them passing by. Rajendra Lal Mitra was hard of hearing and Kristo Das Pal had a stentorian voice, which could be heard some hundreds of yards away. The conversation was usually about high politics. Once I heard Kristo Das Pal discussing the Rent Bill with Dr.

Rajendra Lal Mitra and I could hear every word from the footpath. I doubt whether such a trio has been seen in the streets of Calcutta after the passing of these distinguished men.

THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT

I was in Calcutta in 1878 when Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was passed. Sir Ashley Eden was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and he was the real author of the measure. The genesis of the Act may be given in a few words. Sir Ashley Eden was the personification of a paternal Government, and he resented the criticism in the Indian section of the Press. The chief offender was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was at that time a bi-lingual paper part English and part Bengali. Sir Ashley Eden sent for Sisir Kumar Ghose, the renowned editor of the *Patrika*, and told him that the constant criticism of the Government in the Indian Press must cease. "I find no difficulty," he said, "in getting on with Kristo Das Pal" (the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*). "If you have any grievance you can come and see me at any time you like, and, if it is a just grievance, I shall see that things are put right. But the Government cannot tolerate these repeated attacks on their officers." Sisir Kumar Ghose did not fall in with the views of Sir Ashley Eden and the result was that the Government launched their thunderbolt. The Vernacular Press Bill was galloped through the Governor-General's Legislative Council in a week, another week was allowed for the Act to come into operation. So far as I can remember Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore was the only Indian member in the Council and he did not have the temerity to vote against the Bill. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* circumvented the gagging Act with admirable resourcefulness and adroitness. In the week's grace given by the new Act it shed the Bengali portion of its garb and the next number was all English from cover to cover, so that the paper became at once outside the scope of the new law. The big game that Sir Ashley Eden wanted to bag was undoubtedly the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* but his shot missed fire and the laugh was against him. There was a protest meeting against the Vernacular Press Act in the Calcutta Town Hall and I heard Surendranath Banerjee for the first time thundering against

the iniquity of that measure. I heard Kristo Das Pal also at another meeting and I was greatly impressed by his powers as a debater. There was no claptrap, no perfervid rhetoric, but he marshalled his facts and figures with consummate skill while the steady flow of his balanced speech was full of dignity and eloquence.

CALCUTTA THEN AND NOW

Fifty years ago Calcutta was a very different city from what it is now. The streets were ill-lighted, many streets had no footpaths, the lanes were mostly filthy and the bustees were an eyesore everywhere. There were open drains and ditches in many places, stagnant ponds and pools covered with water hyacinth and surrounded by a dense undergrowth were common sights, and jackals had their lairs behind many houses. Snakes were by no means rare and once I

saw a large cobra, which was killed, in Musjid Bari Street. In the afternoons and evenings tall columns of mosquitoes buzzed overhead if one happened to be out for an airing in any of the gardens. And now Calcutta is the best lighted and the cleanest city in India. The Municipal Market is one of the finest markets in the world, while the large and well-arranged markets that are springing up in every part of the city form one of the most attractive features of Calcutta. No less satisfactory is the public health of the city. The Chittaranjan Avenue, the Harrison Road, the Red Road, the widened Russa Road are magnificent main arteries of public thoroughfare, while the Improvement Trust is busy changing Calcutta almost out of recognition. The Chitpore Road alone stands as a relic of old Calcutta, though its widening is essential for the safety of traffic and the opening up of congested areas.

A THEISTIC INTERPRETATION OF SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY

EXTERNAL EVIDENCES

III

By PROF. ABHAY KUMAR MAJUMDAR

(a) *The Yoga Philosophy*

LET us now turn to the Yoga Sutram of Patanjali. This system of philosophy is admitted on all hands to be the most important *supplement* to the Sankhya System and is regarded also as a Sankhya Philosophy. For instance, it is said by the great sage Vasistha (see the Santiparva of the Mahabharata, chap. 305) that "That which the Yogins behold is exactly what the Sankhyas strive after to attain. He, who sees the Sankhya and the Yoga Systems to be one and the same, is said to be gifted within intelligence." The same view is repeated in chap. 307: "Verily, the precepts that have been explained in the Sankhya treatises are at one with what have been laid down in the Yoga scripture". The same thing is said by the great sage Yagnyavalkya (see chap. 316): "There is no knowledge like that of the Sankhyas. There is no power like that of Yoga. These two prescribe the same practices and ought to be remembered as immortal or as destroyer of death. Those men who are not intelligent consider the Sankhya and the Yoga Systems to be different from each other. We, however, O king, certainly regard them as one and the same. What the Yogins have in view is

the very same which the Sankhyas also have in view. He who sees both the Sankhya and the Yoga systems to be one and the same is to be considered as conversant with the truth." It is, therefore needless to add that a thorough knowledge of the Yoga Philosophy is an indispensable requisite for the proper understanding of the Sankhya System. The elaborate commentary of Yoga Sutram by Vyasa is generally recognised to be an invaluable aid, not only to an accurate and thorough comprehension of it, but also of the Sankhya System as a whole. And some regard that commentary as the *best* one. The Patanjala Darsan is generally called the *Seshvara Sankhya*, i.e. the *theistic* Sankhya, to distinguish it from the *Narivara Sankhya*, i.e. *atheistic* Sankhya. But it is difficult to understand the reasons for such a distinction: for, we have already shown conclusively that Kapila's Sankhya is not *atheistic*, and the texts quoted above from the Mahabharata also show that there is no distinction between the Sankhya and the Yoga—they teach the same precepts. Perhaps the reasons are these that such a distinction is either due to the misleading and erroneous interpretations of some aphorisms of the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram, which we have already dis-

cussed; or, to the fact that in Kapila's Sankhya Isvara has not been recognised as necessary for the liberation of the human soul of purusa, which is the primary theme; but in Patanjali's Sankhya (i. e. the Yoga-Sutram) such recognition has been explicitly and emphatically made. Therefore, by 'Nirivara Sankhya' we should mean, if we accept the phrase, that which does not recognise the need of Isvara for the liberation of the human soul, and by 'seshvara sankhya' that which recognises such need. In several places the Patanjala Darsana emphasises such a need; we are now going to consider them.

(1) "Or, by virtue of the worship of Isvara with a special kind of devotion, meditation and its results can be attained within a shorter time. (2) "Who is that Isvara over and above Prakriti and Purusa?" (3) "Isvara is that particular Purusa who is untouched by the vehicles of affliction, action and fruition, or eternally free from pains, actions, fruits of actions and the desires or instincts arising therefrom." Here mark the phrase "Purusa visesa", i. e. *that Particular Purusa*. Vyasa comments upon it in this way: "The significance of calling Isvara that particular Purusa is that there are many liberated Souls who have attained liberation by freeing themselves from the three kinds of Bondage, but Isvara is not like them, for, He had no such Bondage before, nor will have it in the future; liberation implies that there was bondage before; but no such Bondage was possible for him.—He never had any Bondage. Moreover, those Purusas, who become absorbed into Prakriti, attain some sort of liberation from pains etc., but they, too, return to a state of Bondage: but that is not possible for Isvara.—He is eternally free and established in himself, (4) "In Him the seed of the omniscient is not exceeded." (5) "He is the Teacher of the Ancients too, not being limited by time." (Samadhipada, aphs. 23-27). There is reference to Isvara in other aphorisms also, as, for instance, in the aphs. 1 & 32 of Samadhi Pada, and in the aph. 6 of Bibhuti Pada, but they need not be quoted here. The aphorisms quoted above are sufficient to show that Patanjala Darsana recognises the existence and the need of Isvara for the liberation of the human souls; it is also evident that it recognises two kinds of Purusa—the *Absolute Purusa* and the *Individual Purusa*. What is the relation between these two kinds of Purusa we shall consider in the sequel. But it should be noticed here that the Patanjala does not assert that Isvara is *indispensably necessary* for the liberation of the human souls, but only that worship of Him with special devotion helps them to attain liberation within a short time. Mark the word *va* i. e. or, which signifies that there are other means to liberation, of which worship of Isvara is one. In this connexion read specially the aphs. 21 & 22 of the same Pada. Thus, really, there is not much difference between the Sankhya and the Patanjala in this respect.

(The Mahabharata)

A very good account of the Sankhya Philosophy is found in the chaps. 301-318 of the Santiparva of the Mahabharata. In chap. 301, the Sankhya System is extolled in a very much elevated tone and the Sankhya knowledge is described in

very eloquent words and even identified with the Brahman Himself: Let me quote those verses: "The Sankhyas, O king, are gifted with great wisdom. They attain the highest end by means of this kind of knowledge. There is no other knowledge that is equal to this. About that the knowledge described in the Sankhya is considered as the highest, you must not entertain any doubt. That knowledge is said to be immutable, eternal and *the perfect Brahman himself*; it has no beginning, middle and end; it is above all dispute and the *eternal cause* of the universe; it stands fully, and without decrease of any kind; it is uniform and everlasting. Thus are its praises recited by the wise. The Srutis say, O son of Kunti that the Sankhya System is the *Form of that Formless One*. It is said, O Bharatarsava, that the knowledge taught by the Sankhya is the knowledge as taught by the Brahman. That high knowledge, O king, which is in persons conversant with the Brahman and that which is in the Vedas, and that which is seen in other scriptures, and that in yoga, and that which may be seen in the various Puranas, are all, O monarch, derived from the Sankhya Philosophy. Whatever knowledge is seen to exist in great histories, whatever knowledge is O king, in the science of Economics as approved by the wise, whatever other knowledge exists in this world—all these originate, O great king, from the high knowledge that is found in the Sankhya Philosophy".

From the verses quoted above it is manifest that far from denying the existence of the Brahman or Isvara the Sankhya System identifies the knowledge described in it with Him and declares itself as the very form of Him even the knowledge as exists in the Vedas which are admittedly *theistic* is described to be derived from the Sankhya System. This is further confirmed by the following verses, embodying what the great sage Vasistha said: "Above the twenty-four categories already referred to is the twenty-fifth called Vishnu (or Isvara). That Vishnu, on account of the absence of all *gunas*, is not a category though as that which permeates all the categories. He has been called so by the wise. The Unmanifest Twenty-fourth (i. e. Prakriti) caused all that are mortal and manifest and exists in their forms or bodies; but the Twenty-fifth (i. e. Purusa) is formless. Though a Soul, He exists in all hearts and in all forms; He is free, conscious, eternal, and though himself formless, assumes all forms. Uniting with Prakriti which is the cause of creation, and absorption. He also assumes the agency of creation and absorption. And on account of such union He, who is eternal, exists in time, and though, in reality, shorn of all *gunas*, yet comes to be invested therewith. It is in this way that the Great Soul, through *ignorance*, thinks Himself the cause of creation and destruction (really absorption) changeful, and identical with Prakriti. (Chap. 302, Vers. 38-42.) In these verses it is evidently admitted that Purusa, who is described to be the twenty-fifth category or principle, is really Vishnu or Isvara, for He is not, in reality, a category; He exists in all hearts and forms *not in a particular heart and form only*. He assumes all forms and the agency in all creation and absorption. Thus, it is declared that the individualised purusas or the human beings are nothing but the Absolute Purusa or Brahman connected with different investments

and acting at different finite centres in different ways. This last fact is very clearly explained by an analogy in the following verse; declared to be the saying of the same great sage Vasistha : "As the worm that makes the cocoon binds itself completely on all sides by means of the threads it itself weaves, so the Absolute Purusa, though really above all the *gunas*, invests Himself on all sides with them". (Chap. 303, ver. 4).

Let us also consider what the same great sage Vasistha says in the following verses in which the existence of the Absolute Purusa or Isvara is more explicitly admitted : "When the individual Purusa comes to think those *gunas* as belonging to Prakriti, then only, on account of his conquering them, he sees the Absolute Purusa or Isvara". (Chap. 305, ver. 30). Again, "When one begins to study and understand properly the twenty-five categories or principles, one then understands that the *oneness* of Purusa is consistent with the scripture (the Sankhya System) and his multiplicity is opposed to it. These are the separate characteristics of the categories or principles and what is above and beyond them; the wise have said that the categories or principles are the twenty-five evolutes; what is not an evolute or what is above and beyond the evolutes is the twenty-sixth, i. e. the Absolute Purusa or Brahman or Isvara. The twenty five evolutes are called categories or principles and what is beyond them is the eternal Isvara". (Vide vers. 37, 38, 39). It should be noticed here that even the twenty-fifth category called Purusa (i. e. the individual Purusa) is also regarded as an evolute, while he has been said before to be *identical*, in essence, with the Absolute Purusa. The discrepancy is apparent only; for the individual Purusa being the Absolute Purusa in so far as He is invested with the three *gunas*, he may be viewed from two standpoints: in so far as he is *individualised*, he may be regarded as an *evolute*, and in so far as he is viewed as apart from and shorn of that investment, he is one and the same with the Absolute Purusa. The *identity* between the individual and the Absolute Purusa is more explicitly stated in these verses : "The Supreme Soul alone is my friend. I can make friendship with Him. Whatever be my nature and whatever I may be, I am capable of being like Him and can become at one with him. I see my similarity with Him; I am, indeed, like Him. He is pure; it is clear that I am of the same nature." (Chap. 307, vers. 26, 27).

The same thing we find in the conversation between the great sage Yajuyavalkya and Janaka about the Sankhya Philosophy. For instance : "The Unmanifest Isvara transforms Himself (literally, the inner Soul) by Himself into hundreds and thousands and millions and millions of forms." (Chap. 314, ver. 2). Again, "O Kasyapa, if one continually reflects on the nature of the individual Soul and its connexion with the Supreme Soul, he, then, succeeds in divesting him of the three kinds of pain and in seeing the Supreme Soul. The Eternal and Unmanifest Supreme Soul is considered by men of little understanding as distinct from the Individual Soul. But the wise see both of them as truly one and the same. Frightened by repeated births and deaths, the Sankhyas and Yogins consider the Individual Soul and the Supreme Soul to be one and the same." (Chap. 318, verse. 55-57).

From the above it is most plain that the Sankhya System admits the existence of the Absolute Purusa or Isvara. But in one verse it seems to cast some doubt upon that inference. That verse is this : In the Sankhya System no category or principle above the twenty-fifth is admitted. That which the Sankhyas consider as their highest principle has been duly described (by me). In the Yoga System it is said that Brahman, which is the very essence of knowledge, becomes the Individual Purusa only when invested with ignorance. In the Yoga Scriptures, therefore, both the Brahman and the Individual Purusa are spoken of." (Chap. 307, vers. 45 & 46). It is here positively asserted that the Sankhya System does not recognise the existence of any other principle above and beyond the Individual Purusa : it is only the Yoga System which does so positively. But we have already shown that in numerous other verses it is clearly admitted that the Sankhya System recognises the existence of the twenty-fifth principle called Brahman or Isvara. How can we then reconcile these two contradictory assertions? The reconciliation is possible in many ways : In the first place, the *true reading* of the verse may be different; in the second place, it may be an *interpolation*; in the third place, it is not wholly inconsistent with the verses previously cited. This verse may mean that the Twenty-fifth (i. e. Purusa) is the highest category or principle and what is above and beyond it is *not a category*, and is called by a different name, to wit, Brahman or Isvara; and therefore, if the Sankhyas do not read a category in addition to the twenty five, no inconsistency will be committed by it. Moreover, having regard to the fact that all the categories or principles (even the Individual Purusa) are evolutes or manifestations of the Supreme Purusa, as has been distinctly stated in the preceding verses, it is no fault with the Sankhya System if it omits to enumerate the latter as a category or principle. Again, it has been distinctly said in the previous verses that the Individual Purusa, who is the twenty-fifth category, is none but the Supreme Purusa as invested with the three *gunas*, and that he is, therefore, able to be one and the same with the latter after casting off that investment: now, after stating all these facts, if the Sankhya omits to mention the name of the Supreme Purusa an additional category or principle, there is not much fault with it, still less does it involve any inconsistency in its assertions. Still, again, it should be remembered that in the previous verses it has been repeatedly and emphatically said that the Sankhya and the Yoga systems are one and the same, that is, whatever is taught by the one is also taught by the other; but the Yoga System speaks of the Supreme Purusa, and this is sufficient to show that even though the Sankhya System does not *directly* speak of Him (which is not true, as we have shown before), it at least *indirectly* does so; and still less does it deny, or fail to recognise His existence. These considerations dispose of the apparent contradiction mentioned above.

(c) *The Bhagavadgita.*

In the Second chapter of the Bhagavadgita which is a part of the Bhismaparva of the Mahabharata, the doctrine of the Sankhya philosophy with regard

to the true nature of the human soul and its relation to the Supreme Soul is clearly described. Let us now consider those verses wherein that doctrine is expounded: "This Soul cannot be cut into pieces, cannot be burnt, cannot be moistened and dried up; it is eternal, all-pervasive, immovable, unchangeable, without beginning, unmanifest, unthinkable and supersensible," (ver. 24). Such a description as this is appropriate only for the Supreme Soul for only the Supreme Soul is *truly* all-pervasive, while the individual Soul is connected with only a particular investment (i. e., the body and its adjuncts); (verse 24) and this interpretation is confirmed by the following: "This Soul, which is present in the bodies of all creatures, is always indestructible; for this reason you should not, O Bharata, lament their death," (Ver. 30). Along with this read also the verse 17—"Know that Soul, by which all the universe is pervaded, to be indestructible; none is able to destroy it which is incapable of any increase and decrease". It should be noticed here that the commentators like Sankara and others agree that the terms 'tat' and 'yena' refer to Brahman or the Supreme Soul. In the last verse of that chapter, the whole thing has been made completely clear. That verse is this: "O Partha, such is the rest in Brahman, and he who attains that state, does not get, again, into the bewilderment of the world; he who rests, in Him even at the time of death attains complete union with Him". (Ver. 72). Similar verses are met with also in the thirteenth chapter. For instance, "The Purusa (Soul), who exists in this body, is said to be above and beyond Prakriti, the seer, agreeable and permissive, the lord, the enjoyer, the Supreme Isvara and the Supreme Soul" (Ver. 22). Similarly, "He sees aright who sees the Supreme Lord (Purusa) to be indestructible even in destructible things and to be existent equally in all things and beings." (Ver. 27). The following verses in the fourteenth chapter, are more emphatic: "Prakriti is my (i. e. of Isvara) womb whereinto I throw my semen: from that, O Bharata, spring all beings and things. O son of Kunti, of all those Prakriti is the mother (or the material cause) and I (i. e., Isvara) am the father (i. e. the efficient cause) of all the forms that are generated in all classes of things and beings." (Vers. 3, 4). Thus, according to the Bhagavad-gita also the Sankhya System acknowledges the existence of the Brahman or the Supreme Soul of whom the individual souls or purusas are only differentiations or individualised or specialised forms; or, in other words, *the individual purusas are but the Supreme Purusa or Brahman in so far as He is invested with the three gunas.*

(d) The Bhagabat Purana.

In the course of conversation between Kapila and his mother Devahuti about the Sankhya Doctrine, as recorded in the Bhagabat Purana, we find a similar assertion with regard to the existence of Brahman or Isvara. Consider the following verses; "When the chitta becomes free of the impurities caused by lust, greed, etc., arising out of such consciousness as this is I, that is mine, etc., and thereby becomes pure, and remains indifferent to both pleasure and pain, then the Individual Purusa beholds the Supreme Purusa (Brahman or Isvara) who is above and beyond

Prakriti, free from the three kinds of pain, always self-revealing, subtle, indivisible, with a mind filled with wisdom, dispassion and devotion; and he indifferently sees also Prakriti who has now become powerless," (Skanda 3, chap. 25, vers. 15-17). Consider also the following verses. "Purusa is the infinite Soul which is divested of the three gunas, above and beyond Prakriti, supersensible, self-revealing, and by which the universe is manifested. That Purusa, out of play only, freely enjoys the subtle and divine Prakriti who possesses three gunas and is united with Him. Beholding her who creates various self-like creatures. He at once becomes stupified through ignorance. In this way, by thinking her as His self, He comes to regard Himself as the performer of the actions which are really performed by the gunas belonging to her. On that account, He, who is not the agent but only the witness, the lord, and full of bliss, comes to undergo the process of migration and to be put under bondage and subjection." (Ibid, chap. 26, vers. 3-7). In this connexion one thing should be carefully noticed: Prakriti has been called *divine* and Purusa has also been called *above and beyond* Prakriti. Sridhara Swami, the eminent commentator of Bhagabata, makes the following remarks on those two words: "On account of her possessing two different powers of covering and projecting, Prakriti is of two kinds: By virtue of her capacity for covering, she is the investment of the creatures (jivas) called *ignorance*; and by virtue of her capacity for projection, she is called *divine power*. On account of his having two distinct forms such as those of *jiva* (creature) and *Isvara* (the Supreme Soul), Purusa, too, is of two kinds: He is called a *jiva*, when He migrates from body to body through His identification with Prakriti; and He is called *Isvara* when He evolves the world by subjugating Prakriti." The other commentators have not questioned the reasonableness of those remarks. Therefore, they may be accepted as true. Now, from those verses it is very plain that *Isvara exists* and that He is the real cause of the world, while Prakriti is only His *instrument* and the Individual Purusas (jivas) are none but Himself as invested with the three gunas through *ignorance*.

The following verses are more emphatic on the existence of Isvara: "Those (twenty-four) categories or principles enumerated (by the wise) have been said by me to be the abode of the Brahman as qualified by the three gunas: the twentyfifth is called *Kala*. Some say that *Kala* is a power of Brahman or the Supreme Soul which causes dread in the mind of creatures that are confused by self-consciousness arising out of their connexion with Prakriti; some others say that He, who prompts Prakriti, when her three gunas reach the state of equipoise, to creative activity, is Isvara and is also called *kala*. Isvara may be defined to be that who, by His own supernatural power, exists in the inside of all creatures as their guiding principle, without being Himself touched by their affections, and outside as *kala*." (Ibid, vers. 14-17). The Upanishads, which derive their metaphysics from the Sankhya, also further corroborate the fact that the Sankhya does not teach *atheism* or *agnosticism* at all, but positively and emphatically admits and declares the existence of Isvara or God.

Summary of results: After this long and

elaborate discussion that the Sankhya System preaches the non-existence of Isvara or God, or at least, the non-existence of the proof of the existence of Him. We have shown that the real ground for such an impression is the misinterpretation of some aphorisms in the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram: and after giving their correct interpretation and adducing numerous other corroborative evidences we have come to the conclusion that the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram does not teach anything of the kind. But we have not rested content with merely *negative* evidences. We have

proceeded further and adduced many *positive* evidences both from the Sankhya Pravachana Sutram and especially from the Sankhya Karika, the Yoga Sutram, the Mahabharata, the Bhagabata Gita, the Bhagbater Purana and the Upanishads which also speak of the Sankhya doctrine, to show that the Sankhya *positively* affirms the existence of Isvara or God as one Absolute Purusa and also the existence of numberless individual Purusas as His modes, moments, or differentiations.

(Concluded)

ENGLAND'S WAR AGAINST CHINA—A LESSON FOR INDIAN NATIONALISTS

By TARAKNATH DAS PH. D.

THERE is no doubt, that from the standpoint of the practice of International Law, England is in actual War with China, without formally declaring a war. In this war, Indian soldiers are being used against Indian interests to fight China, a sincere friend of the Indian nation.

We learn from the scraps of news that have been allowed to percolate through British news-control that Indian Nationalists in the Indian Legislative Assembly and Indian Nationalist papers have protested against sending Indian troops to fight China. Of course the Indian nationalists have been told by the British Indian Government officials, that the Foreign Relations and military and naval affairs of India are within the strict control of the Imperial Government and the people of India have nothing to say about them. They are to obey the orders, pay the bills for British Imperialist wars and allow the Indians to be used as British cannon-fodder.

When the Locarno pact was signed, it was pointed out by me, that in case Britain got into trouble, Russia with the support of her allies might attack India. I also had the occasion to point out that when the Singapore Naval base would be fully completed, and Britain would launch in some wars, she would use Indian soldiers, economic resources and strategic positions against some Asiatic nations, particularly Japan and China, and, possibly against Russia. This forecast

has come to its fulfilment, earlier than I expected. Indian soldiers are sent to China as British watch-dogs to fight against the Chinese people struggling to assert their national sovereignty.

In the last Imperial Conference, India's position was definitely defined as inferior to that of the self-governing dominions, where the policy of anti-Indianism, and anti-Asianism reigns supreme. It was decided that India would have no voice in the Foreign relations of the Empire, while the Dominions would have the right to follow an independent foreign policy. If ever India wishes to assert her independence then Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa will certainly make a common cause with England and oppose the people of India. Yet, when the anti-Asianism of Britain and her partners in the Empire leads to a war against an Asian nation, a friend of Indian aspiration, it is the Indian slaves that are sent as advanced guards of the British Imperialistic forces. Is it for India's interest to submit to this kind of arrangement? If not, what should be done to change the condition? Indian statesmen worthy of national leadership will have to devise means by which they will be able to put an end to the practice of the British authorities using Indian man-power, Indian resources, Indian strategic position, against Indian consent and against Indian interests and India will be sole arbiter of her external affairs.

The situation in China today is somewhat similar to what was happening during 1919-23 in Turkey, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his supporters, then trying to uphold the National Pact of Turkey. It was Britain who then tried her best to destroy Turkey, by aiding Greece and other anti-national forces openly and secretly. Turkey was saved from a war with Britain, because France and Italy deliberately refused to side with Britain and Russia was ready to aid Turkey, while the people of India, inspite of the opposition of the British government started the movement in favor of Turkey. Britain changed her course in Turkey because of the international situation in Europe and to curry favor with the Indian Moslems. Turkey was united and and this change of attitude on the part of Britain led to the real diplomatic victory at the Treaty of Lausanne.

What Turkey tried to do—getting rid of every vestige of Foreign control over Turkish affairs—China, the Nationalist China, is trying to accomplish now for the Chinese people. China is unfortunate to have a Civil War, and Britain is taking advantage of the situation. Britain can concentrate her formidable navy and army in China, because her position in world politics is more favourable than what it was at the time of Britain's Turkish adventure. During the Imperial Conference British statesmen took stock of Britain's strength in World Politics and found that America would be on their side. In Europe, all the important nations are somewhat subservient to Britain's foreign

policy, *except France and Soviet Russia*. Britain has taken care to tie the hands of France by entering into a closer understanding, if not an alliance, with Italy. It is the Italian navy and manpower that will protect British interests in the mediterranean, in case Britain needs any assistance. Britain has no fear of Turkey or Russia, as long as Italy, Rumania and Greece are willing to do her bidding. Britain now feels free, that she can muster her forces in the Orient. Britain is rather in haste to make a show of her strength, because she feels that in case Japan, Russia and China come to an understanding, even with American support she will not then be able to subjugate China.

Indians must not forget that they fought against the Germans and Turks during the World War, to make the world safe for the British Empire; and they have received their rewards in the form of the Amritsar Massacre, the Rowlatt Act, and discrimination against Indians in the very African territories which they protected for the British Empire; and, above all, it had been decided by the Imperial Conference that India will not enjoy equal status with the dominions. Why should the Indians fight for British militarism, Imperialism and anti-Asianism? Mahatma Gandhi once recruited for the British, during the World War; the time has come for him and others to preach that no Indians but traitors to the cause of Indian freedom and Asian Independence, and Racial Equality, should fight for the British against China or any other nation.

JAPAN SEEKS RE-ADJUSTMENT WITH CHINA

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

Author of "Japan In World Politics ; etc.

IT is a far cry from Washington to China. But the reason why I am writing this article is because I feel that a man, looking at the stirring events in China from this side of the Pacific, is in a position to take a detached and dispassionate view. A man, who is in the midst of those events, is likely to miss the wood for the tree.

The first thought that comes to my mind

in observing the Chinese upheaval is that China and Japan should readjust their relationship upon a new basis. The present is the psychological moment to attain this end. Much to our regret relations between the two countries in the past have been far from satisfactory. For this it is futile to blame either nation and entirely exonerate the other. Though Japan's celebrated

"twenty-one demands" in 1915 were a grievous mistake, she has on her side a good many complaints to voice against the way China has treated her. But let bygones be bygones. China and Japan, admittedly the leading nations in Asia, should not go on squabbling. They should, by harmonious co-operation and interdependence, inspire other Asiatic peoples.

The first requisite in establishing Sino-Japanese relationship upon a solid foundation is recognition on both sides of the plain yet often ignored fact that it takes two to make friendship. Japan alone cannot establish friendly relations with China any more than China alone can establish such relations with Japan. Each must respond to and reciprocate the good-will of the other.

Then there must be a sincere desire on either side to understand and sympathize with the difficulties and problems of the other. Such understanding and such sympathies naturally create a wish to help each other. At the bottom of it all is the question of sincerity. Without sincerity no two nations can be friends.

If China and Japan act upon these fundamental truths there is little reason why they cannot adopt a common policy of mutual helpfulness—why they should not inaugurate something of a "regional understanding," to avoid the historically unsavory term of alliance.

First, let us see how China may help Japan. Everybody knows that of all modern industrial nations Japan is the most unfortunate. The country, already overcrowded, has to provide for a population increasing at a rate of 800,000 a year. More and more she has to rely upon foreign food supply. To add to her predicament, she is destitute of raw materials essential to modern industry. She has no colony where she may send emigrants, or where she may obtain raw materials.

If China appreciates and sympathizes with this plight on the part of Japan she is in a position to help the Japanese. China's territories are not merely vast but have enormous and varied resources in store. Some of these territories are still untouched by either the plough or the axe, let alone the locomotive or the power-engine. China has almost everything that Japan needs and has not, except perhaps oil.

How, then, should China help in this

respect? To answer this question—to present definite and detailed plans of how China may help alleviate Japan's economic predicament is not my province. I wish only to point the way. Those who have made a special study of the matter know how difficult it is for the Japanese to launch any important enterprise even in South Manchuria under the present arrangement, or rather lack of arrangement. The Japanese are not even allowed to engage in farming across the Korean border.

If China had a genuine desire to help Japan in solving the pressing problem of overpopulation and lack of raw materials, the ways and means could easily be found. The essential thing is, as I have said, sympathy and sincerity.

I presume that British and American "liberals" will criticize, even condemn, Japanese enterprise in Manchuria as "imperialistic." A Bertrand Russell, a H.G. Wells, a John Dewey, or a George Bernard Shaw would have a good many things to say against Japanese aggression. These liberals seem to have forgotten that their own Governments were not so long ago busily engaged in the happy game of landgrabbing. Now that their territories are so vast and so full of resources, they look down from the Olympian heights of Mammon upon unfortunate peoples whose economic plight they so utterly fail to understand as to offer them birth-control or pacifism as the remedy. Let them be born and live in a country where the people are compelled to go abroad to find food and clothing, coal and iron, wool and cotton, and what not, and they will understand a little better. The millionaire, however charitable and benevolent and liberal, can never divest himself of the psychology of the rich, which makes it well-nigh impossible really to understand the poor. This is what I think when I hear British or American liberals upbraid what they call Japanese aggression.

Now let us see how Japan may serve China. I wish our high-hatted, kid-gloved diplomats had the wit to see the importance and necessity of entering into immediate negotiations for the purpose of inaugurating new diplomatic relations with China upon a basis of equality. Perhaps some of them do have the wit. Foreign Minister Shidehara says that his Government is prepared to enter into such negotiations whenever China has evolved

an authority with which Japan may deal. Why not negotiate simultaneously with Peking and Canton for an identical treaty, if such a course is satisfactory to both? Perhaps it will be satisfactory to them, for both the North and the South have the same view as to China's foreign relations.

In considering unequal treaties, China perhaps attaches a greater importance to tariff autonomy than to the extraterritoriality question, for the former has an immediate and material bearing upon her finances. At the International Tariff Conference, which unfortunately adjourned without results last June, Japan came out for China's tariff autonomy on the very first day. Later the day for the restoration of tariff autonomy to China was set at January 1, 1929. Would it not have been best for China to have accepted the Japanese proposal without wasting so much time on futile arguments and bickering, even if the Japanese proposed tariff rate for the interim period, that is, up to January 1, 1929, was not as high as China wanted? It was on October 26, 1925, that Japan made that proposal. Had China accepted it and brought the conference to a speedy conclusion, she would have had only three short years to wait for the complete recovery of tariff autonomy. Why, we have already passed the threshold of 1927. In less than two years China could have attained the goal. To my mind, it was a great pity that the Chinese Government wasted too much time in bargaining for interim rates, with the result that the conference had not been finished when the Feng Yu hsiang-Wu Pei fu *coup d'etat* of April, 1926, disrupted the Cabinet and brought about a state of chaos at Peking and thus furnished the Powers with a plausible excuse to adjourn the tariff parley. As I understand it, Japan was desirous of resuming the conference as soon as a new cabinet was set up at Peking, but certain of the other Powers preferred adjournment.

Japan, being China's next-door neighbor and dependent to a large extent upon China's raw materials and Chinese trade, will be more profoundly affected than any other nation by the abolishment of extraterritoriality and the establishment of tariff autonomy in China. Japan's share in China's foreign trade to-day is greater even than Great Britain's. Japan is the greatest buyer of Chinese goods as well as a great seller to China. Of all foreign populations in

China the Japanese is naturally the largest—something like 153,000 as compared with 12,000 Britishers, 9,000 Americans, etc. Consequently, the abolition of unequal treaties is bound to hit Japan hardest. This, however, should not deter Japan. She should be the first to enter into new relations with China upon equal footing. China and Japan belong to the same ethnic and cultural group. The Japanese ought to be able to reside and conduct business in China without recourse to the protection of extraterritoriality. They certainly can adjust themselves to Chinese surroundings more readily than the Occidentals.

In the present crisis in the Yangtse region it is a singular, and to us exceedingly gratifying, phenomenon that the Japanese have been comparatively, almost entirely, free from the harm incident to the anti-foreign agitation. I hope that this is not merely due to the strategy of "Divide and rule"—to a policy to keep Japan apart from England until the latter is out of the arena. I hope that it is largely due to that feeling which is expressed in the old Anglo-Saxon saying that "blood is thicker than water." Are not the Chinese and the Japanese made the common objects of discrimination and persecution at the hands of Western nations? Certainly China and Japan should not be quarrelling but should be helping each other.

I cannot conclude this statement without saying a few words about Manchuria. I can well imagine that our presence in Manchuria is not pleasing to China. But even here China can afford to be lenient, patient and generous, if she has a genuine desire to help Japan—if she has a genuine sympathy with Japan's economic difficulties which I have already discussed. Moreover, if you look at the Manchurian question through historical perspective, you certainly will admit that Japan alone is not to blame for what Manchuria is to-day. Did not Li Hung-chang commit China to an alliance with Russia in the now celebrated Li-Robanoff secret agreement of 1896, and thus abet the Czarist ambition to crush Japan and then to annex Manchuria? No historian can deny that had Japan cowardly kept out of the arena Manchuria would have long since become a Russian territory. If Japan emerged from the titanic struggle with a few concessions in Manchuria, China's territorial integrity was saved. And it must be admitted that the Japanese attitude towards the Chinese

in Manchuria has never been so brutal, arrogant, and overbearing as was the Russian in the palmy days of Czarism. In 1900 General Gribsky, Governor of Brangovestchensk, massacred 5,000 helpless Chinese and threw the bodies into the Amur. That was indicative of the Russian attitude in those days. If our railway enterprise in Manchuria is not entirely pleasing to you, it must at least be conceded that this enterprise has made it possible for hundreds of thousands of Chinese laborers to emigrate from Shantung and Chili into the rich yet undeveloped regions of Manchuria where they make money and prosper. It has increased South Manchuria's exports, mostly agricultural products, through Dairen, Antung and Yingkow from a negligible quantity to 200,000,000 Haikwan taels a year, and the beneficiaries of this increased trade are mostly Chinese, for the Japanese are not engaged in farming there. Could this have been possible had Russia been permitted to slice off the whole of Manchuria for herself; or had not the Japanese assumed the management of the railways in South Manchuria after they had checked the Russian onslaught? Can anybody deny that all the Chinese railways, Peking-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, Wuchang-Changsha, and Peking-Suiyuan, are physically wrecked and financially bankrupt because of reckless exploitation by mercenary militarists? I do not doubt that time will come when China will rid herself of these pestiferous militarists, but in the meantime ought not we—both the Chinese and the Japanese—to thank

Heaven that there is at least one railway in China which has not been wrecked by militarists? Nor do I doubt that sooner or later—rather sooner than later—China will be united and unified under an able and efficient government, administering justice and enforcing laws along modern lines. And when that time comes China certainly will be in a position to "talk business" with Japan on the readjustment of Manchuria. If China keeps in view the unfortunate circumstances which forced Japan to enter Manchuria,—if she recognizes that Japan needs the help which she, with her vast territories and enormous resources, is in a position to give, and approaches Japan in a generous spirit—then there is no doubt that Japan will meet China half way. Just how the Manchurian readjustment shall be made is immaterial. The essential thing is the spirit of accommodation on both sides. As I said at the outset, it takes two to make friendship. Friendship means mutual sacrifice, as well as mutual benefit. China and Japan, if they are to be genuine friends, must be prepared to make sacrifices each in the interest of the other. Both must be broad-minded, far-seeing, big-hearted, generous and tolerant. Above all they must remember that they are the leaders of Asia, and that the destiny of Asia depends largely upon how they will adjust their relations and their problems. Thus, and only thus, will the two nations be able to help each other and act in unison not only in their own interest but also in the interest of Asia and of the world.

Washington, D. C.

ENGLAND ON THE WAR PATH AGAINST CHINA

AN APPEAL TO JAPAN AND INDIA

BY THOMAS MING-HENG CHAO,

Editor-in-Chief, "The Chinese Student's Monthly"

ONCE more the "Big Parade" in England. What for? Thirteen years ago the boys marched through cheering crowds in Southampton embarking for France. The Germans were then irritating the nerves of Downing Street. Who are troubling John Bull now?

To date 21,000 troops have been ordered for service in China. They comprise brigades, armored car companies and auxiliary machine gun, artillery and airplane units. At the mouth of the Yangtze will soon be assembled the "most formidable array of British fighting ships brought together outside of home

waters since the Great War." What for? To suppress the "coolies" at Shanghai?

Whatever alibi the British spokesman may give, Great Britain is out for war. At the same time she wants her military movements to appear justified in the public mind. Through her gigantic news-distributing agencies, alarming reports of "riots" in Shanghai were circulated, thus creating uneasiness as to the safety of foreigners in China. These "riots" proved nothing more than "slight disturbances attending workman's parades". The crowds were easily handled by the police without casualties.

When the Cantonese took over the British concession in Hankow, Great Britain yielded without any retaliatory action. Ordinarily she would have bombarded China with protests and heavy artillery fire. She kept quiet not because she had come to love China. That she never will. She wanted to strike but was not ready. She only cursed the Cantonese silently.

Almost overnight reports of anti-foreign riots in China spread over the world like wild fire. From what sources did they come? The Lord only knows! But immediately the evacuation of foreigners from the interior of China took place. Great Britain does not want to make the same mistake as she did in 1900. British subjects must first be taken away from South China before she starts any aggressive action.

Any careful follower of the recent developments in the Far East will agree that Great Britain no longer enjoys the commercial and political leadership in China. The systematic boycott by Canton of British goods costs John Bull between 5 and 7 million sterling per month. It cuts down the British opium traffic in Hongkong. It has been reported confidentially that last year Japan's exports to China exceeded those of the British. Now this is a serious problem to John Bull when you consider that Great Britain's position as the leading commercial power in China was never challenged.

If there is any party they hate most in China it is the Cantonese. The Southern Government has really made the country too hot for the British merchants and Imperialists. What made Downing Street stay up nights were the reports that the Northern troops crumbled before the advance of the victorious Cantonese army. Once the Cantonese faction gets into power, what it will do to the British is only too evident.

The only way to restore Great Britain to a position where she can once more dictate terms to China is to crush her enemies there by armed force. And this she is determined to do. She will land troops at Shanghai on the pretext of protecting foreign lives and properties in that city, thus aiding Chang Tso-lin in checking the advance of the Cantonese army.

Most likely Great Britain has some sort of an understanding with Washington. The two countries may have agreed to co-operate in their relations against Russia and Japan. Great Britain has adopted the policy of giving America a free hand in Mexico, Central America, South America and the Philippines; and America feels bound not to interfere with British policies in China. A powerful American fleet under Rear-Admiral Williams is in Chinese waters supposedly to protect American lives and property. But they are expected to side with Britain, in case Britain is opposed by other than the Chinese. England's virtual alliance with Italy leaves her interests well taken care of in the Mediterranean region. In a word, Great Britain is ready. She can concentrate her forces for military operations in the Far East.

All eyes will, therefore, turn to Russia and Japan for possible opposition. Russia will help China of course. But her help won't be much. Aside from sending advisers and experts to the Cantonese, she can do nothing. Japan has always stood up against the dominance of any European power in China. Russia once tried to control Manchuria, and the result was the Russo-Japanese war. Will Japan step out and stop Britain in her tracks? It is very improbable, because she might be faced with a war with England backed up by America and other powers. Japan is not in a position to fight such a fatal combat, and she will not act alone. Nevertheless, this situation will serve as an excellent *acid test* whether Japan and China are willing to co-operate against British imperialism in Asia. For their national interests, for their racial pride and for the cause of Asian independence, they should come together.

India, no doubt, will be sympathetic towards the Chinese. Already nationalist members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and nationalist organs throughout the country have protested against the sending of Indian troops for service in China. The people of

India have no control over their Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy and Finance. So it is true that they cannot do anything militarily in favor of China. But their genuine sympathy and support to the cause of China—a Pan-Asian cause—may serve as an effective check against British aggressive policy against China and other parts of Asia. China confidently expects that India will at least take a similar stand in favor of Chinese sovereignty to what she did to aid Turkey in her struggle against British Imperialism. Indians must not become cannon-fodders of Britain and fight against China, who has never injured India during the centuries of her international intercourse and commerce.

China herself is not in a position to fight Great Britain. She has a good chance to outlast the British forces, if Chang Tso-lin will combine with the Nationalist army. But this is almost impossible. Great Britain will not declare war against China. It won't be necessary for her to take that step. All she has to do is to attack the Nationalists when they come anywhere near the British concession at Shanghai. Her forces may go as far up the Yangtze as Hankow, if necessary. By that time, the Nationalists will be so hopelessly crushed that they will be unable to contest Chang's leadership in China's political life. And you can be sure that Great Britain's share of the spoils will be nothing negligible.

All far-sighted men and women of all nations should realize that armed intervention in China by Britain will not be to the interest of peace and international amity. A bitter hatred to all foreigners will be the result; all friendly relations will be impossible between China and the Powers which are now in a conspiracy of silence in favor of England's war against China. Let me be explicit. Foreigners will have to trade in that country at very few ports where their warships can give them full protection. In a word, the situation will be most unfortunate.

In the long run by making a war against China, Great Britain has nothing to gain. Her trade relations in China will not improve. The other powers may not interfere with her military movements in China at the present moment. It does not mean that they do not object to British domination in the Far East. British control of Chinese commercial and political life will always be a sore spot in future international relations in that part of the world.

Great Britain is sending her formidable fleet and 21,000 men over to Shanghai; and America apparently approves it, because she does not protest against this outrage. But America would have taken a different stand if Japan decided to send any similar forces in the region of Manchuria. However, none should forget that once the British fleet and forces are in China, Britain is not going to take them back on her own accord. These men and the fleet will stay there for some



Chang Tso-lin

time. The same situation happened after the Boxer troubles when Russian troops refused to evacuate Manchuria. A large British force on Chinese soil and a formidable British fleet in Chinese waters is a menace to Japan. Russia will not like it either. France will not support any move which will make Britain more dominant than she is now in the Pacific. America may find it later on that it would not be to her real interest to play the role of a satellite of Britain in the Orient. This international rivalry and suspicion in the Far East may bring about another world conflict which will be even more disastrous to the world civilization than the Great War.

Japan should not be a partisan in a

civil war in China; but she cannot remain indifferent to England's deliberate aggressive war on China. Is it too much to expect that Japanese statesmen for the best interest of their own country, for the sake of future Sino-Japanese friendship and Asian independence, should make all possible efforts to induce Great Britain to recall her troops from China? Will they not invite China and other Powers to immediately negotiate for a new treaty relationship on a fully equal and reciprocal basis? Let us hope that Britain's

policy of war against China will be frustrated by international action, under the leadership of Japan. Let us hope that the Indian people will agitate effectively against British anti-Asian Foreign Policy. Japan's friendly attitude towards Chinese national aspirations will be a great step forward towards future peace in the Far East and the world, through an effective "regional understanding" between Japan and China.

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"SIDELIGHTS ON THE SPIRIT OF MODERN GERMANY"

Dr. LEMUEL SADOC, MA., PH. D.

"German majesty and honour,
Fall not with the Prince's crown;
When amid the flames of war,
German empire crashes down,
German greatness stands unscathed."

Schiller. (In 1797)

NO country in the world, for some years past, has loomed so large in the mental vista of the citizens of the world, as Germany; not only because of the role she played in the Great War, but chiefly because of her valuable contributions to Science, Religion, Philosophy, and Art, expressed in the word Culture or "Kultur"—the equivalent German word, familiarised to the English knowing public during the War. Though her detractors delineated and denounced her as a veritable incarnation of uncouth brutality, atrocity, and devilry,—subsequent revelations and disclosures have proved the baselessness of these calumniating caricatures. The following impressions penned in the form of an article, are gleaned from the diary of one who has had the privilege of remaining in Europe for a long time, and of especially studying the German people, at very close quarters, for a considerable period. They do not profess to be an appreciation of the so-called Prussian Militarism, or an exculpation of the military policy of the Hohenzollerns, but only an attempt at vindication of some of the characteristic traits of real German mentality and culture, bound to remain

unimpaired even by a cataclysm of national disasters.

The first and foremost feature which strikes a student of German mentality, is liberty and universality of the German spirit, constituting the main spring of her culture and having not only a national, but a cosmopolitan importance. There is no country in the world which so harmoniously unites the freedom of the intellectual with the restraint of the practical life as Germany, which has always been the exponent of free thought and standard-bearer of intellectual freedom, pouring out her heart's blood in a ceaseless struggle against mental, political and religious slavery.

Their ideal of self-determination has, time and again, disengaged itself from the immediate life of the people and extended into world historical significance. The Reformation destroyed the yoke of slavery imposed by the fetters of the Roman Church and the Critical Philosophy of Kant, checking the idiosyncratic leaps of philosophical speculation, mark an epoch, not only in the history of Germany, but also in the intellectual and moral development of Christendom, which had been labouring, for centuries, under philosophical and religious thralldom.

The Germans are a very hardworking people and the endurance and strenuousness of the German labourer are incomparable. Germany owed her pre-war greatness to her

work consistently maintained. They are born businessmen, possessing the rare gift of combining philosophical vision with a healthy practical common sense. Hence their magnificent scientific investigations and artistic culture have been going hand in hand with their marvellous industrial and commercial vitality and technical achievements.

In defiance of an aftermath of incalculable misery and wretched starvation following the trails of the great war—Germany is heroically trimming her broken sails. Through the tremendous capacity for hard work possessed by her sons and daughters, daily grinding away like galley-slaves, she is making gigantic strides for coming to the forefront and proving herself still a power to be reckoned with. German goods are flooding the world-markets with an astounding acceleration. Perhaps no other nation could have ever lived and flourished after having been so ignominiously worsted as she had been, and her survival can only be attributable to her innate vitality and energy of character. Her love of independence beggars description.

There is a peculiar pride of nationality, which characterises the Germans; but this pride need not be mistaken for that high-handed haughtiness true of some other Europeanism but is a laudable patriotic pride, which every one ought to cherish for his fatherland.

Their love of independence is expressed in their appreciation of the dignity of labour. Even aristocratic ladies and gentlemen do not consider any honest work, beneath their dignity and I have seen some of them in whose veins runs the bluest of Tunic blood, earning their daily bread, in the capacity of wood-cutters, waiters, porters, maid-servants and typist-girls. It would not be irrelevant to cite an instance which came to the personal knowledge of the author. An aristocrat, with an ancient line of noble ancestry behind him, lost his all during the war, excepting his palatial villa, which he, yielding to the machinations of a wily foreign speculator, and handicapped by the sting of poverty, sold away for a few thousand marks (amounting to about Rs. 100, calculated according to the course of the German mark on the day of the sale). He put away the money somewhere, thinking it will keep off the wolf from the door. But, imagine his grief, when, after a fortnight, that money could hardly buy him a loaf of bread! Such had been the terrible depreciation of the German mark,

in the memorable days of the fluctuation of German currency! The miserable man, in a fit of frenzied despair, rid himself of poverty forever—by flinging himself in the river! He was but only one of a thousand, who preferred to adopt any desperate measure, rather than stoop to the humiliating indignity of begging alms. Thus Germany is far more fortunate than India and has not to face any of those sadhu problems which present an unravellable Gordian knot to Indian reformers.

Although their religious consciousness is very alive and they are imbued with a strong faith, yet they are sane enough not to allow the canker of Communalism undermine their constitutional, political and national destiny. "Freie Bahn dem Tüchtigen" (free road for the hardworking) is the motto strictly adhered to, in every sphere of life.

Legally and socially, all denominations, and beliefs enjoy equal rights, and no one, endowed with brain and brawn and real worth need forfeit his claims of preference, simply because he happens to be guilty of professing a creed different from the favoured underlings of the Government of the day.

Real merit is the only standard of judgment in the matter of appointments and preferences in various departments. Here is a hint to those in India who are still advocating the pernicious and wellnigh exploded dogma of Communalism, which is detrimental to national advancement.

The spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism is very dominant among them. Fichte was not far from truth, when he judged his countrymen by saying that a German can never wish for a thing by itself—he must always wish it for his country also. An unquenchable flame of patriotism burns in the heart of every man and woman, who believe in the truth of the Byronic words that—

".....Freedom's battle once begun

Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft, is ever won."

It is interesting to note with what intrepid determination they have been willing to sacrifice on the altar of what they sincerely suppose to be patriotism, not only life and property, but also private views and preferences in the common interest of national welfare.

Their power of organization is marvelously subtle and effective; and none who has actually lived in close contact with them can remain blind to this elasticity of German disposition, which enables them, under

tactful guidance to concentrate their manifold interests and tendencies for the achievement of an identical goal.

Their adaptability to changed political environment with is in perfect conformity with the evolutionary law of development and through a strange irony in their case, not seldom unmixed with a fatalistic resignation in the inevitable! The common populace and the masses voluntarily abandon their individuality, under the domination of their representative mind and give up their personal likes and dislikes, petty differences of opinion and trivialities of sectarianism; and unite with one mind, whenever their national honour is jeopardised and the integrity of their homes is threatened.

Physical culture has always been recognised as an indispensable element of true education in Germany. The institution of compulsory military service, before and during the war, contributed largely, not only to the physical vitality and well-being of the nation but also to the development of mental and moral powers of self-reliance, readiness of action, and expeditious decision—accustoming the German youth to order and subordination for a common end—elevating self-respect and courage, and stimulating a capacity for every kind of work. Thus, military training has always played an important part in Germany, standing on the same level as the school. Their chief contention at present for the reconstruction of their army and establishment of compulsory military service, which, most of them are clamouring for, is actuated, among other reasons, by a haunting fear of physical deterioration of the coming generation which, it is feared, will commit Germany to eternal perdition, unless they are early taught the lessons of hardihood and discipline, the fruits of military training. Still in absence of any military service and regular

army, the Universities keep alive a spirit of chivalry (as they have always done) in the form of Fencing Clubs, where the young Germans practise fencing, slashing at each other's faces, a youngster's education being incomplete, unless his face is ornamented with a scar or two,—the visible proof of his fearlessness of danger! These scars are looked upon as pride of manhood and, a face however otherwise ugly, can still claim pretensions to handsomeness and inspire the softer sex of Germany with admiration provided it bears this hall-mark of courage. These scars play no contemptible part in often settling the final trend of the affections of a girl, courted by more gallants than one.

The importance of military education can not be over-emphasized, and it is hoped that those who are responsible for education in India will take early steps to introduce this as a part of University curriculum. The materialisation of the Sandhurst scheme and a prompt institution of compulsory military training in Indian Universities, in which the Calcutta University has taken lead, is sure to keep alive that flame of chivalry, for which India had been famous in times gone by.

The tenacity of purpose for the realisation of their vaulting ambitions, reigns the heart of every German. Every one, from the humblest to the highest, would risk his life and limb, in the pursuit of what he considers to be worth the winning, believing with Goethe that—

"The man of sense will by the forelock clutch
Whatever lies within his power,
Stick fast to it and neither shirk
Nor from his enterprise be thrust
But, having once begun to work,
Go working on, because he must,"

Faust.

LABOUR WELFARE AND CITY IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA

BY RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. M. A., P.R.S., PH.D.

*Professor & Head of the Department of Economics & Sociology,
University of Lucknow.*

CONGESTION AND INFANT MORTALITY

THE efficiency of the labour force of a country ultimately governs its economic status in the world. In India there is cheap supply of labour both for the fields and the factories. In agriculture, farming is not conducted on scientific lines and hence labour is cheap relatively to capital and machinery. In fact the introduction of scientific methods and investment of capital in agriculture are retarded by the abundant supply of agricultural labour. In manufacturing industry, however, the shibboleth of cheap labour can no longer apply, for as a matter of fact, Indian mill labour in relation to quality and quantity of production is not cheap. Labour is inefficient and dear in relation to the capital and the machinery which it handles. It is a sociological paradox that where man is cheap quantitatively, he is dear qualitatively. In our industrial centres nothing is cheaper than human life, nothing dearer than good living and sanitary conditions.

There is no clearer index of bad environmental conditions in an industrial city than a heavy infant mortality. On the other hand, there can be no surer criterion of social efficiency and sanitary administration than the lowering of this mortality. The infant mortality of our chief industrial towns is appalling. In Bombay and Cawnpore more than half the number and in Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and Rangoon nearly one out of three children die within a year of their birth. In industrial towns in England only one out of ten children die in the same period. If we take into consideration the child mortality in those wards of our industrial cities which are inhabited by the lower middle and labouring classes the effects of overcrowding and insanitation will be most clearly apparent. In some of these wards 8 or 9 out of 10 children die within a year. There is also a close relation between

house accommodation and child mortality. The greater the congestion, the higher the mortality and *vice versa*. In Bombay the study of the infant mortality rate by the number of rooms occupied has distinctly shown a correspondence between house room and infant welfare. The extent of overcrowding also is much more serious in the Indian cities than in the cities of the West. Of the total population of Bombay 66 per cent live in one-room tenements as against 64 per cent in Cawnpore, 6 per cent in London, 5 in Edinburgh, 9 in Dundee and 13 in Glasgow. The average number of persons per room in the one-room tenements is 4.03 in Bombay, 3.25 in Glasgow, 3.2 in Cawnpore and 2.5 in Edinburgh. In the worst section of Bombay, the Sewri section, no less than 96 per cent of the population live in one-room tenements with five persons per room. In Karachi the overcrowding is even worse than in Bombay, the percentage of persons living in rooms occupied by 6 to 9 and 10 to 19 persons being 32.3 and 12.4 there as against 22.1 and 10.8 in Bombay.

It is estimated from Glasgow figures that in a one room tenement a child loses at least 10 inches in height and 12 lbs. in weight as compared with a normal child.

The improvement of housing conditions in our industrial cities has thus come to the forefront of our industrial programmes. It is now realised more and more that the whole future of our industrial development is bound up with the question of improving the living and hygienic conditions in our mill towns and industrial centres.

GARDEN CITIES

The work of Professor Patrick Geddes and Mr. Lanchester in reviewing the conditions and requirements of city improvement and development in different parts of India has contributed to arouse the Indian civic conscience in this regard. Garden cities

have been planned here and there though the people who benefit are not always the labouring classes. There are fine Railway Settlements at Kanchrapara, Jamalpur and Alambagh which, however, are meant to cater more to the needs of the higher employees. There are workmen's villages attached to the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras while there is a big scheme of a Labourer's colony at Indore in Nagpur. These are mostly villages comprising a large number of huts and if they are isolated and properly drained and linked up into an orderly road system, the result will be inspiring to others. Jamshedpur with her well laid out roads, parks and different grades of houses is now a beautiful city but its future is uncertain on account of the growing increase of population and demand upon living space. A few miles from Lahore a garden city for the middle class is being built; the beauty and the symmetry of the plan deserve the highest praise. Apart from these tentative or imperfect attempts at building garden cities, there are in several of our mill towns labour settlements built by the employers. In some the living and sanitary conditions are satisfactory; to many Prof. Geddes' appropriate description 'standardised slums' applies.

As a general rule mill towns and industrial centres are still allowed to be built and to grow in India without reference to any plan or to the possibilities of industrial development and expansion of population.

Calcutta with her large number of single huts or busters compacted together and Bombay with her immense back to back tenement houses represent two characteristic types of bad housing which are gradually spreading to every smaller industrial town in India. The colossal problems of sanitation, sewerage and transport in such big cities can be solved only by the adoption of Western methods of town-planning, industrial housing and means of communication. For cities like these the system of zoning and development of industrial suburbs as well as cheap suburban transport have long been felt as essential to relieve the congestion, and progress in these directions will await education as well as the adaptation of national habits to meet the demands of new development schemes.

INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS IN CITY IMPROVEMENT

On the other hand, in many of the smaller industrial towns and villages, which are

becoming as closely packed as some of the labour busters of Calcutta, Cawnpore or Nagpur, there is great scope of improvement if we can only renew the traditional practices under the new conditions. Many of the mill-towns and municipalities are unable to provide the costly systems of sanitation in vogue in the West, and instead of waiting for long for better finance, it will be economically sound if we can develop along the lines of indigenous tradition.

In India the most important problem of drainage is to get rid of the surface water during the monsoon rainfall. One often notices the labour quarters on the bank of the Hooghly, in Madras, Madura, Nagpur or Cawnpore, flooded during the rain spreading filth and disease all around.

A system of organised drainage for the smaller mill towns remains prohibitive in cost; for many of the smaller municipalities suffer from financial straits. The traditional Indian method has been to construct a series of tanks on a lower level which act as safety valves in cases of sudden rainfall. In a tropical climate the tank equalises the temperature and affords facilities for bathing and washing the lack of which has been so trying to the Indian factory hand in his new environment.

Municipalities can also ill afford to undertake costly engineering works to bring water from a great distance. In too many of our factory towns and villages the enormous crowds which gather at water hydrants as long as water is available indicate the inadequate supply. In mill centres one occasionally comes across a definite restriction of the quantity of water which a labourer's family may obtain. In such cases a tank on the higher site of the mill village or city deepened and embanked for purpose of cleanliness, will ensure the supply of good drinking water. Other tanks might be constructed at lower levels to provide facilities for bathing and washing.

TANK, AND RIVER

The tank has played a very important part in Indian social and religious life. Temples and guest houses are built on its banks while its waters are regarded as sacred and saved thereby from pollution. In many of the garden cities of Southern India, the tank is as much an object of worship as the god in the temple itself.

while the floating boat and water festival assures its periodical purification. If we can revive the respect for tanks in our present day industrial environment not only will the labourers get a more stable and copious supply of water but there will also be far greater facilities of bathing and washing than what they can enjoy at present.

A tank or a river is always a source of delight and pride for an Indian. Unfortunately, the modern Indian city development seems always to begin with the abolition of the tank and to ignore the advantages of river transport. In the jute mill villages along the banks of the Hoogly the provision of a canal system will be economically sound. The canals instead of being neglected, as at Bally or Triveni should be systematically linked up with factory and storage areas. The possible developments of waterways are seen in the Netherlands as well as in Malabar and Cochin where the coast from Quilon to Cannanore is fringed with garden cities.

A further instance of disregard of opportunities will be seen in the shallow pits along the railway lines dug for earthwork. These excavations might be used for drainage channels, so that the water would not stagnate as now thereby causing malaria. Such channels might be used for irrigation or form a part of extended canal system connecting the factories and goods sheds with the villages where the factory hands live.

On the banks of the river big industrial cities like Cawnpore and Ahmedabad or smaller mill towns like those of Bengal are ceaselessly polluting the stream while the problem of water supply which is much simpler here is seldom tackled with care and respect of Indian attitudes.

The pollution of rivers in America has raised most indignant protests and called for colossal schemes for the disposal of city refuse and sewerage while in England even sanitary authorities are not permitted to pollute a natural stream by sewerage matter.

This brings us to the question of the removal of refuse in our mill towns which must also be suited to the habits and traditions of the various classes of the Indian community. One of the main reasons of the accumulation of filth and dirt in the labour quarters of our industrial cities and mill towns is the absence of an adequate number of latrines. In some of the mill villages on the river Hooghly I found one latrine for 50

families. In Nagpur there are 14,456 houses in which there are no latrines at all. Not less than 56 public latrines were to be provided for with about 1100 seating arrangements. Yet the provision is inadequate and people respond to call of nature at each and every place. Similarly in Ahmedabad more than 60 per cent of the houses are without latrines. In most of our smaller mill towns, the evil is serious, and calls for urgent measures. The long period of waiting before a public latrine as well as a heterogeneous group of men, women and children answering the calls of nature in open meadows constitute a picture where there is no decency, no regard for others and finally a callous indifference to the laws of hygiene. Most of the streets and bye-lanes of labour quarters everywhere are strewn over with night soil. It is very often that the sewerage is ill-collected and ill-removed with the result that myriads of dangerous germs pollute the atmosphere of a slum which aggravates the dangers of congestion.*

In India the field latrine is the existing practice in the villages and even to-day in the small industrial towns and villages, the provision of open space with some degree of privacy will not only be cheaper but also safer than elaborate sewerage schemes. We might here refer to the suggestion of a very eminent sanitarian Dr. Vivian Poore who thought "that house and garden might be a self-contained sanitary system," and he did by experiments prove that a house with a garden of about half an acre could deal with its own refuse of all kinds and that a perfectly sanitary arrangement could be made without any drains going outside the limits of the garden itself so that it will be realised there are possibilities in this direction. There is no doubt that in many homes of the Indian Middle Class, we find an orchard and garden utilising the refuse of the household for fruit and vegetable gardening, which makes the family more or less self-sufficient in this respect.

COMMUNITY LIFE

Another feature of Indian life which needs utilisation in the new industrial environment is the strong group or communal spirit. Often in the slums of a hetero-

* For the above facts I am indebted to Mr. Raj Bahadur Gupta, Research Scholar, Lucknow University.

geneous city like Calcutta or Bombay, we find men belonging to the same caste congregate together in separate quarters of their own ; and we have in addition their punchayats as well as their communal temples installed in slumdom. With the provision of more liberal space and of a tank in the middle with beautiful steps and a temple on its bank, there will be a revival of the community life, the discontinuity of which has been the chief cause of deterioration of the villager in his new environment. The caste punchayats which now deal with social disputes and observances may be utilised for labour organisation and welfare. Co-operative societies may utilize the caste spirit while common canteens, stores as well as welfare associations may take the place of village institutions.

A hundred families belonging to the same caste may be grouped into a village within the city which will thus be split up into several natural areas dominated by common attitudes and sentiments. Each such natural group will have a common meeting room, a common well, a common canteen, a common latrine and a common school. To bring the village into slumdom is possible under this arrangement. Co-operative housing and public utility societies, as well as community centres, should be initiated to develop the civic consciousness and enlist the co-operation of the people themselves in the solution of their problems of housing and social welfare. The different natural areas into which a city may be divided will have its characteristic type of houses so that the chief difficulty of the Indian town-planner, arising from the fact that every grade of house from the chamar's hut to the landlord's mansion is wanted everywhere, may be obviated to some extent. As we recognise the distinction between administrative and natural areas we can grapple more easily many of our municipal and educational problems, the tasks of community organisation, zoning as well as housing and sanitation.

In India the village is often found split up into self-contained caste wards, each with its temple, its communal fund and its municipality as well as its own recreations and festivals. The traditions of handicraft and trade still support the tendencies of segregation and decentralisation to a large extent. This characteristic national trait may be utilised in schemes of city development and extensions outside the present urban areas.

Nothing has contributed more to the deterioration of the Indian mill operative than the barrier of thought, feeling and action between urban dweller and villager. The development of civic institutions in line with those which preserved his *morale* in the village can also rescue him from his selfish, improvident and unrestrained life. The mill hand is a villager and a villager he will be. The reason why he loses *morale* in the city is that he is divorced from his group scheme of values his institutional setting.

REGIONAL PLANNING

Our mills and factories seem as conservative and stay-at-home as our villagers. The factories should go a certain distance, exploit new opportunities in the interior of the country and reach labour nearer home. Industry and cultivation of the land have to a large extent entered into partnership in Belgium. A high proportion of its workers in factory, mine, office or shop continue to live on the land, to cultivate their own plot in their spare time with the assistance of their wives and children. That this has been possible is due to the high development of the vicinal railway system, light railway or tramways laid at comparatively small expense along the roads and now reaching a total length of 2,706 miles. The development of light railways, of canal, water as well as motor transport might create new industrial centres in the country, each with its zone of influence from which every morning the net work of cheap communications may gather in the mass of labourer and exchange the goods of the town for those of the village. The labourers will go where there is employment. They will no longer bring down the wages of field labour by competition. The standard of living in the villages will be raised. On the other hand the growth in numbers of a floating immigrant population will not perpetuate the present deplorable living and hygienic conditions in the industrial centres. Industrial development in India is gradually assuming a form of nodal congestion, and the present distribution of railway communications as well as neglect of waterways and of cheap transport on the country side are contributing to it.

Thus the costly schemes of town-planning and industrial housing are baffled by the continuous drift of unskilled labourers to the



HIDE-AND-SEEK

[From a Modern Japanese Colour Print]

By Courtesy of Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi

city. The wages of the labourers cannot rise on account of increasing competition. Both housing and sanitary conditions are lowered, while the labourers also find it increasingly difficult to maintain connection with their village and their family. Thus

they become habituated to slums and their slums bring in their train other slums. Without an integration of the interests of town and village, region by region, neither town nor village can be saved from deterioration.

INDIA AND CHINA

BY PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, D. LITT. (*Paris*)

ANCIENT ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

TO understand exactly the role of India in the history of her relation with China it is necessary to say a few words on the means of communication between these two vast countries of Asia. Though India, at present, touches the south-western limits of China it did not do so in ancient times. The trans-Gangetic regions of India, Assam and Upper Burma, were not so much Indianised as they may appear to-day. The Chinese control on the different barbarian tribes on the south-western borderland of the Empire was not an established fact for a long time. Besides the earlier centres of cultural and political activities were confined to the north of the Yang-tse-kiang, the cradleland of the Chinese civilisation.

How could these two countries wide apart from one another, come to meet each other on a common platform and work together for a common cause? The problem is not a simple one. If India became known to the Chinese people and if Indian Buddhism influenced and gave a new turn to the Chinese life the whole credit does not go to India. Many other countries of Asia worked for the cause of India and India owes a deep debt of gratitude to them. The question of these countries, many of which do not exist any longer, is involved with that of the routes of communication between India and China. We will therefore begin with a description of these routes.

(1) *The Routes of Eastern Turkestan* :—The Tarim bassin is surrounded on the north and the south by lofty mountains (Altai and Kouen-louen). In the middle, the Tarim river traverses the plain. Rising on

the east near the Chinese ports of Yu-men and Yang-koan the Tarim river extends towards the west up to Pamir-Bolor. It receives the waters of two principal rivers, that of the Yarkand and the Khotan. This region was divided into 36 small kingdoms in the time of the Han dynasty which were situated along the two great routes of communication between China and the West. The two principal routes parted from Touen-hoang, in the province of Kan-sou and one passed by the gate of Yu-men-koan towards North-West and the other by that of Yang kouan directly westward.

Touen hoang, we know, played a great part in the history of China's relation with the West. Like Purushapura, situated on the highway leading to the undefined west, Touen-hoang began to be a centre of foreigners, from the beginning of the Christian era. Already in the middle of the second century, the Buddhist pilgrims found a place of shelter there on their way towards the capital of China. In the third century A.D. we hear of Indian families settled down in Touen hoang. It had already become a great centre of Buddhist missionaries at that time. In the centuries following the dynasty of Wei the great patron of Buddhism and Buddhist art determined to bring about a transformation of the place, so important for the diffusion of Buddhist culture. It was at this time that the construction of Buddhist temples began and grottos were cooped out in the surrounding hills. The number of grottos were multiplied and a thousand of them in number, contained many works of art and statues of Buddha. It is these grottos of *Tsien fo t'ong*, long fallen in oblivion, that cherished silently for about a thousand

years a wonderful library of the middle ages. The vast number of Manuscripts it contained, discovered mostly by the French archaeological mission of Pelliot and preserved partly in Peking partly in Paris, show amply what a great centre of learning Touen-hoang was in the glorious time of the T'ang dynasty. The diversity of the languages, in which these Manuscripts exist, Kuchean, Khotanese, Syriac, Tibetan, Sanskrit, etc. show that Touen hoang was really a great meeting place of China and the West.

The southern route starting from Touen-hoang passed by the gate of Yang-koan and proceeding westward reached the country of Shan-Shan (to the south of Lob-nor). From Shan-Shan it went along the course of the river Tarim up to Sou-kiue (Yarkand) and crossing the Pamir (Kizil rabat) reached the country of the Yue-tche (Balkh) and Parthia (Ngan-si). The route of the north, passed by Kiue-she (Tour fan), the ancient capital of the kingdom of Leou-lan, it followed the Tarim right up to the west to Shou-lei (Kashgarh) and continued across the Pamir (Kizil art) up to the country of Ta-wan (Sogdia), K'ang-kiu (Samarkand) and other countries in the valley of Oxus.

But the route to India followed a little different course. Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim to India, notices in detail the way he followed from China to India. Starting from Si-ngan-fou in 399 A. D. He with other monks passed by the principal localities of the province of Kan-sou viz. *Lan tcheou*, *Leang tcheou*, *Kan tcheou*, *Sou tcheou* and *Touen hoang* and arrived at *Shan-Shan* to the south of Lob-nor. They visited the countries of *Yen-ki* (Karashar), *Yu tien* (Khotan), *Tseu ho* (Karghalik), *Kiu-an* *Yu-mo* (Tach kourghan) and *Kie ch'a* (Kashghar). They passed by *To-li* (Darel, in Dardistan) and then crossing the Pamirs, they reached the valley of Gilgit which leads to the region of the Indus.

A century later Song-yun visited India. He has left us a fairly detailed account of the route he followed on his way to India. It is also the southern route which he followed. But from Tach-Kurghan (*Tsiu-mo*) he went to *Pa-ho* (Wakhan) and passed by *Po-tche* (the mountainous region to the north of Chitral) to *She-mi* (Chitral). But instead of following the route of Gilgit to Kashmir he directed his course southwards

to Udyana, in the valley the of the Swat and then to Gandhara (Peshawar).

Hiuan tsang in 629 followed the northern route. From Kan-sou he went to Kao-tchang (Yarkhoto, near Tourfan), then he visited the countries of *A-ki-ni* (Karashar), *Kiue tche* (Koutcha), *Pa-lou-ia* (Yak-aryk), to the south of the Tien shan; he crossed the Tien chan by the Bedel pass, passed by the north bank of *Issyk-koul* where he met the Tokmak Turks. Shortly before the arrival of Hiuan tsang, the country had been visited by an Indian monk of Nalanda, Prabhakaramitra who went to China later on to receive the highest honour from the Emperor of China. Hiuen tsang then passed by Sogdia; crossed the Iron Gates to the south of *Kesch* (schahr-in-sabz) and reached the country of Tokhoarestan. The capital of the country was at that time *Huo* (Koupndouz) to the south of the Oxus. Hiuan tsang descended by the pass of Bamian to the valley of Kapisa. Twenty years later, on his way back to China he followed the southern route: From Kapisa he crossed the Hindukush by the valley of Panjshir, and reached Koundouz. He then passed by Badakshan (*Pa-to-tch'ouang-na*), *Ying-po-kien* (Yamgan the valley of the Koksha), and *Houen-t'o-lo* (Kandont). Then crossing the Pamir, he visited the countries of Tach-Kourghan (*Kie pan-t'o*) *Kia-she* (Kashghar), *Tche-kiu-ia* (Karghalik), *Kiu-sa-tan-an* (Khotan). From Khotan, he followed the usual route by the south of Lob-nor to *Si ngan fou*, the capital.

The last Chinese pilgrim who has left a somewhat detailed notice of the route, he followed for going to India by Eastern Turkestan, is Wu-k'ong. He left China in 751 A. D. at the head of an official embassy sent to the kingdom of Kapisa in order to bring a Chinese ambassador. Wu k'ong passed by Kucha, which was at that time the seat of the protectorate of Ngan-si, Sou-le (Kashgar), the five Ch'e-ni (Shighnan) of the Po-mi (Pamir) and the Hu-mi (Wakhan) and reached the Indus region by the valley of Yassin and Gilgit, known as Po-lu-lo (Bolor) the most frequented route for entering India. Wu k'ong visited Udyana (Valley of the Swat) and Kapisa. He followed a little different route on his way back to China. He passed by Ku-tu (Khottal), *Kiu-mi-che* (Kumedh, now Karategin), *She-ni* (Shighnan), and reached Sou-lei (Kashgar), and then Yu-tien (Khotan). He passed by Wei jong

(Yaka-aryak), Kiue tseu (Kucha), (Yen-k'i (Karashar) and Pei t'ing (Tsi-mou-sa, near Ku-tch'eng) and returned to Ch'ang-ngan in 790 A.D.

It is unnecessary to mention other unimportant details, on these routes, which were frequented for a few centuries more. The itineraries which we have just mentioned are sufficient to give a rough idea of the routes of Eastern Turkestan followed by the Chinese travellers, who came to India and the Indian monks who visited China. On account of the growing difficulties in the political situation of Central Asia the land routes were gradually given up and with the progress in the technic of navigation, the sea route began to be more and more frequented till they were left to be the only way of communication with China.

(2) *The Route of Assam*—Another route of communication existed from very early times by Assam, and Upper Burma. The difficulty of the route did not encourage very much this trade and it was thus frequented only by the barbarians of the south-western provinces of China, viz, Sse-tchouan and Yun-nan and the hill tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. In the middle of the 7th cen. (642 A.D.) when Hiuan-tsang was invited by Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, he started from Magadha, passed by Champa (Bhagalpur), Kajangala (Kankjol—Rajmahal) and Pundravardhana (Rangpur) and going eastward reached Kamarupa. This was the most usual route from the capital of Magadha to Kamarupa at that time. But though Hiuan-tsang did not visit any country on the other side of the kingdom of Kamarupa he heard from the natives of the place about the existence of a route leading to south-west China. "To the east of Kamarupa," he says "the country is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and one can reach the south-west barbarians (of China); hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao. The pilgrim learnt from the people of Kamrupa that the south-west borders of Sse-tchouan were distant about two months journey, but the mountains were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs." When Bhaskaravarman came to know from the pilgrim that the latter's country was Maha-Cina he enquired about a song which came from China but was very popular in Assam at that time. "At present in various states of India a

song has been heard from some time called the music of the conquests of *Ts'in wang* of Maha-Cina." He then related how he had heard of the Devaputra, prince of Ts'in of Mahacina who had brought that country out of anarchy and ruin into prosperity, made it supreme over distant regions to which his good influences extended. All his subjects, the king continued, having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler, sing the song of *Ts'in wang's* conquest and this fine song has long been known there tcheou (i.e. Kamrupa). The song referred to was the song of the victory of the second son of the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsou Prince of Ts'in over the rebel general *Liu Wou-tcheou* in 619 A.D. This points out to the intimate intercourse that existed between the eastern countries of India and China and it is even more surprising when we take into consideration the fact that a Chinese music composed after 619 A.D. had penetrated the region of Kamrupa in 638 A.D. when Hiuan-tsang visited the country. But the existence of this route is attested even at an early date. The Chinese of Sse-tchouan knew since long that India was accessible from the south west of Yun-nan. The evidence of Chang k'ien that he found in the markets of Bactria merchandises of Sse-tchouan and Yun-nan brought by caravans that passed along the country of Shen-tou (India) points out without doubt to the existence of this route. Coming to later times in 97 A.D., Yong Yeou ti'ao, king of the Shan state (situated in upper valley of the Salouen, accepted the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor, received a sort of imperial investiture and sent in 120 A.D. as present to the Chinese court musicians, and jugglers, all natives of *Ta-ts'in*. A tradition current in the province of Yun-nan would have us believe that the first Indian missionaries, Kasyapa-matanga and Dharmaratna went to the capital of China by this route. The history of the Wei dynasty (*Wei lio*) speaks of a route from *Ta ts'in* (Roman orient) to China by way of *Yong tch'ang* and Yunnan. Yi tsing in his biography of eminent monks who visited India in the middle of the 7th cen, records a tradition which would have us believe that Sri Gupta the king of the Gupta dynasty built a "temple of China," near the Mahabodhi, in the end of the 3rd Cent A. D. for twenty Chinese monks who came to India by Yun nan and Burma, during his reign. But when the route of Central Asia and the sea route were

well established commerce received a new impetus and the comparatively difficult way of Upper Burma was given up. It was only in the 7th century under the great T'ang dynasty, there were proposals of reopening the route. In 627-649 Lien Po-ying the governor of the upper valley of Kien chang proposed that the barbarians should be put down and route of the *Si-eul-ho* (Tali) and India should be opened. The constant fight with the Tibetans, the danger of the Southern route of Central Asia compelled the governor of Cheng-tou to make the same proposal in 698. But nothing important was done towards it. It was at this time that the kingdom of Nan chao, came to be founded and it kept the route in its control for a long time.

An itinerary preserved in Kia-tan of the end of the 8th cen A. D. describes in detail the route in question. Starting from Tonkin the southern centre of all commercial activities of China the route passed by Yunnansen, Yunnan-fou and Ta-li-fou. Going westwards it crossed the Salouen at Yong tchang (Yong tchang fon) on the west of the river. Going westward it reached the town of Chou ko leang (to the east of Momein, between the Shweli and the Salouen. The route bifurcated there, the principal one descending by the valley of the Shweli to join the Irawaddy on the south west, and the other continuing directly to the west. Starting from Chou ko leang, the principal route crossed the frontier of *Piao* (Burma) near Lo, the frontier town of Nan tchao, and passing through the country of mountain tribes it reached *Si-li* midway between Ta-gaung and Mandalay. *Si-li* (or *Si-li-yi*), though it cannot be exactly identified now, was an important town at that time as in 802 *Su-nan-to* (Sunanda) the brother of the Burmese king, sent to the Chinese Court with musicians, was the Prince of *Si-li-yi*. The route then passed by Tou-min (Pagan?) and reached the Capital of Burma, *Sriksetra* (Prome). Starting from Prome and crossing on the west a range of black mountains (the modern Arakan range) the route crossed Kamarupa (Assam). Here it rejoined the second route.

Starting from Chou ko leang, the second route went right westwards to *Teng ch'ong* (Momein); then crossing at *Mi* the mountains it reached *Li-shouei*, on the Irawaddy (Bhamo or near about to the north). Then crossing the river *Long-tsiuan* (Mo-

hnyin or Mogaung) it passed the town of Ngan-si near which lived the small Brahmins of Ta-ts'in and going westwards crossing the river Min-no (Chindwin) reached the country of the great Brahmin of Ta-ts'in. Then crossing the mountains it reached Kamarupa. Going northwest from Kamarupa and crossing the river Karatoya it reached the country of (*Pen-na-fa-t'an-no*) Pundravardhana (modern Rungpur). Proceeding southwest, it reached Kajanigala (Kie-tchou-wou-lo?) on the right bank of the river Ganges and further to the west it reached Magadha. This is exactly the route which Hiuan Tsang followed when going from Magadha to Kamarupa.

This is the route which the Chinese knew even in XII century, although the kingdom of Ta-li had cut off all communications of China across Yun-nan. Even in the time of Mongols Rashid-ed-din studied the two routes from India to China one by the straits, Canton, Zaitoun, Hang tcheou and the other by Burma and the country of Zardandan and Karajang.

In 1406 we hear of a Chinese political mission sent to Burma by this route. When in 1406 the King Anuruddha (*Na-lo-t'a*) conquered the small state of Mong yang (modern Mo-hnyin to the north west of Bhamo and to the south of the lake Indogyi), dependant on China, the Emperor of the Ming dynasty despatched a mission guided by Chang hong to the Burmese King asking him to evacuate Mong yang. The route followed by the mission is the same as that described by the itinerary of Kia tan.

Last of all, when in 1652 Mir Jumla conquered Assam he boasted of opening that way, the route to China.

Almost all the accounts mention particularly the dangers and difficulties of this route. Thus the report of the political mission of 1406 says "The climate of this country (the region of Upper Burma) is extremely bad. When a mission arrives there, even in the first night, half of the people falls ill; on the morrow almost every body is ill and from the third day onwards the cases of death increase without interruption." In spite of all these difficulties the way was frequented now and then as it was the only short route connecting south-western China with Upper Burma and Assam. Indian influences were exerted in early times, in Upper Burma, Yun-nan and Sse-tchouan and some

factors in the Indian colonization of Indo-China, can be only explained by this eastern way of communication, the sole connecting link between eastern India and this unexplored region.

(3) *The Route of Tibet*.—Lastly, a third land route of communication between China and India was opened in the beginning of the 7th. century A.D. when the Tibetan Empire was founded and its Charlemagne, the famous Srong-tsan sgam-po contracted marriage alliance with China and Nepal. Though the occasional hostile attitude of Tibet towards China did not permit the Chinese travellers to follow this route for a long time, yet during the 7th. century, when Tibet remained a faithful ally of China, Chinese ambassadors and pilgrims found this road an easy one. The first Buddhist pilgrim who seems to have gone to China by this way is a famous monk of Nalanda—named Prabhakaramitra. The date of his departure from India is not known but his presence in Tibet and in the country of the Western Turks is attested in the year 625 A.D. He was taken to China in 627 A.D. by a Chinese embassy, was greatly honoured there and was asked to organise the work of the translation of sacred texts. At about the same time in 627 A.D., Hiuan chao a pious Sramana followed this route to India. Leaving the frontiers of China he crossed the desert, passed by the iron gates (Derbend, modern Buzgola-khana), traversed the country of *Tou-ho-lo* (Tokharestan) passed by the country of the barbarians (*hou*) and at last reached *Tou-fan* (Tibet). Here he met the Chinese Princess Wen-tch'eng the queen of Srong tsan Sgam po and according to her orders Hiuan-tchao was safely conducted to India and reached Jalandhara (*She-lan-fouo*). A few years later on his way back, in the company of Wang Hiuan-ts'o he passed by Nepal (*Ni-po-lo*), payed another visit to the queen Wen tch'eng and followed the direct route to the capital of China.

The mission of Wang Hiuan-ts'o in 647-648 to the court of Emperor Harsha followed the route of Tibet and Nepal and the history of his victory over the successor of king Harshavardhan, at the head of Tibetan and Nepalese army is now a well-known fact of Indian history. It shows what an intimate relation, China was entertaining with Tibet in this period. In 657 A.D. he was sent again to India with an official mission and this time too he passed by

Tibet and Nepal. So in this period of friendly relation between Tibet and China this route of Tibet was much more frequented than the northern routes, which were in the hands of alien peoples.

But after the death of Srong tsan sgam po (650 A. D.), there was again a rupture and continual war was carried on between the two countries. Tibet found an ally in the Turks who occupied at that time a great part of the eastern Turkestan region. The most convenient route from China to India, therefore, was the sea-route.

Towards the end of the 10th century a Chinese monk seems to have followed this route on his way back to China, but his itinerary is not very clear. Ki-ye came to India in 966 by the route of eastern Turkestan, but a few years later on his way back to China, he passed by Nepal, and a place which he names *Mo-yu-li* (probably Mayurata near Tibet?) and visited the temple of *San-yue* (?)

Lastly with the foundation of the great Mongol empire of Khubilai khan, in the 13th century, regular relation was re-established between Tibet and China. We will speak later on of the great role played by India in this period in the history of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism, just before the advent of a dark age which witnessed the cessation of all relation between India and China.

(4) *The Sea-Route*. It is possible that a sea-route was already traced out long before the Christian era by the hardy Polynesian people who occupied and still occupy the countries of further India and Insulindia and it is possible also that this was the route which was later on followed by the Indian colonisers. But we have historical evidence of the existence of this route only from the 1st century A. D. when the Hindu settlers reached the countries of Indo-China. Chinese records would have us believe that the Kingdom of Fou-nan (Bhnom preserved in the name, Pnom penh), on which was built up later on the Cambodian empire, was Hinduised by a Brahman named Houen-tien (Kaundinya) as early as the 1st century A. D. "The original ruler of Fou-nan" says the tradition, "was a woman named *Ye-lieou*. There was a foreigner named Houen tien (Kaundinya) who practised a mystic cult. He was given in dream a bow and an arrow and received the order of embarking on a junk of commerce and to

take to sea. He discovered the bow in the temple and decided to follow the merchants across the sea. He reached Fou-nan, and submitted and married the ruling queen. The earlier kings of Fou-nan were descendants of this Hindu." The genealogy of the dynasty, as given by these Chinese records would place this first Hinduisation of Fou-nan—Kamboja in the first century A.D.

Towards the end of the first century A.D. the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea* mentions the existence of a sea-route to China. "Beyond the country of Chryse (Indo-China) the ocean (navigation ?) extends up to the country of Thin. In this country, in the north, there is a great inland city called Thinae. From that city by the land-route, the silk passes by Bactria towards Barygaza (Broach) and by the Ganges up to Limuria. (Damirica=Tamilaka) But the land is not easy of access, because there are very few men who come back from there." Ptolemy, when mentioning Kattigara (identified by some with Tonkin), the port of Sinai speaks of the existence of navigation between Kattigara and the West. In 166 A.D. the king of *Ta-ts'in* An-tun (Marcus Aurelius Antonius) sent an embassy to the Chinese Court. It landed in Je nan (Tonkin) which was the port of China at that time.

The foundation of the Indian colony of Champa, which occupied almost the whole of modern Annam, is placed unanimously in the 2nd century A. D. The Sanskrit inscription of Vo-can (near Khai hoa), the oldest Sanskrit inscription discovered in further India cannot be dated later than the end of the 2nd century A.D. It presupposes an already well established settlement of Indians on the coast of Annam.

In the Wou period (222-280), the *Franchan* king of Fou-nan sent one of his relatives, Su-wu as ambassador to India. He left Fou-nan and embarked at the port of *T'cou-kiu-li* (Takkola, Talai-takkola of the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendracola 1030 A.D. which was situated near the Isthmus of Kra). The vessel followed the course of a big bay of the vast Ocean and reached the mouth of the river of India the Ganges after a long sailing. They went up the river for over 7000 li and reached the capital of the Murundas. The Murunda king was very pleased to receive the envoy of the king of Fou-nan, and sent in return one Che song, as ambassador to the of court

Fou-nan with the horses of the Yue-che country as present. It was at this time that the Chinese emperor sent two envoys, Kang-t'ai and Chou-ying to Fou-nan. They met the Indian envoy Che song there and collected detailed information from them on India.

All these point out to the existence of a sea-route in the 2nd. and 3rd. century A.D. which connected India with the Far East. It is not improbable that the port of Takkola, which is mentioned by Ptolemy too, was at first the port beyond which the vessels from the West did not go.

The Indian colonisers of Fou-nan and Champa probably proceeded to the inland region by the land-routes from Takkola. But the vessels soon proceeded farther and following the Coast line reached Tonkin.

At the time when the sea route was opened, Tonkin became the distributing centre. Tonkin (Kiao tche) was annexed to the Chinese empire in the second cen. B.C. during the rule of the former Han dynasty. But became a real Chinese province in the end of the 2nd cen A.D. The embassy of Marcus Aurelius disembarked at Kiao-tche in 166 A.D. Shortly after the trouble of the "Yellow Bennets" which desolated China, towards end of 2nd cen A.D. compelled many peace-loving Chinese to take refuge in Tonkin which was comparatively calm. Amongst them we find Meou-tseu, author of a famous text, called "the dissipation of doubts." Mou-tseu belonged to the nobility and once filled up some high rank in the state, and as such was a devout confucianist. But Buddhism fascinated him more and during his stay in Tonkin he wrote his treatise in defence of Buddhism. In the beginning of the 3rd cen. A.D. the parents of a famous monk, Seng houeï, came to Tonkin. They were of Sogdian family, long settled in India. The father of Seng houeï came to Tonkin for his commerce and was established there with his family. Seng houeï was born there. The official mission, of K'ang-tai and Chou-ying, to Fou-nan started from Tonkin. When in 226 a merchant coming from the confines of the Mediterranean Orient, Ts'in-louen, arrived in Tonkin, the governor of Tonkin sent him to Nanking. The Chinese governor Lu tai sent some officials to propagate Chinese civilisation to the south, to Lin-yi (Champa) and Founan (Kamboja) the mission started from Tonkin.

Thus from the time of the latter Han dynasty, all the kingdoms of the south-sea

followed the way of Tonkin and did not go up to Canton.

However the navigators began to take little by little, the more direct route from China and Canton prevailed on Tonkin. It is at Canton that Yi-tsing disembarked in the 7th cen. But the displacement did not take place without a fight. Canton really was a Chinese Province whereas Tonkin was a sort of protectorate and the people of Canton pretended to monopolise to their profit the benefits of the foreign trade. In 792 the governor of Ling-ngan (ie. two of the 2 Kouang, koug-tong and Kouang-s') sent a

report to the Emperor complaining that the foreign vessel had begun to go to Ngan nam (Tonkin) and requested him to issue orders forbidding commerce in Tonkin. The demand was rejected. But the geographical situation of Canton did what the administration failed to do. From the 8th cen. Canton became the principal port of disembarkation of the Arab merchants of the 9th cen. Independence of Annam in 968 spoiled all possibilities of the external commerce of Tonkin. Canton prospered till the arrival of the Europeans, during the last century.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT GREECE by ; Thaddeus Zielinski. Translated from the Polish with the author's Co-operation by George Rapall Noyes. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp 10+ + 235. Price 7s. 6d.

There are nine chapters in the book under the following headings (i) Introduction (ii) The Deification of Nature (iii) The consecration of work (iv) The Revelation of God in Beauty (v) The consecration of Human Society (vi) The revelation of God in goodness (vii) Religious Philosophy (viii) The Revelation of God in Truth and (ix) Conclusion.

The author has at the outset formulated the following principle—"As a man bereft of artistic feeling cannot understand Greek art, so one who lacks religious feeling cannot understand Greek religion." (p. 13).

He has tried to enter into the spirit of the ancient Greeks and to feel their feelings. The interpretation of Greek Religion by such a man cannot but be convincing. But fanatics can never be convinced.

The plan of the book and the treatment of the subjects are excellent. The author has carefully separated the essential features of Greek Religion from its non-essential features and has clearly described its fundamental Principles. His exposition of the Deification of Nature is so beautiful that one is tempted like Wordsworth to turn Pagan

and to see one's self surrounded by friendly deities.

"The ancient Greek," writes our author, "felt and saw god in the road itself, in the yellowing meadow, in the fragrant grove, in the ripening grace of the garden. He surrounded himself and his human life with a whole swarm of deities of nature, now kindly, now threatening, but always sympathetic. And what is most important, he succeeded in establishing a spiritual union with those deities" pp. 16-17.

But where is the God of so-called mono-theistic religions of the world? "In the heavens." Our author asks "why in the heavens?" He remarks—"Here one feels the poison introduced by Judaism into Christianity... Thus in very truth the religion of the Old Testament violently tears our natural feeling of gratitude away from that which immediately calms and caresses us and diverts it to a hypothetical Creator." p. 16.

Judaism, Christianity and Mahomedanism have banished God from this earth. If God were in the heavens, we would rather be Pagan. The author's remarks on 'fetishism' are worth quoting. He writes:—

"When Portuguese sailors who in their own country worshipped the Lord Jesus, the Mother of God, and the saints on the canvases of their masters, became acquainted with the formless blocks of the savages... They give them the name *feilico* or *faclicius* (*deus*) that is '(god) made with hands', for the reason that in their opinion (whether correct or not, is a matter of no consequence), the given tribe of savages beheld in such a block not

an image or symbol of a deity existing outside it and independent of it, but the deity itself. Otherwise we should have to term fetishists even the Christians, and not only the Catholics and the Orthodox, but also the Protestants who admit that the crucifix is something holy; or else the very term 'fetishism' would lose all value as the expression of an idea, and would retain value only—as an insult." p. 73-74.

In describing idolatry the author says that 'the statue is only the image of the deity and not the deity itself.' p. 75.

"Yet", writes the author, "the Greeks bowed down to their statues. To be sure; but absolutely in the same sense in which faithful followers of the old Christian faiths 'bow down' (the phrase is of no importance here) to the images of Christ, the Mother of God, and the saints; and an Athenian who burned incense before the statue of his Pallas, did so with absolutely the same feeling with which today a Catholic or an Orthodox Christian on Saturday evening lights a lamp before the image of the Most Holy Virgin." Pp. 75-76.

The author has vividly described how 'work' and 'Human Society' were sanctified by the ancient Greek. To him life was full of joy. Our author rightly says—"The Greek religion fully deserves the name of the first and only religion of joy in the history of humanity", p. 60. (*Italics* author's).

Where shall we find the Religion of Beauty? In Greece and Greece only. Our author says:—"God reveals himself in beauty—Such is the faith of the Hellene, blasphemously forgotten by his heirs p. 89.

In the chapter on "Revelation of god in goodness"—The author describes the gradual evolution of morality and spirituality. In this connection he quotes the following prayer of Socrates:—

"Lord Zeus, grant us good even without our request; grant us not evil, even at our request." (Alcibiades ii, 143 A) p. 139.

The author deploras "the fatal gift of intolerance which Christianity had received from Judaism", p. 216. Christianity gradually became Hellenized and still it could not free itself from that intolerance. p. 218.

"To be sure"—writes our author, "this Hellenization of christianity advances hand in hand with the destruction of Hellenism; the struggle of the two religions which begins in the third century, is accomplished by frightful losses of the cultural values of humanity, at the very thought of which the heart bleeds. Amazement seizes us at the sight of that senseless, suicidal fury with which a people turned against all the most beautiful and most noble creations which it had itself fashioned from the very beginning of its existence on earth. The 'pagan' temples might have been adapted to Christian services—the example of the Parthenon proved this. No; the abodes of 'devils' must be destroyed. The fruits of the inspiration of Phideas, Praxiteles and other artists might have been preserved as museum curiosities; an edict of the most Christian Emperor Theodosius even required this. No; the statues of devils must be demolished. This visual beauty perished; and there perished also a whole literature that was related to the 'Pagan' worship, all the liturgical hymns, all the writings of the theologians and exegetes." Pp. 218-29.

The book is well written; it is popular, and

interesting and is, at the same time scholarly. There can be no plea now that there is no popular book on the religion of ancient Greece.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA: THE RELIGION OF REASON: By George Grimm. Printed in Germany and published by the Offizin W. Drugulin, Leipzig in 1926. Pp. xxiv + 536; size 9½ x 6½. (Price not printed in the book).

The author has tried his best to enter into the spirit of the Buddha and being thus inspired, has expounded "The Four Most Excellent Truths". These truths are:—

- (i) The most excellent truth of suffering.
- (ii) The most excellent truth of the arising of suffering.
- (iii) The most excellent truth of the annihilation of suffering.
- (iv) The most excellent truth of the path leading to the annihilation of suffering.

In the Appendix, the author has compared the Doctrine of the Buddha with that of the Upanishads.

According to Grimm, 'Nibbana' is a positive state and the 'I' also is something unchangeable. He writes:—

"Everything is Anatta, not-the-I, and does not belong to my inner essence, the whole external world as little as my corporeal organism with consciousness. I am beyond all this, beyond the world. This was one of the truths which the Buddha had to tell us." P. 299.

In another place he writes that "in the Discourses of the Buddha everything circles round the Atman, the I. This *Atta* is the unchangeable centre, to which all the Discourses of the Buddha point, or from which they proceed." P. 496.

Then he compares the method of the *Upanishads* with that of the Buddha. He writes, "And as we can hardly read a page in the doctrine of the Upanishads, without coming upon the Atman, in the same way there is hardly a Discourse of the Buddha which does not deal with the *Atta* in some form or other. When the Upanishads are therefore simply characterised as the doctrine of the Atman, this qualification is not less true of the doctrine of Buddha.... But with the Upanishads and thereby with the general mode of Indian thinking, the Buddha is also in harmony inasmuch as he sought to find the *Atta* by taking away from it everything in-essential to us, to our 'I', to our *Atta* and thereby separable from it. He even has brought this method to its highest perfection by substituting for the fundamental question, 'What is Atman? What is my 'I'?' the other one, 'What is the *Atta* in my case not? What is in any case not my 'I' What is, Anatta?" P. 496.

"Thus the Buddha," says our author, "has not become untrue to Indian thinking; rather is his doctrine the flower of Indian thought. He is the true Brahmin who has completely realised the ideal of the Upanishads. And precisely because this is so, India will again greet him as her greatest son, as soon as she again shall have recognized this." P. 502.

The author's conclusions may seem to be startling to some, but are nevertheless true.

We have quoted from this book only a few passages relating to Gotama's *Anatta Vada* (the doctrine of Non-Ego). We cannot make room for

any passages relating to *Nibbana* and other subjects. The readers are referred to the original book.

We have not seen for years such a scholarly production. It is based on Buddhistic canonical scriptures and is, on the whole, a reliable book. No Buddhistic scholar should be without a copy of this book. It is a book to be bought and carefully studied. (Mr. Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russell street, will supply the book for 16s.)

THE CHRIST OF THE INDIAN ROAD: By E. Stanley Jones. Published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, London. Pp. 254. Price 3s. 6d.

The book is written by an American who has come to India as a Christian Missionary. Being an American he cannot directly have any political motive for Christianising India. So what he writes is worth reading and moreover he has some new ideas to impart.

He finds three current methods of preaching Christianity:—

(i) The old method of attacking the weaknesses of other religions and trying to establish your own on the ruins of the other. (2) The method of Doctor Farquhar which was to show how Christianity fulfils the ancient faiths—a vast improvement on the old method. (3) The method of starting with a general subject of interest to all and then ending up with a Christian message and appeal.” p. 32.

The author ‘felt instinctively that there should be a better approach than any of these three.’ He says—“Christianity must be defined as Christ, not the Old Testament, not the Western civilization, not even the system built around him in the West but Christ himself and to be a Christian is to follow him.” p. 33.

Here he makes a distinction between his Christianity and the Christianity of the Christian Churches, and his Christianity means ‘following Christ.’ But what does he mean by ‘following Christ’? The word ‘Christ’ does not appeal to many minds. The word is appellative; though originally it meant ‘the anointed’ and was applied to kings, priests and patriarchs, it has now come to mean “The Messiah” or “The saviour of the world.” If this be the meaning of ‘Christ’, there is little hope for educated Hindus’ becoming Christians. Among Hindus the idea has become almost instinctive that every one is, by God’s Grace, to work out his own salvation. There is no place here for a Saviour.

Though a Christ may not be acceptable, Hindus will gladly accept Jesus. They will accept not only Jesus but also Hillel and Philo; Socrates and Epictetus; Yajna Valkya and Buddha; Chaitanya and Rama Krishna; and in fact, every one who has a message to give. Hindus leave their doors ever open; theirs is a vast hospitality. They invite every message-bearer and hear his message.

God reveals himself in every country and in every age. But he is inexhaustive and inexhaustible. Even the whole universe, past, present, and future, temporal, supertemporal: spatial or super-spatial, imagined, imaginable or unimaginable, cannot reveal all the aspects of his nature. How can then one nation or one man be said to have known him fully and totally? To know him we are to go to all our fellow-pilgrims to all the message-bearers, teachers and mystics,

to all the reformers, prophets and saints. We invite them to our own house and we go to their houses uninvited. We consider no one to be a foreigner; the whole world is one family and we are all brothers and sisters.

This is why we accept all the world-teachers and reject no one. But this acceptance and rejection can never be absolute. When we say—‘we eat a mango’, does this ‘eating’ mean eating its skin and stone also? Does the fowl-eater eat the fowl entire—the feathers, bones, beak, claws and intestines with the ingesta? In the religious world also we accept what is valuable, ignore what is non-essential and reject what does not conduce to morality and spirituality. We have freedom of choice.

Now what is the message of Jesus? What are his contributions to the religious history of the world or of his own race?

The subject has been thrashed thread-bare and the conclusion is—there is nothing new in his message and he makes no new contributions to the religious history of the world or of his own race.

Yet there are some points in his teachings and some traits in his character which are worthy of consideration and acceptance.

We may give a brief summary of what we accept and what we reject.

(i) We accept Jesus when he asks us to love God but we reject him when he attributes anger, fickleness, and vindictiveness to God, describes him as living far off in the heavens and assumes a Rival Being, the very Satan, ever contending with God for supremacy.

(ii) We accept him when he asks us to pray for those who hate us and persecute us and we reject him when he himself refuses to pray for non-believers (John XVII. 9)

(iii) We accept him when he asks his disciples to take no thought for the morrow and we reject him when he asks them to pray every day for their food for the morrow.

(Mtt. vi. ii; Lk. XI. 3)

(iv) We accept him when he says that God does not want sacrifice and we reject him when he himself offers animal sacrifices (Mtt. 26.17 ff; Mk. 14.12 ff; Lk. 22.7 ff)

(v) We accept him when he enjoins us to love our neighbours and we reject him when he says that our neighbours are only those who are our benefactors (Lk x, 29-37)

(vi) We accept him when he asks his disciples to love their enemies and we reject him when he denounces unbelievers and non-believers as dogs, swine, vipers, fox, Satan and children of Satan.

(vii) We accept him when he asks his disciples to preach the gospel and we reject him when he positively enjoins them not to preach to the Gentiles (Mtt. 10.5, vide also 15.24).

(viii) We accept him when he feels for the poor,—the sheep without shepherd—and we reject him when he says that he speaks to them in parables with a view to deluding them (Mtt. xiii. 13-15; Mk. iv. 12; Lk. viii. 10).

(ix) We understand him when he asks his disciples to follow him and we reject him when he asks them to hate their father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters. (Lk. xiv. 26).

(x). We accept him when he preaches non-resistance and we reject him when he makes

arrangements for buying swords and for armed resistance. (Lk. xxii. 36-38).

(xi) We accept him when he asks his followers not to be afraid of what kills the body, and we find him waiting when he flees for life, is terror-stricken, sweats a bloody sweat and prays for removing the 'cup'.

(xii) We admire him when he does not hesitate to break the sabbath laws and we reject him when he wants every one to fulfil even the least of the Jewish commandments (Mtt. v. 18-19; vide also xxiii. 23).

We unhesitatingly reject his mediatorship, his theory of Eternal Damnation and the salvation of the elect only, and also his theory of moral actions which is based on reward and punishment. But he preached two principles which are of permanent value.

The first is the "Fatherhood of God". The idea was borrowed from Judaism and had also been prevalent long before Jesus among Hindus and Greeks. But this antiquity of the principle does not detract from the value of Jesus' preaching it. A truth bears repetition.

The second is—(a) "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength" and (b) "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

These ideas also were prevalent at the time of Jesus and were quoted by him *verbatim* and with acknowledgment from the Old Testament. (Deut vi. 5; Leviticus xix. 18).

Now these are the essence that we extract from the teachings of Jesus and we cordially accept them.

What is not found in Jesus, must be sought for elsewhere.

Who teach us that God is *Satyam*—Immutable Reality; *Jnanam* consciousness : *Anantam* Infinite; *Anandam* Joy ; *Santam* Tranquillity : *Sivam* Blessedness? Not Jesus, but the Rishis of India.

Who teach us that He is *Sundaram* the—Beautiful? Not Jesus but the seers of Greece.

Who teach us that He is One without a second, one without a rival (i. e. a rival like Satan or a second God)? The Rishis of India.

Who teach us that He is our *Antaryamin* (Inner guide and controller), The Self of our self, our Inner self? The Rishis of India.

Who teach us that He is our *Bandhu* and *Sakha* (friend and companion) and *Suhrid* (good hearted 'sweet-heart')? who teach us that He is Dear and is dearer than everything in the Universe—father, mother a brother, sister, husband wife—nay, even one's own child? The sages of India.

Who teach us that He is to be worshipped as Dear? Who teach us how to commune with Him and to perceive Him directly and immediately? The Rishis of India.

Who exhort us to rise above not only worldliness but also Other-worldliness? Who teach us that pleasure of Heaven (Heaven as popularly and scripturally understood) are not the highest Good and Perfect Bliss? The seers of India.

Who teaches us Universal love—love for every creature? Who teaches us *maitri* (Love), *Karuna* (compassion) and *Mudita* (sympathetic joy)? The Buddha.

Who teaches us *Ahastuki Bhakti* (Uncaused and spontaneous devotion)? Sri Chaitanya.

Who teach us *Niskama Dharma* (work without any desire for fruits)? The seers of India.

Who teach us self conquest and equanimity? The Buddha and Socrates.

We are indebted to all the seers of the world.

There are sages and saints, prophets and reformers, torch bearers and mystics in all countries. Though of different countries, they belong to one Brotherhood and Jesus belongs to this Brotherhood.

MAHESH GHOSE

THE OCEAN OF STORIES : BEING C. H. TAWNEY'S TRANSLATION OF SOMADEVA'S KATHA SARIT SAGARA, NOW EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, FRESH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND TERMINAL ESSAY :—By N. M. Penzer, M. A. F. R. G. S., F. G. S. etc : Vols. VI and VII, Published at London, MCMXXVI, for circulation among subscribers only, by Chas. J. Sawyer Ltd., Grafton House, W. 1.

We have already written from time to time about this, superb edition of the late C. H. Tawney's translation of the Katha Sarit Sagara. Vols VI and VII, which have come out recently are, in general get up and wealth of notes, appendices etc., similar to the volumes previously published. In the present volumes we get the famous stories of the *vetalapancharimsati*, eight in vol. VI and seventeen (really sixteen) in Vol. VII.

Vol. VI is enriched by a valuable introduction by Mr. A. R. Wright, president of the Folk-Lore Society. His words on the transmission of folk-tales and on the importance of making the Katha Sarit Sagara available to western students are well worth quotation. He says :

"One of the many interesting problems in connection with the transmission of folk-tales is the exact part played by literary versions. It is a common-place to say that folk-tales have passed with changes—now and then becoming 'something rich and strange' in the alembic of genius—into literature, and thence they have again descended amongst the common people, the folk, and have been worked over once more by the popular taste and fancy, which have selected what appealed to them, and have effected still further changes and adaptations. In later ages the literary vehicle has probably been the most effective of the means of transmission from people to people, where in earlier ages the captured warrior and wife, the slave passing from hand to hand, and the trader and traveller were the *colporteurs* of folk-tales to fresh fields and pastures new. The gypsy also has played his part, though he has not yet received the full credit due to him as the spreader of folk-lore, and it could be shown, if need be, that drolls, or stories with a humorous appeal, have naturally leaped national or racial boundaries more easily than stories depending for their point on custom or belief. Several writers have already pointed out the obvious influence of the wide circulation and popularity of Perrault's *Contes* upon the genuine *Maerchen*, or neighbouring countries, but the general questions of the effects and extent of literary transmission of tales have hardly yet been intensively studied or appreciated, even in the case of the greatest of all literary disseminators, Boccaccio and Straparola. The *Katha Sarit Sagara* will now be available for the

study of its relation to popular tradition and the influence of its contents, chiefly through Persian, Arabian, and sometimes Jewish recensions, upon the folk-tales diffused through the West and reconverted into popular *Märchen* by medieval jongleurs, pilgrims, preachers, merchants and pedlars."

The introduction to Vol. VII, which has been contributed by Prof. Maurice Bloomfield of John Hopkins University is a striking statement of the methods and principles of the scientific study of folk-lore. He hopes that the day is not far off when the scientific study of the themes round which fiction grows up will produce an Encyclopaedia of Fiction to which students will, in the future, turn for information regarding the origin, transmission and modification of fiction *motifs*. Thus Fiction will develop "into a self-centred science whose real philosophical or psychological meaning is as yet unstated. A prerequisite is obviously the collection, assortment and critical appraisal of all the materials that appertain to the subject." Mr. Penzer's elaborate foot-notes and appendices will, we are perfectly certain, contribute greatly to the rapid and healthy growth of this Science of Fiction. In this field, as in all others, the greatest enemy of proper development is *dilettantism*. A scholarly work like Tawney and Penzer's *Ocean of Stories* will help largely to inspire awe into the smatterer and stimulate the serious student of culture-history.

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE; by H. W. Fowler, published by the Oxford University Press, cr. oct. pp. 742+VIII cloth. Price Sh. 7-6 nett.

The writing of correct English depends to a very great extent on knowledge of Usage. You can write 'a good many'; but is it allowable to write 'a good few'? How did we come to use the word 'happening' in English to signify an event? And is it good English to write "the happenings of the day" instead of "the events of the day"? Most of us have doubts regarding the use of words and phrases and this Dictionary will help us to tide over our difficulties. To the possessor of this volume the dictum "When in doubt, leave it out" will lose much of its infallibility and the confidence it will give to writers will surely improve the style of many who never go out of their way to find a suitable word to brighten up their composition.

The book is well printed and got up and cheap at 7-6 Sh.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, GENERAL CATALOGUE 1926:

This is the latest catalogue of publications on all subjects by the Oxford University Press. It contains a descriptive list divided into six sections, (General Literature; Modern History; English and Modern classics; The Ancient world; Natural science, medicine and technology; and, Oxford Bibles and Prayer Books) and an alphabetical list. The volume consists of nearly six hundred pages and is well printed and got up. Oxford publications cover practically every field of human thought and as such this complete catalogue should be of the greatest value as a reference book giving information about good books on all subjects.

A. C.

HOLIDAY FICTION.

We have received some very good books of fiction from Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, London E.C. 4. Most of them are by well known authors e. g. E. Phillips Oppenheim, Edgar Wallace, B. W. Sinclair, Zane Grey and others. Even the most serious of minds have to seek relaxation from time to time. At such times nothing could be better than a voyage on the uncharted oceans of imagination. Tumultuous affairs with cyclones and typhoons, desperate fights with bucaniers, relentless pursuits by secret gangs, exploits of the fearless and the reckless, moonlit lagoons—the natural abode of romance, dark intrigue and bloody secrets, wild zones where men never step; such things cannot be supplied by tourist agencies nor by department stores. The only way probably to get them is to obtain a supply of the latest fiction from H. & S. and to lock oneself in for days and days and days. The following are some of the best books we have received.

WILD WEST: By B. W. Sinclair. Price Sh 7-6. A book in which one gets a vivid picture of the rancher's life in the western states of the U.S.A.

ENTER A MESSENGER: By Richard Blaker. Price Sh. 7-6. The story of a man who was interested in all the world and a woman who was interested *only* in him.

THE GOLDEN SCARAB: By Hopkins Moorhouse. Price Sh. 7-6. A mystery story.

HARVEST: By Peter Deane. Price 7/6. Sir Philip Gibbs contributes a fore-word to this novel. The novel deals with the problems of the men and women, peacetime victims of war, who are expected to hate one another but cannot. Pictures of Allied soldiers feeding rickety German babies and of love overriding barriers of racial prejudice raise this novel above the level of the average "time-killing" sort.

WARDS OF THE AZURE HILLS: By Guy Morion. Price Sh. 7-6

DAYS OF 49: By Gordon Young. Price Sh. 7-6. A really good book.

THE HOUSE OF JOY: By Christine Orr. Price 7-6. THE TRAITOR'S GATE: A thrilling book by Edgar Wallace. Price Sh. 7-6

THE DARK DAWN: By Martha Ostenso. Price Sh. 7/6

UNDER THE TONTO RIM: A new Novel by Zane Grey. Price Sh. 7/6

THE BELOVED RAJAH: A brilliant first novel by A. E. R. Craig. A love story with a good plot.

THE CHAMNAY SYNDICATE: By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Price Sh. 3-6

MADAME: By E. Phillips Oppenheim Price Sh 3-6

MR. BILLINGHAM THE MARQUIS AND MADELOU: An extraordinarily clever book by E. Phillips Oppenheim. Price Sh. 3-6

HARVEY GARRAD'S CRIME: By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Price Sh. 7-6.

Quite upto Phillips Oppenheims' Standard.

THE LIGHT THAT LIES: By Mrs. Victor Rickards. Price Sh. 7-6

THE WHITE PERIL: *By Steven Westlaw. Price Sh. 7-6*

THE PAINTED STALLION: *By Hall. G. Evarts. Price Sh. 7-6*

SECRET HARBOUR: *By Stewart Edward White. Price Sh. 7-6*

FORRESTERS: *By J. K. Pulling. Price Sh. 7-6*

THE MID. OCEAN TRAGEDY: *By John Hawk. Price Sh. 7-6*

BLIND CORNER: *By Dornford Yates. Price Sh. 7-6 K.C.*

MUSCLE BUILDING THROUGH BARBELL EXERCISES: *By Chit Tun. B. Sc. Illustrated with 35 illustrations price Rs 2-8 to be had of the author, 35-c Creek Row, Calcutta.*

Mr. Chit Tun is a well known physical culturist and specially proficient in weight lifting. This book by him should be welcomed by all Physical culturists as coming from one who successfully practises what he preaches. It will help people to build up their body in a surprisingly short period.

A. C.

DIARY 1927: *Published by the Krisna Chemical Works Post Box. 11435 Calcutta.*

A neatly got-up useful pocket diary.

P. S.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S FIRST BUDGET.

EUROPE'S OPTICAL ILLUSION

PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN INDIA.

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA

These are small pamphlets from the pen of Mr. B. Mukherjee, Reader in Economics and sociology, University of Lucknow. The first three are reprints of articles published in the Lucknow University journal while "Co-operation in India" embodies an Extension lecture delivered in the University of Lucknow.

The first two of these deal with conditions in Europe, "The Labour Government's First Budget" being a critical analysis of the only budget that the first labour government in the history of England produced during its short-lived existence, while "Europe's Optical Illusion" is a study of Post-war economic policies of European countries. In "Provincial Finance in India" The author after tracing the history of the system of provincial finance in India and their relation to the finance of the central Government examines at some length the Meston Award, which he seeks to justify, after carefully weighing all the *Pros* and *cons*, on the ground that the interests of India taken as a whole are more urgent and more important than the purely local interests of any of the provinces.

Co-operation in India is a lucid and stimulating account of the growth of the agricultural credit co-operative movement in India.

H. S.

THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM OF INDIA:—*By Gyan Chand, M.A. (Published by Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, London, 1926. Price 10s. 6d. net).*

One important effect of the recent introduction of constitutional reforms in India has been the

increased interest with which questions of Indian finance are now being studied in all parts of the country. "The revenue of the State is the State" said Edmund Burke, and, in a country like India, aspiring to a higher form of democratic government the power of the purse must be one of the essential conditions of a popular government. Unfortunately for us, our power over the purse is still very far from complete. It is still inadequate, insufficient and unsatisfactory. The measure of our control over the finances of the country is the measure of our responsible government. This responsibility will grow gradually until we can rise to the full stature of free citizenship. As this responsibility grows, our power over purse will also grow on almost parallel lines. Finance, in modern days, is a highly complex thing and it needs a very close and careful study, before any man can adequately deal with it. In recent times—within the last 2 or 3 years a number of excellent handbooks on Indian Finance have been published. These books have enabled the people and the representatives of the people in the legislatures to make a scientific study of a highly technical and complicated subject without which it would have been difficult—if not impossible—for them to discharge their responsibilities in the matter of financial control inside the legislature.

The book before us is the latest addition to the list and we offer it a cordial welcome. The author belonged to the Economics Department of the Benares Hindu University and as such he is eminently qualified to handle the subject. The object of the book, as the author explains in the preface, is to describe and examine the working of the Indian financial system. As the Right Hon. Edward Hilton Young—who writes a foreword to the volume—explains, the author has done a true service to the cause of good government by writing this book to explain the structure and working of the financial machinery of India. He has provided the basis necessary for the formation of a well-informed public opinion in a matter vital to democratic progress.

The book itself covers a wide field—as necessarily it must, considering the size and importance of the subject. It begins by explaining in great detail the financial structure of the Indian administration—the control of the India office, the powers and privileges of the Finance Member, the internal organization of the Finance Department, the system of audit and accounts and the machinery of provincial finance. He then proceeds to explain the methods by which the budget estimates are prepared for presentation to the Legislative Assembly. He also discusses how the Home Estimates for the India Office are prepared. The Military, Railway and the Provincial Estimates are also taken into account and explained. We are then taken in detail through the different stages of the Budget in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State. In this connection, we regret to note however, that the author's criticism (page 84) of the general budget debate by the member of the legislatures is neither fair nor strictly accurate. It is idle to expect that in a vast body of men drawn from all classes of people, as a legislature always is, every member shall be an expert on finance and shall speak as a Gokhale or a Gladstone. Such a level of perfection is nowhere attained—not even in England which

has got the oldest and the most intelligent democracy in the whole world. Even, as it is, there are quite a number of our Council Members whose treatment of financial questions in the Council is well above the ordinary level of perfection—and this is a fact which has been repeatedly acknowledged from the Treasury Benches. To talk of 'extravagant diction' and 'hyperbole' 'highly coloured phrases' and 'habitual waste of words' (p. 85) in connection with the Indian budget debate is certainly, in our opinion, very much in excess of the needs of the situation and we are afraid, such remarks of the author will cause wide resentment. In the next chapter, the author gives us a very lucid account of the relations of Central and Provincial Finance—a subject on which, unfortunately, there has been no end of inter-provincial jealousies and quarrels in recent years. In this connection, the author very lucidly explains (at pp. 167-9) the difficulties of present provincial finance in as much as the resources assigned to the provinces are already inelastic and will become more so with the lapse of time. This aspect of provincial autonomy will demand the most serious consideration from the Royal Commission that will meet in 1929. The remaining chapters of the book deal with financial administration—the collection of the revenue, the working of the treasury system, Ways and Means, Balances and Reserve operations, accounts and audit, public debt and local finance. In the several appendices also, the author gives much valuable information that will be of great use to all students of Indian Finance.

B. M.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN VILLAGES VOL 1
DELTAIC VILLAGES : By N. G. Ranga B. Litt (oxon)
Andhra Economic Series no 1, Price Rs 2—

The present book is the first outcome of a study of Indian village economy proposed to be made by the author, who claims to be an agriculturist himself. In this monograph Mr. Ranga has taken the Guntur district in the Madras Presidency as his objective and has dealt, rather elaborately with every phase of the agricultural life there—dry crops, wet crops, cattle breeding, position of ryots, condition of labourers, farm budgets, domestic budgets, agricultural indebtedness and so on. Although the book shows signs of much labour on the part of the author, yet the arrangements have been far from satisfactory, the chapter on farm cost enquiry being the only one worthy of some note. The book has thus failed on the whole to justify the comprehensive name that it bears. We hope however that the author's labours will soon fructify into more attractive and instructive contributions towards the solution of our village problems which are the greatest problems of the hour.

N. S.

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HUMAN SOCIETY By
Franklin. H. Giddings. Professor of Sociology in
Columbia University. Published by the Oxford
University Press. Price 2 dollars. 1924.

As the name indicates this is a work on the application of rigorous scientific methods to the study of human society. Prof. Giddings, the distinguished author of this volume, by his important contributions, has more than any one else in recent

years, brought the study of social institutions to its present advanced position. It is, therefore, fitting that he should indicate the lines in which social phenomena can admit of verification. Societal forms, unlike physical and biological ones are less definite and more variable and are therefore more difficult for accurate and precise study. But even here much can be achieved by the application of statistical methods, and sociological generalisations can be brought to the same level as those of other sciences. But the measurement of societal facts has limitations and these should be thoroughly understood before really profitable results can be expected. Prof. Giddings has carefully laid down these limitations and ably shown that while the ultimate object of Sociology is the discovery of social "constants" in the sense of approximations e.g. the ratio of population and food, formulated by Dr. Raymond Pearl, the most fruitful domain at present, in which precise scientific methods can be applied, is the measurement of social "variables" specially their correlations.

The present work consequently is not to be regarded as a treatise on Sociology but rather as a work on methodology of that science. Being the only work of its kind and admirably written, it is eminently fitted to be used as a text-book and in fact no study of human society can be said to be complete until the problems discussed in this volume are thoroughly mastered,

B. S. Guha.

HINDI

SRI PRAVACHANASAR TIKA PART II : By Brahmachari
Sitalprasad, the Editor. "Jainmitra," Surat.
Published by the Digambar Jain Pustakalaya,
Chandavari, Surat. 1925, Pp. 396.

Brahmachari Sitalprasad is well-known for his enthusiasm in the diffusion of Jain literature. He has done a service by publishing this old book on Jain philosophy by Kundakundacharyya who flourished in 49 Vikrama era. This book written in Prakrit is named *Sri Pravachanasar*, and is much appreciated in the Jain circle. The editor has spared no pains in elucidating the abstruse problems of Jain philosophy.

SRAVAKACHARA PART II—Translated by Pandit
Nandalal Vaidya. Published by the Digambar
Jain Pustakalaya, Surat. 1925. Pp.

This book on the conduct of the Jain *Śrāvaka*s was written in Sanskrit verse by Gupabhusanacharya. The subject is fully explained in the body of the book and the appendix gives the Sanskrit original.

ENGLAND KE SANGATHANIK KANUN—By Suparswadas
Gupta B. A., Published by A. Kumar & Sons,
Arrah. 1925. Pp. 157.

The constitutional laws of England are presented in Hindi following the English work by Dicey.

SIKSHA SAMASYA—By Srimad Sankaracharya
Maharaj of the Govardhan Math. Published by
Ramprasad & Bros, Agra. Pp. 71.

Swami Bharatikrishna Tirtha who is 'the Sankaracharya' of the Govardhan Math is vastly learned in Sanskrit and Western lore. He delivered an

address to the students of the Jwalapur Mahavidyalaya in Sanskrit dwelling on the drawbacks of the present system of education. He has touched upon many important point and shows how education is suffering from the contact of the European method of teaching.

Alexander the great is placed at 700 B.C.—but that is not borne out by the existing materials of history.

PRETA-LOKA—By *Pundit Ramnarain Pathak*. Published by the *Radhesyam Pustakalaya, Bareilly*. 1926. Pp. 186.

A discourse on spiritism and a collection of the anecdotes of some 'well-known' disembodied spirits.

VEDAJNA MAX MULAR—By *Surendranath Tivari*, *Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow*. Pp. 93.

A short life-sketch of the world famous Indianist.

Takli Siksha—By *Maganlal Khu. Gandhi and Richard B. Greg*. Published by the *Siksha Bibhag, Charkha-Singha, Sabarmati*. Pp. 72.

A useful and illustrated hand-book on spinning.

RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

KAVITA AND SAHITYA VOL. 1 : By *Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai*, printed at the *Diamond Jubilee Printing Press Ahmedabad*, cloth cover. Pp. 356. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1926).

Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai's valuable work in the field of pure literature is known to every Gujarati. His essays on poetry and literature collected in book-form had been long out of print, and taking advantage of a fresh edition he has very conveniently grouped them into different appropriate groups, and thus this volume contains essays only on poetry or poetics. It has taken its place already as a classical work on the subject.

DESA SEVA : By *Sivdass Chansy Thakkar*, is a collection of several public letters and contributions from him at the time a conference of the subjects of the Cutch State was held in Bombay in October 1926. They throw a flood of light on the subjects treated therein.

VIR DHANANJOY : By *Maha Sankar Somesawar Pathak*, printed at the *Pratap Vijay Press, Baroda*. Thick Card Board. Pp. 149, Re. 1-4-0 (1926).

As its name implies it is a connected life-story of Arjuna, taken from the Mahabharata and told in a simple style. This enables the reader to appraise Arjuna's prowess at its proper value at a glance.

DIVYA DHAM DARSHAN : By *Vrajlak Tribhovanadas Kamlar*, printed at the *Gurjar Prabhat Printing Press Calcutta*. Paper cover. Pp. 150. Price Re 1-0-0 (1926).

Kailas and Manasarovar are names to conjure with the case of Hindu pilgrims, and books narrating the difficulties of travel to these distant places in the Himalayas are very scarce in Gujarati. This guide is both useful and interesting and gives

a vivid description of the privations suffered by the author as well as of the charming natural scenery witnessed by him.

ARYO KI NETI : By *Chhaganlal Dalpatram Upadhyay*, printed at the *Kalamaya Printing Press, Surat*; paper cover. pp. 190 price Re 1-0-0 (1926)

It is a book based on Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar's Manual of Hindu Ethics and shows by means of various quotations from the ancient literature of India the high level of culture there. The book is meant for the uplift of our society.

SARITA : By *the Udaya Mondal members of Bombay*, is a thin little volume, consisting of papers written on various subjects by little students. Considering their age and equipment, they have done creditably.

ANAN DHARA PART III : By *Ramanlal Nandalal Saha*, printed at the *Sajji Vijay Press, Baroda*. Paper Cover. Pp. 80 Price Rs. 0-9-0. (1926).

Short—some of them very short tales to entertain children and with pictures they are sure to interest the little ones.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

MUKTABANDH By *Mr. M. D. Altekar M. A.* Published by the author. Pages 330: Price Rs two.

Writers of social novels in Marathi seem to have acquired a habit of depicting society not as it is at present, but of modelling it after the Western pattern. Unreality seems to be the order of the day in social novelistic literature. Mr. Altekar's novel is no exception. Otherwise the book is readable and entertaining.

DHARMA-RAHASYA : By *Mr. K. L. Daphtary M. A. B. L.* Pages 290 Price Rs, Three.

That Hindu religion stands in need of re-modelling and re-setting in accordance with the needs of modern times goes without saying. But the task is beset with great difficulties, specially because education and enlightenment have not so far penetrated into the strong-hold of Hindu orthodoxy. Mr. Daphtari has however done his level best to show that a liberal interpretation can be placed on the old religious texts, so that the reforms which are absolutely necessary in these days to bring the Hindu religious practices in line with enlightened ideas about religion, may be easily introduced without in any way coming into conflict with old religious texts. The subject is a vast one, but the present work, I am glad to note, gives a sufficient foretaste of what the author desires to place before the public in further volumes on the subject. It is a pity that rich thoughts should be clad in poor trappings.

JEEWAN-RASAYANA-SHASTRA : By *Mr. V. M. Kulkarni H. M. D.* Price Rs two.

The book will serve as a very useful guide to those who will desire to try Schnessler's Biochemical remedies, which are of late deservedly coming into popularity.

V. G. APTI

GLEANINGS

Flowers of Butter

Working in heavy fur coat, cap and tall Russian boots, a San Francisco woman models realistic blossoms in butter for display purposes. Her



These Roses, Moulded of Butter, Are Accurately Colored and Difficult to Tell from Real Ones

studio is a refrigerator and her gardens flourish on ice. Vegetable dyes are used to reproduce the colors. Careful study of the nature of the substance has enabled the sculptor to achieve successful results even with very small flower designs.

—*Popular Mechanics*

John Singer Sargent

"Our single outstanding type of genius governed by complete technical authority." The phrase is applied to John Singer Sargent, who died in London April 15, 1926. Measured in terms of pure painting John Sargent was one of the giants, a figure in modern art comparable only to the great leaders in the heroic periods. This supremacy has been frequently accorded him in recent years and his death brings forth a unanimity in such expression. He was the sole heir of Velasquez. The New York *Sun* states:—

"No great artist, ever held a more undisputed primacy in his own field. Titian was rivaled

by Veronese, Rubens by Rembrandt, and Reynolds by Gainsborough, but Sargent in our generation has towered alone as a portrait painter. The National Gallery of London which seldom accepts the work of a living man,



An early portrait by Sargent by which "he astonished the habitués of the Paris Salon." It hangs in the Metropolitan Museum.

hung his pictures alongside those of Sir Joshua. In Italy and France, in Berlin and St. Petersburg, his fame was secure before he reached middle age.

"He started as a variable Prince Charming, with all the favors of fortune clustering in his hands and with the ability to justify his possession

of them. In all the picturesque annals of the studio there is nothing quite like it until you pause upon, say, the lives of such men as Rubens and Van Dyck.

When Sargent came as a youth to Paris, fresh from the impressions of old Italian art received in his Florentine home, he had talent enough promptly to win admission into the atelier



Painted when Sargent was 26, from which, says one of his critics, it is easy to see, "the artist had nothing to undo."

of Carolus-Duran. He had not been there long before he showed that his talents were adequate to the eclipsing of his master. Americans may see in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that full length of the celebrated Parisian beauty, Mme. Gautreau, with which he astonished the habitués of the Salon. It proclaimed the advent of a pupil of Carolus who was also his rival, and a potent one. From that time the ball was at his feet.

At a stride he achieved the supremacy in European portraiture. There were envious commentators then—and there are some to this day. They could accumulate a little evidence in his formative period. Inevitably, perhaps, he took over from Carolus a little of that fashionable craftsman's fondness for *etoffage*. The costumes and upholstery in some of the earlier Sargents are a trifle overdone. But to dwell on the circumstance is to miss the correct perspective in which to regard him. The preoccupation with *frou-frou* passed, and what remained was the easy strength of the great artist.



"One of the Giants, a figure in Modern Art comparable only to the great leaders in the heroic periods"—John Singer Sargent

He was great, primarily, in his mastery over the instruments of expression. Since Hals there has been no one to beat him in technical virtuosity. He drew with great force and precision. His brushwork was of that instinctive and magical variety which we associate with men like Hals and Velasquez. In powers of design he fell short of that standard which is designated as 'the grand style.' His group portraits, like the one which came to be known as 'The Three Graces,' or that other one which he painted from the Hunter ladies, were impressive *tours de force* without quite reviving the serene perfection of his greater predecessors. But design as it could be exploited in the presentment of a single figure was emphatically his. He 'placed' the sitter with unerring tact and sometimes with an amazing felicity.

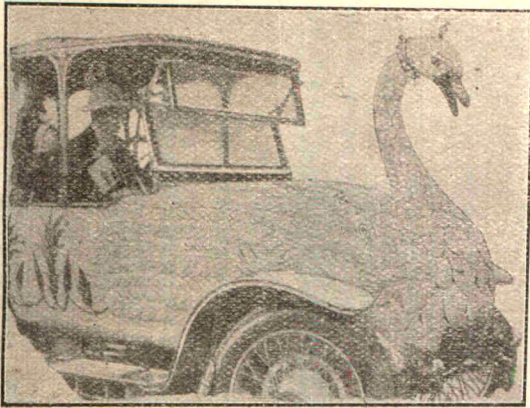
Those who sat to Sargent took risks, says the writer in *The Sun*, for "he could turn a white illumination upon the inner man which was sometimes merciless."

—Literary Digest

Swan Auto

Motorists in India like originality in their cars so one wealthy owner has had a special body

built like a swan, while the front springs end in grotesque heads reminiscent of the griffins carved on medieval buildings. A multi-toned exhaust horn has been provided for emergency use, and



Swan Auto Owned by Motorist in India ; Exhaust Gas from Engine Hisses through Mouth to Warn Pedestrians

the usual warning signal is given by the swan opening its mouth and hissing in realistic fashion at pedestrians who get in the way. The hiss is provided by exhaust gas from the engine. Instead of the usual headlights, a single globe surmounts the swan's head like a crest or comb, and a ring of smaller lamps is fitted around its throat, forming a sort of necklace.

—*Popular Mechanics*

Tin Engravings

Mr. Perham W. Nahl, Associate Professor of Art, University of California has recently exhibited a few of his tin-engravings depicting the charm



Tin Engraving by Mr. Nahl

of the Jewelled city of Guanajuato, Mexico. They show Mr. Nahl's artistic ability though in repro-



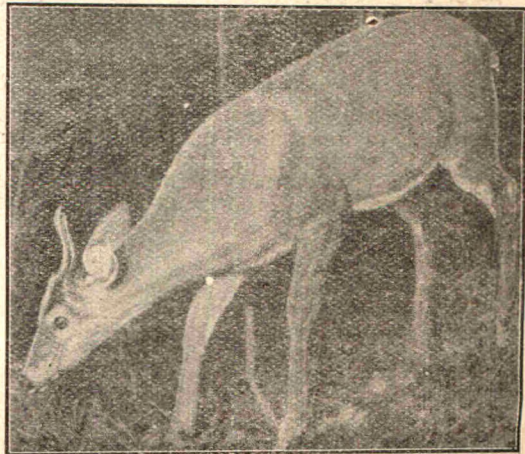
Tin Engraving by Mr. Nahl

duction much of the charms of the original is lost. We reproduce here two of his engravings.

—*Pacific World*

Deer takes own Photograph with Hidden Flash

Carefully concealed in the underbrush, a camera and flashlight registered an excellent photograph



Trapped by the Camera : Flashlight Photo Young Deer Took of Itself When It Stepped on Hidden Trigger in Brush

of a young deer feeding in the Pocono mountains of Pennsylvania. The flash was sprung by a trap hidden in the leaves. Similar photos are not uncommon, but few show the subject at such close range and accurate focus.

—*Popular Mechanics*

Synthetic Coal from Rubbish

Rubbish, old shavings and other waste are treated with a special liquid and pressed into bricks for fuel by a Viennese chemist. The pieces



Rubbish Converted into Chunks of Fuel ; the Material Is Pressed and Treated with a Liquid to Aid Combustion

are said to give a hot fire and a wagon load of the material can be obtained for a small price.

—*Popular Mechanics*

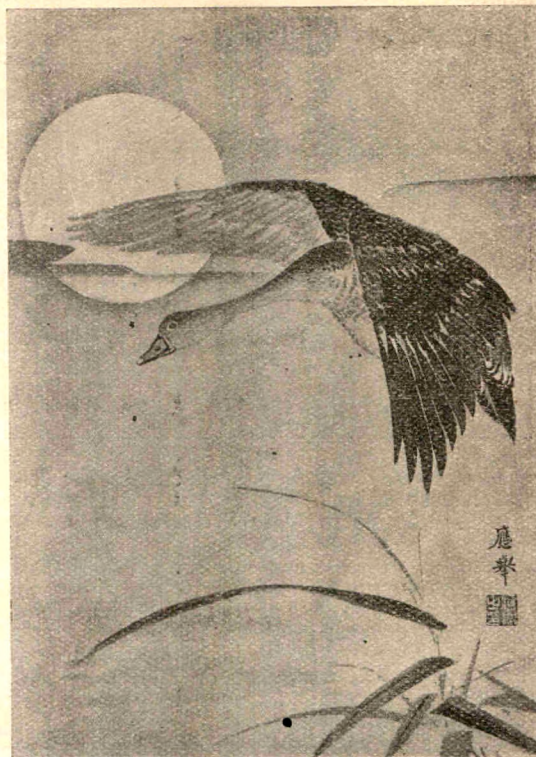
Art in Japan

It must be freely admitted that the remarkable degree of excellence obtained by Japanese artists in expressing art through difficult technical means, such as metal work and ivory cutting is unsurpassed in any other country ; and practically all great Japanese painters are masters at expressing their ideas in woodcuts. It is true though that a lot of apparently Japanese ideas concerning art have in reality filtered through from China, accepted by the Japanese, as the Japanese themselves call it ; but the Japanese have a natural genius of their own which shines through.

Perhaps Westerners do not fully realize what a hard and callous nature they have developed until they come into contact with the genuine Oriental nature, which is so sensitive to the smallest thing that it gives us quite a surprise. And, no doubt, it is this deeply sensitive nature which is the cause of the delicacy we always notice in Japanese art of all kinds.

In examining art in print, we find that the

very first book ever printed in Japan was called the "Muku Shokogyo," published by order of the Emperor Shotoku ; this was in the year 765 ; it had,



OKYO'S BIRD SCENES

Okyo was a Kyoto artist of the eighteenth century school of art in Japan. His work marks the beginning of the naturalistic school of painting. He was fond of tramping the fields to paint the wild animals directly from Nature.



HIROSHIGE

The Japanese organize their prints on systems of intersecting lines free at the ends ; a horizontal line, crossed by a diagonal, or a half curve swinging over a vertical straight line. and so on

however, no illustrations. The exact date when the first printed illustrations appeared is not known, but in 1325 Priest Ryokin had already published a number of religious souvenirs to be bought by pilgrims, some of which are still in existence. During the centuries which followed many so-called masters of art appeared; but anything like real advance seems to have been slow. Indeed, some of the very early work appears to have been quite as good or better than the later. One always notices the same remarkable delicacy and care throughout the Japanese work.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the old style in Japan, learnt from China, was nearing its end. Ukiyo broke away from the Tosa School; he was called the "moving world" because



HEROSHIGE

It is not the color, but the line and composition in the Japanese and Chinese art that is beyond the emulation of the European. That line is the expression of a flexible brush which is not a part of European culture.

he went to the common life of the people for his inspiration, and it is said, "liberated Japan from the traditional Chinese dogs and monkeys".

Then again as in other countries, art in Japan has had its vigorous "back to Nature" periods, its "heraldic" or hero-worship episodes, its "Eleektiks", as a German author terms the artists of the Utamaro period, and so on. It seems to be a debatable point as to whether printing in colors was first executed in Japan or China; at any rate, two or three color printing was done by the Japanese in the early part of the eighteenth

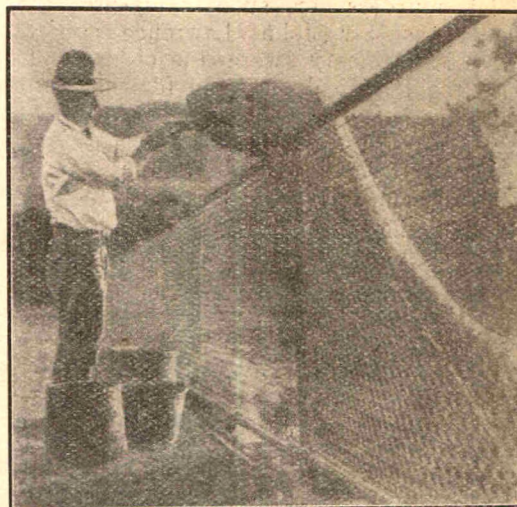
century; and more colors were not slow in following owing to the superiority of the Japanese over the Chinese in the manufacture of pigments.

The history of the development of Japanese art is a long and interesting study. The more one studies Japanese work, the more fascinated one becomes with it. Naturally, owing to the adoption of European methods by the Japanese, great changes have come about during the last twenty years. But it is evident that Westerners have a good deal to learn also from the Easterners.

—Pacific World

Three ton Elephant Seal

Most seals in the zoos have to swim for their food, but the 6,000-pound elephant specimen in San Diego, leans leisurely against the fence and swallows its meal of fish directly from the keeper's



Giving the Elephant Seal Its Morning Ration of Fish; the Three-Ton Creature Has Been in Captivity Less Than a Year

hands. The huge creature was captured about a year ago on Guadalupe island, off the coast of lower California.

—Popular Mechanics

"COOPERISM" THE PREDECESSOR OF "DYERISM"

OR

"OVERAWING" AND "STRIKING TERROR INTO" THE PANJABIS

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (Retired)

PERHAPS no other province in India was acquired by the East India Company by more "Christian" methods than the Panjab. Hence the peculiarly "Christian"

treatment meted out to the Sirdars and people of the land of the five rivers as narrated in the "Rise of the Christian Power in India," Vol. V., pp. 377-79. And hence arose

the desire to convert it into a model "Christian" province.

It is on official record that but for the Panjab, India would have been lost to England in 1857. The Panjab had to be rewarded for her loyal services rendered during the Mutiny. The Panjab was the best recruiting ground for the Native Indian Army. So after the Indian Mutiny, steps were taken to reward the Panjab by depriving her sons of the right to serve in the Artillery! Because the natives of the Panjab were very or rather extra-loyal, therefore, a more oppressive system of Government was established over them by the servants of the East India Company.

It was therefore that cold-blooded judicial murders by such highly-professing Christians as Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery were the order of the day in the Panjab during and for some time after the Mutiny. One Frederick Cooper, belonging to the "Heaven-born Service" and the author of "The Crisis in the Punjab" was not ashamed to write :

"One of the most portentous features of the insurrection in Hindoostan, was official ingratitude and disloyalty. We have read of judges and collectors mocked with a trial and murdered deliberately by their native official subordinates, principally, if not always, Mahomedans. Even in the Punjab, where the people were as yet on the whole loyal, the execution, by orders of Mr. Montgomery, of a Subadar of a Sikh Battalion, of the resalदार of the mounted police, and of the gaol darogah for "having failed in their duty to the State" was necessary, to show publicly in the eyes of all men, that at all events the Punjab authorities adhered to the policy of overawing, by a prompt and stern initiative (the only way to strike terror into its semi-barbarous people), and to the last would brook nothing short of absolute, active, and positive loyalty. Government could not condescend to exist upon the moral sufferance of its subjects."*

Referring to this, John Malcolm Ludlow writes in his "*Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*," pp. 180-181, Allahabad reprint :—

"Men like Mr. Frederick Cooper, who, in the face of God and man, dare to boast of the butchery, or death by suffocation, of nearly 500 of their fellow-creatures as of the "ceremonial sacrifice" of a "Christian," should be made distinctly to feel at the hands of every one of their fellow-countrymen, from the Sovereign to the poorest of her subjects, that righteous horror which is due to acts which transcend the grasp of human punishment.†

* The "*Crisis in the Punjab*," pp. 151-152.

† "See this hideous story in Mr. Cooper's book, the "*Crisis in the Punjab*," pp. 152-70. The men in question belonged to a disarmed regiment,

No messages of mercy can avail, while it is liable to be belied and perverted by such instruments. "Cooperism," and the Queen's sway over India, are two incompatible things henceforth. Those who choose to perpetuate the one must forego their allegiance to Victoria.

There is no reason to suppose that the order given by Montgomery was a hasty one. It was deliberately given. In "*India under the Company and the Crown*," writes Thurlow, pp. 82-83, Allahabad reprint :—

Under Providence all this has been effected by a pleasant-looking man of middle height, whose benign appearance militates against the known severity of his decisions. In him, regular attendance at divine service, audible repetition of the responses, and large participation in all missionary works, did not prove incompatible with, displace, or even mitigate, the readiness with which he had resort to capital punishment, or applauded a liberal use of rope by the junior members of his administration. This peculiar feature in a man so gifted as Sir Robert Montgomery has not escaped the keen observation of some previous writers: and Mr. Martin quotes, in his 'Progress and Present State of British India,' a letter dated "Lahore, Sunday, 9 A. M.," wherein the Lieutenant-Governor congratulates Mr. Frederick Cooper, one of his so-called hanging commissioners, in the warmest terms, on the manner in which the 20th Regiment of Native Infantry had been by him blotted out of the book of life for some imagined signs of disaffection, adding, "Three other regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance, and not a man would escape if they do." Mr. Martin holds that this rejoicing over the extermination of a thousand men, and eagerness to find a pretext for the destruction of three thousand more, reads strangely from the pen of one of the most prominent advocates for the propagation of Christianity in India, but it explains in his eyes why "our success as subjugators has been attended by failure as evangelists." The fact is that Sir Robert ruled in virtue of power received from others, ever stretched by him to its utmost limits, not by the suffrage of mankind at large; and could at any moment the third Napoleon's invention of the plebiscite have been introduced, throughout the

whose rising must have been a very panic of self-defence. They were jaded fugitives, craving for mercy. They were more numerous than their captors, and had to be decoyed into their power by a sham of leniency planned as such devil's deeds usually are, amidst "intense mirth". Some on being led to execution, "petitioned to be allowed to make one last salaam to the Sahib." One of the Sikh executioners swooned away at the 150th who was shot. The narrator seems proud to compare the suffocation of 45 with the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the well into which the bodies are thrown with that of Cawnpore. The hasty sanction given by Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Montgomery to such acts cannot absolve them. (John Malcolm Ludlow's footnote in his "*Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*."

land of the five rivers, at that moment Sir Robert would have ceased to reign. He governed rather by reason of the machinery at his command than by his personal ascendancy; and it may be questioned whether attributes like his would have shone with equal lustre in the piping times of peace as in the years of Mutiny and reconquest that little short of his prosperity could have adorned.

Such being the training ground of the Christian civilians in the Panjab, they developed a mentality which found expression in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre in 1919.

Delhi people had to be punished on account of the Mutiny, and, therefore, they were handed over to the tender mercies of the servants of the Government of the Panjab after the Mutiny. As long as the Panjab frontier was under the Panjab Government, there was the Frontier Law which knew only hanging or transportation for all serious crimes.

It would thus appear that "striking terror into" the people of the Panjab was one of the means for consolidating the Christian Power in India.

It was the Mahomedans who were the greatest sufferers at the hands of the Europeans at the time of the Mutiny. Proportionately, more of them were summarily tried and executed, and mercilessly ill-treated than the Hindus. It made the last titular Emperor of Delhi write:—

"Lakhon begunan hon ko diya fansi."

(That is, hundreds of thousands of innocent people were hanged.)

But the Mahomedan being now recognized as the "favourite wife", it would not do to remind her of the treatment meted out to her during the Mutiny. No, some British writers are trying to suppress this fact by all means in their power. Thus, the *Pioneer*, which was considered the leading Christian daily in India, while admitting that "after the capture of cities like Lucknow and Cawnpore too many innocent Hindus were summarily tried and executed," deliberately suppressed the fact of the Mohamedans being the greater sufferers.

Frederick Cooper proceeds in the chapter of his book the opening lines of which have been quoted above:—

Suffice it to say that it was reported at mid-day on the 31st of July, that they were trying to skirt the left bank of the Ravee; but had met with unexpected and determined opposition from the Tehseeldar, with a posse of police, aided by a swarm of sturdy villagers at a ghat twenty-six

miles from the station. A rapid pursuit was at once organised.

At four o'clock, when the district officer arrived with some eighty or ninety horsemen, he found a great struggle had taken place: the gore, the marks of the trampling of hundreds of feet, and the broken banks of the river, which augmented with the late rains, was sweeping in a vast volume all testified to it. Some 150 had been shot, mobbed backwards into the river, and drowned inevitably; too weakened and famished as they must have been after their forty miles flight to battle with the flood. The main body had fled upwards and swum over on pieces of wood, or floated on to an island about a mile off from the shore, where they might be described crouching like a brood of wild fowl. It remained to capture this body, and having done so, to execute condign punishment at once.

Everything natural, artificial, and accidental favoured the attempt and combined to secure the fate of the mutineers. So cool was the day that no horses were knocked up, though the riding was very heavy, and the distance they had made (twenty-six miles) from Umritsur was great. The sun was waxing low, and the dispirited mutineers probably would magnify the numbers of the reinforcing party; and, moreover, probably would think that the Tehseeldar, with all the villagers who had attacked them so warmly in the first instance, was still on the bank flushed with recent triumph, and eager with accession of strength; whereas, in fact, many had gone in pursuit of stragglers some ten miles off. These were the calculations of the district officer, and they turned out not amiss.

There were but two boats, both rickety, and the boatmen unskilled. The presence of a good number of Hindoostanees among the sowars might lead to embarrassment and "accidental" escapes. The point was first how to cross this large body to the main land, if they allowed themselves to be captured at all (after the model of the fox, the geese, and the peck of oats). This was not to be done under two or three trips, without leaving two-thirds of the mutineers on the island, under too scanty a protection and able to escape, whilst the first batch was being conveyed to the main bank; nor also without launching the first batch, when they did arrive, into the jaws of the Hindoostanee party, who in the first trip were to be left ostensibly "to take care of the horses" on the main land. From the desperate conflict which had already taken place, a considerable struggle was anticipated before these plans could be brought into operation.

The translation of the above fable to the aged Sikh Sirdar, who accompanied, and to the other heads of the pursuing party, caused intense mirth, and the plan of operations after this formula elicited general approval.

So the boats put off with about thirty sowars (dismounted of course) in high spirits; most of the Hindoostanee sowars being left on the bank. The boats straggled a little, but managed to reach the island in about twenty minutes. It was a long inhospitable patch, with tall grass; a most undesirable place to bivouac on for the night, with a rising tide; especially if wet, dispirited, hungry, without food, fire, or dry clothing. The sun was setting in golden splendour, and as the doomed men with

joint palms crowded down to the shore on the approach of the boats, one side of which bristled with about sixty muskets, besides sundry revolvers and pistols, their long shadows were flung far athwart the gleaming waters. In utter despair forty or fifty dashed into the stream and disappeared, rose at a distance, and were borne away into the increasing gloom.

Some thirty or forty sowars with matchlocks (subsequently discovered to be of very precarious value) jumped with the shallow water and invested the lower side of the island, and being seen on the point of taking pot-shots at the heads of the swimmers, orders were given "not to fire." This accidental instruction produced an instantaneous effect on the mutineers. They evidently were possessed of a sudden and insane idea, that they were going to be tried by court martial after some luxurious refreshment. In consequence of which sixty-six stalwart sepoy submitted to be bound by a single man deputed for the purpose from the boats, and stacked like slaves in a hold with one of the two boats emptied for the purpose. Leaving some forty armed sowars on the island, and feeling certain that after the peaceful submission of the first batch (or peck of oats) the rest would follow suit and suit, orders were given to push off.

On reaching the shore, one by one, as they stepped out of the boats, all were tightly bound; their decorations and necklaces ignominiously cut off; and under guard of a posse of villagers, who had begun to assemble, and some Sikh horse, they were ordered to proceed slowly on their journey back, six miles to the Police Station at Ujnalla. Meanwhile the Hindoostanees (the geese) had been despatched to the island back in the boats with an overawing number of Tawana * sowars; and it was gratifying to see the next detachment put off safely; though at one time the escorting boat got at a great distance from the escorted, and fears were entertained that escape had been premeditated. However, by dint of hallooing, with threats of a volley of musketry, the next invoice came safely to land, and were subjected to the same process of spoliation, disrobing and pinioning. At any moment, had they made an attempt to escape, a bloody struggle must have ensued. But providence ordered otherwise, and nothing on the side of the pursuing party seemed to go wrong. Some begged that their women and children might be spared, and were informed that the British Government did not condescend to war with women and children.

The last batch having arrived, the long straggling party were safely but slowly escorted back to the Police Station, almost all the roads being knee-deep in water. Even this accident, by making the ground so heavy—not to mention the gracious moon, which came out through the clouds and reflected herself in myriad pools and streams, as if to light the prisoners to their fate—aided in preventing a single escape.

It was near midnight before all were safely lodged in the Police station. A drizzling rain coming on prevented the commencement of the execution; so a rest until daybreak was announced. Before dawn another batch of sixty-six was brought in, and as the Police Station was

then nearly full, they were ushered into a large round tower or bastion.

Previously to his departure with the pursuing party from Umritsur, the Deputy Commissioner had ordered out a large supply of rope, in case the numbers captured were few enough for hanging (trees being scarce), and also a reserve of fifty Sikh Levies for a firing party, in case of the numbers demanding wholesale execution; as also to be of use as a reserve in case of a fight on the island. So eager were the Sikhs that they marched straight on end, and he met them half way, twenty-three miles between the river and the Police Station, on his journey back in charge of the prisoners, the total number of which, when the execution commenced, amounted to 282 of all ranks, besides numbers of camp-followers, who were left to be taken care of by the villagers.

As fortune would have it, again favouring audacity, a deep dry well was discovered within one hundred yards of the Police Station, and its presence furnished a convenient solution as to the one remaining difficulty which was of sanitary consideration—the disposal of the corpses of the dishonoured soldiers.

The climax of fortunate coincidences seemed to have arrived when it was remembered that the 1st of August was the anniversary of the great Mahomedan sacrificial festival of the Bukra Eed. A capital excuse was thus afforded to permit the Hindoostanee Mussalman horsemen to return to celebrate it at Umritsur; while the single Christian, unembarrassed by their presence, and aided by the faithful Sikhs, might perform a ceremonial sacrifice of a different nature (and the nature of which they had not been aware of) on the same morrow. When that morrow dawned, sentries were placed round the town, to prevent the egress of sight-seers. The officials were called; and they were made aware of the character of the spectacle they were about to witness.

Ten by ten the Sepoys were called forth. Their names having been taken down in succession, they were pinioned, linked together, and marched to execution; a firing party being in readiness. Every phase of deportment was manifested by the doomed men, after the sullen firing of volleys of distant musketry forced the conviction of inevitable death; astonishment, rage, frantic despair, the most stoic calmness. One detachment, as they passed, yelled to the solitary Anglo-Saxon magistrate as he sat under the shade of the Police station performing his solemn duty, with his native officials around him, that he, the Christian, would meet the same fate; then, as they passed the reserve of young Sikh soldiery, who were to relieve the executioners after a certain period, they danced, though pinioned, insulted the Sikh religion, and called on Gungajee to aid them, but they only in one instance provoked a reply, which was instantaneously checked. Others again petitioned to be allowed to make one last "salaam" to the Sahib.

About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing party), and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at two hundred and thirty-seven; when the district officer was informed that the remainder

* Raised near Shahpore.

refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a rush and resistance, preparations were made against escape; but little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers; they had anticipated, by a few short hours, their doom. The doors were opened, and behold! they were nearly all dead! unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. No cries had been heard during the night, in consequence of the hubbub, tumult and shouting of the crowds of horsemen, Police, Tehseel guards, and excited villagers. Forty-five bodies, dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and partial suffocation, were dragged into light, and consigned, in common with all the other bodies, into one common pit, by the hands of the village sweepers.

One Sepoy only was too much wounded in the conflict to suffer the agony of being taken to the scene of execution. He was accordingly reprieved for Queen's evidence, and forwarded to Lahore, with some forty-one subsequent captures, from Umritsur. There, in full parade before the other mutinously-disposed regiments at Meean Meer, they all suffered death by being blown away from the cannon's mouth. The execution at Una'la commenced at daybreak and the stern spectacle was over in a few hours. Thus, within forty-eight hours from the date of the crime, there fell by the law nearly 500 men. All the crowds of assembled natives, to whom the crime was fully explained, considered the act "righteous", but incomplete, because the magistrate did not hurl headlong into the chasm, the rabble of men, women and children, who had fled miserably with the mutineers: they marvelled at the clemency and the justice of the British.....

The above account, written by the principal actor in the scene himself might read strangely at home: a single Anglo-Saxon supported by a section of Asiatics, undertaking so tremendous a responsibility, and coldly presiding over so memorable an execution, without the excitement of battle, or a sense of individual injury, to imbue the proceedings with the faintest hue of vindictiveness. The Governors of the Punjab are of the true English stamp and mould, and knew that England expected every man to do his duty, and that duty done, thanks them warmly for doing it. The crime was mutiny, and had there even been no murders to darken the memory of these men, the law was exact. The punishment was death.

Political reasons also governed the occasion, and led to the decision as to immediate execution. Nicholson had left for Delhi, and was far on his road to Ludhiana. This fact was as well-known to every mutinous corps as if it had been heralded trumpet-tongued through the bazaars. Nearly three months had elapsed since the first outbreak, and still Delhi was untaken. Nothing could be more gloomy than the aspect of affairs at this time. In the Doab, there were no less than seven and a half disarmed regiments, besides two armed Hindoostanee Irregulars of doubtful allegiance. Such an opportunity for an immediate and tremendous example never presented itself before, and might never do so again. To transport three hundred and twenty disciplined and desperate sepoys, after refreshing them, was almost as

difficult as confining them with a due regard to safety for so short a time; much embarrassment for escort might have been produced, and perhaps a "sensation" created among the disarmed Poorbakh regiments at Umritsur, who might have been seized with an impulse to rescue. The effect on the whole Doab, and upon the mind of native society, has not proved to have been over-estimated; for since the extinction of this regiment, there has been no "sign" among the native troops therein located. Had the 26th N. I. escaped, or even had their punishment been less terrible and instantaneous, the whole of the disarmed regiments would of a certainty have followed their example, and consequence, which it were fruitless now to speculate upon, but easy enough to conjecture, might have ensued. Their extermination probably saved the lives of thousands. In his proclamation on the subject, the Chief Commissioner wrote: "It is fervently hoped that the signal and summary punishment which has overtaken this corps, may deter all others from committing atrocious and wanton murders which have disgraced the name of the Bengal Sepoy."...

Further on, the same rapid fate pursued the miserable residue. The gallant Major Jackson, of the 2nd Irregulars (still performing active service), went out, and pushed on so fast that he outrode his party and encountered forty of them. He attacked, killed and wounded several, and being in a swamp, got surrounded and wounded himself. Going further on, the desperate remnants fled by Madhopore, and Messrs. Garbett and Hanna with the utmost gallantry (the village people being negatively loyal), dashed out and performed repeated feats of gallantry almost unaided; for which they received the merited thanks of the Government. The few remnants have since been brought in and executed. There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also one at Ajnala.

The annexed letters are appended as a proof that no officer in the Punjab can do his duty without instant and warm recognition. They were received by the Magistrate the day after the occurrences narrated. The first letter is from the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, G. C. B.; the second from the next highest authority in the Punjab. They are highly characteristic, and redound to the honour of both. Their perusal will sensibly diminish the wonder why the Punjab Government is so successful.

*Demi-official from Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B.
Chief Commissioner for the Punjab
Lahore, 2nd August, 1857.*

My dear Cooper,—

I congratulate you on your success against the 26th N. I. You and your police acted with much energy and spirit and deserve well of the State. I trust the fate of these sepoys will operate as warning to others. Every effort should be exerted to glean up all who are yet at large.

Roberts will no doubt leave the distribution of the rewards mainly to you. Pray see that they are allotted with due regard to merit, and that every one gets what is intended for him.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. John Lawrence

Frederic Cooper Esq. D. C.
Umritsur

(Copy)

D. O. from Robert Montgomery Esq., Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Sunday, 9 A. M.

My dear Cooper,—

All honour to you for what you have done, and right well you did it. There was no hesitation or delay, or drawing back. It will be a feather to your cap as long as you live.

Get out of the wounded man all you can, and send him to Lahore, that he may himself proclaim what has been done. The people will not otherwise believe it.

I congratulate you very heartily on your success. There will be some stragglers, have them all picked up, and any you get send us now. You have had slaughter enough. We want a few for the troops here, and also for evidence.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

Sd- R. Montgomery

F. Cooper Esq; D. C.

P. S. The other three regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will now go, I wish they would, as they are a nuisance; and not a man would escape if the do.

Sd- R. M.

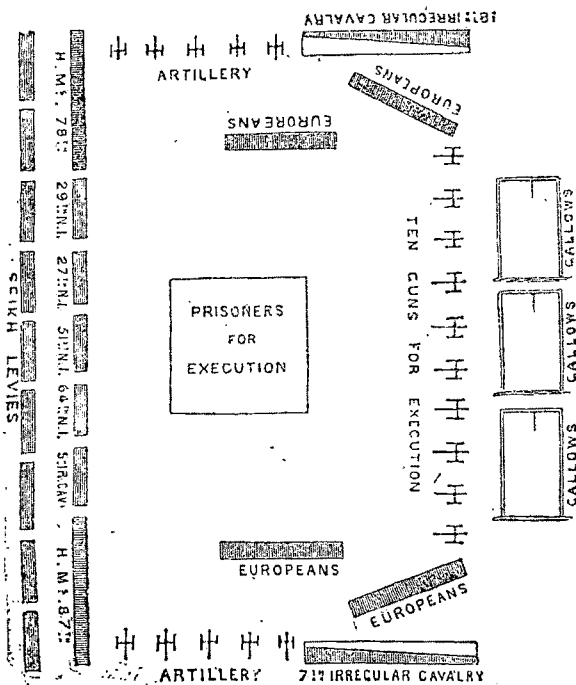
Lord Canning, who, through evil report and good report, has steadily insisted on discriminating justice, at once accorded his high commendation of the summary proceedings narrated in this chapter.

"The Crisis in the Punjab" contains narratives of many other gruesome incidents, out of which one is reproduced below.

"In a previous chapter we have depicted the position of 300 of H. M.'s 81st and 1 Europeans, H.E.I.C.S. guns, as they disarm four regiments N. I. at Meean Meer. The annexed diagram will show another imposing spectacle. The first terrible evidence of the British Government "asserting itself" to the death, was about to be given. A Subadar Major of the 51st had been captured and hanged, boasting that he had been a rebel for more than a year, and that the English rule was at an end. On this man's person was found 900 rupees. He inquired what was to be done with his money; having no doubt, in his mind some testamentary disposition to make, and revolving there the question as to residuary legatees. He was informed that after deducting 84 rupees the price of the gallows on which he was to swing, the balance would be credited to the State. Twelve men of his regiment were hanged two days after him in a row on full parade of all troops; and subsequently the awful punishment of blowing away from guns was inflicted upon forty of the 55 mutineers. The pacific English mind will observe the position of the gallows (see p. 67), and will comprehend the feeling of the forty doomed men; the last batch of whom had to be dragged up almost senseless to their merited fate. The impossibility of a rescue would, owing to this snug disposition, appear at a glance to the most interested spectators. A Mr. Rich, M.P., moved for a return of mutineers blown away from guns, but the motion was not seconded. General Cotton, who knows of squeamishness, will no doubt be happy to supply him with every information as to the draconic code in force, and which he was the first to execute." Pp. 66-69.

It may not be inappropriate to indicate briefly why, in this article and in some of his books, the writer has used the word

PLAN OF PARADE FOR EXECUTION. 67



Better write an official report, and place the whole on record. Bring forward all persons who did well. Do this judiciously. I mean discriminate between the medium, the good, and the super-excellent.

Prima facie, the Tehseeldar deserves apparently great praise. Were they baulked in getting the boats? and how? Had the Tehseel people knowledge that the 26th N. I. had broken out, or did they first ascertain it on seeing them?

You will have abundant money to reward all and the (executioners) Sikhs should have a good round sum given to them.

"Christian" in referring to the servants of the East India Company and their rule. Frederick Cooper, author of "The Crisis in the Punjab" writes in the preface to that book :—

"From Delhi to Calcutta lay a clear field for mutiny and insurrection. The sepoy army had become intoxicated with their sense of power. Every heart prayed, though few dared hope, for the Christians scattered over that boundless area." P. xiv.

The concluding paragraph of the preface runs as follows :—

"The following pages will show how just was the confidence placed in the loyalty and honour of the chieftains of Pattiala, of Jheend, and of Bikaner. The aim with which they have been written is to depict how the Punjab Government,embarked on a series of operations based on one broad grand line of policy ; which.....must for

ever remain to the world a monument of wisdom and self-denying heroism ; but that wisdom and that heroism are still but mere dross before the manifest and wondrous interposition of Almighty God in the cause of Christianity." P. xvi.

Frederick Cooper concludes his book on "The Crisis in the Punjab" with the following words :—

"The continent of Europe during the great struggle [the sepoy war] might have been looking on with ill-dissembled glee at Great Britain's fancied extremity ; whereas the harbinger of her greatest triumph has already heralded the downfall of the seat of Islamism in India. To those fond of reading signs, we would point to the solitary golden cross still gleaming aloft on the summit of the Christian Church in Delhi, whole and untouched ; though the ball on which it rests is riddled with shots deliberately fired by the infidel populace. The cross symbolically triumphant over a shattered globe !" P. 246.

TRUE STATUS OF HINDUS REGARDING AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

BY MARY K. DAS

SOMETIME ago *The Modern Review* published an article "Some Stateless Persons in the United States" by Dr. Taraknath Das ; and an article entitled "A Woman Without a Country," written by me, was also published in the Indian Press. In these two articles, facts and legal aspects affecting the American citizenship of those Hindus who were naturalized in the United States and their wives, were presented to the Indian public. Recently Mr. Surendra-nath Das Gupta, from Berkeley, California, has published an article on the same question in the Indian papers, which might spread false optimism and mislead the Indian public about the true status of the Hindus in the United States regarding American citizenship.

I

By Mr. Das-Gupta's article, the wrong impression has been spread in India that Mr. S. G. Pandit of Los Angeles has won the case, started against him by the United States Government, to cancel his American citizen-

Court of appeals in San Francisco recognized Mr. Pandit's contention that Hindus, being of Caucasian race are 'white persons' and he was therefore eligible to citizenship. But the actual fact in the case was that the U. S. Circuit Court of appeals in San Francisco, in its decision *did not recognise and consider that the Hindus are "white persons" and thus eligible to American citizenship* ; on the contrary it held that the interpretation of the term "white person" as handed down by the United States Supreme Court, in the U. S. v Bhagat Singh Thind case, decided on February 19, 1923, is binding on all courts in the United States, *unless the Supreme Court reverses its own decision in some future instance*. The Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco thus held that the Hindus are ineligible to American citizenship, because they are not white persons, and the judges who granted the citizenship to the Hindus rendered erroneous decisions. However, the court held that the error committed by a judge in granting a certificate of naturalization did not mean that a Hindu secured

court rendered its decision in favor of Mr. Pandit, retaining his American citizenship, on the purely technical ground of "*Res Adjudicata*". The opinion of the court in part reads as follows:—

"The issue in the trial court was clearly an issue of fact. The defendant asserted a status—'free white person' within the meaning of the Naturalization Act. This status the court determined as a question of fact in considering the evidence presented and after the issue was fully briefed and argued. *The court erred in its conclusion of Hindu being a Caucasian and thus white persons and eligible to American citizenship.*

'Erroneous' means deviating from the law... Courts often speak of erroneous rulings, and always as meaning as deviating from or are contrary to the law, but the term erroneous is never used by courts or law-writers as designating a corrupt or evil act... The question of *res adjudicata* or estoppel by judgment, is that both parties have had their day in the court.... Chief Justice Taft in N.C.R.R.V. Story, 269 U. S. 288, 292 said :

"Coming now to the merits, it may be conceded that the first judgment against the company in favor of the administrator, however erroneous it was in view of the cases of Missouri Pacific Railway v Ault, 256 U. S. 554, and North Carolina Railroad Company v Lee, Administrator, 260 U. S. 16, not having been appealed from, was "*res adjudicata*."

"By the same token the judgment granting naturalization to the defendant, the right to citizenship having been distinctly put in issue, directly determined by a court of competent jurisdiction, not having been modified or reversed, cannot now be disputed. The judgment is affirmed."

The decision, upholding Mr. Pandit's American citizenship, rendered on November 1, 1926, is by no means binding on any other lower courts or the circuit courts of appeals; although it will certainly have some weight of authority. However, the U. S. Government has already taken steps to bring the Pandit case before the Supreme Court, contesting the opinion of the circuit court of appeals, on the ground that the section 15 of the Naturalization Act of the United States allows the Government to re-open a case involving naturalization, at any time and thus the doctrine of *res adjudicata* cannot be applied. This interesting legal point will be fought out in the United States Supreme Court at some future date, possibly about two years from now, as the docket of the Supreme Court is very full. At that time, it is hoped that Mr. Pandit will make an attempt to re-open the whole question "whether the Hindu is a white person or not."

It is not possible for any one to predict what will be the stand of the Supreme

Court in the pending appeal of the Pandit case. However it is conceivable that the court may uphold the contention of the Government, or at best may render a decision favourable to Mr. Pandit on the ground of *res adjudicata*. But it is safe to say that the United States Supreme Court will not reverse itself on the established position of the court and the Government, that the Hindus are not white persons and thus not eligible to citizenship. Because to the best of our knowledge, there was no dissenting opinion from any one of the other eight members of the Supreme Court when Justice Sutherland wrote the decision in the Thind case. In this connection, it may be safely asserted that in the Thind case, the Supreme Court rendered a "*political decision*" at the request of the Government of the United States and for other considerations involving foreign governments.

Even if Mr. Pandit wins his particular case, on the ground of *res adjudicata*, as he has in the Circuit Court of Appeals, it will not solve the question of citizenship of all Hindus who were in the past naturalized. It would mean that only those Hindus, whose citizenships are now being contested, and whose cases are still pending before the courts for final decisions, or against whom no actions has been yet taken (only 24 persons) will be able to cite the decision in the Pandit case, before the court, and may be able to retain their American citizenship. But those Hindus, whose citizenships have been already cancelled by courts and have failed to appeal their cases (45 persons), will not be able to regain their citizenship, on the very ground of *res adjudicata*. Even if the Supreme Court later on decides that the Hindus are white persons and are eligible to citizenship, these 45 persons will have to be re-admitted to American citizenship, by due process of re-naturalization or by an Act of Congress. There is ample reason for the belief that the Supreme Court will not render any such decision as will make the Hindus eligible to American citizenship.

II

It is recognized in well-informed circles, that the famous decision in the Thind case was the culmination of U. S. Government's anti-Asiatic policy. The decision in the

Thind case (1923) placed the peoples of India, China and Japan in the same category. Long ago the Chinese were barred from American citizenship and in 1922 the U. S. Supreme Court decided that the Japanese, being Mongolians and thus not "white persons" are ineligible to American citizenship.

At first there was some doubt in the mind of many, that the United States would go so far as to seek to apply the decision of the Supreme Court in the Thind case, retro-actively to cancel the citizenship of those who were naturalized in good faith, long before the decision in the Thind case was rendered. But for political reasons, the United States authorities ignored the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and instituted cases against the Hindus; and already about 45 naturalization certificates have been cancelled and these Hindus are technically "stateless persons."

It occurred to us that there were three distinct aspects to the situation. First: The American women, who married Hindus who were naturalized Americans, should not lose their American citizenship, because they did not marry aliens ineligible to citizenship *but they married American citizens*. Secondly: The Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens should not lose their American citizenship and be rendered stateless. Thirdly: The Hindus should not be classed as aliens ineligible to American citizenship, because they are Caucasians and thus "white persons".

III

In 1925, I took steps to interest the National Woman's Party of America, so that the law governing the nationality of married women in the United States, be so amended that no American woman would lose her American citizenship, because of her marriage to *any* alien. Our contention was that there should be no discrimination against any American woman. Because she marries an alien she should not be penalised by the loss of her citizenship, as no American man ever loses his citizenship because of his marriage to an alien woman who is ineligible to citizenship. Through the efforts of Miss Emma Wold, Attorney-at-Law, Washington, D. C. and the Legislative Secretary of the National Woman's Party, a bill was introduced in the Congress of the United States

to accomplish the object. But it did not succeed, primarily because of the spirit of anti-Asianism of the American legislators and public. The National Woman's Party has not given up its hope of securing some sort of remedy to relieve the American women suffering from the injustice done to them. But there is no prospect of any action before 1928.

IV

After the failure of the attempt to amend the law, governing the status of married women (popularly called the Cable Act), we felt that some steps should be taken to validate the citizenship of those Hindus who were naturalized and whose citizenships have been recently cancelled and against whom cases were still pending. During the nine months from June 1926 to February 1927, my husband, Dr. Taraknath Das and I spent all our time and energy and a considerable sum of money in the effort of securing such legislation as would validate the citizenship of those Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens and those of their American wives. We had an interview with the Chief Justice of the United States, Hon. William Howard Taft, who agreed with us that a remedial legislation should be enacted to afford relief to those who were naturalized as American citizens, before the Thind case was decided by the U. S. Supreme Court. At our request the Chief Justice wrote letters of introduction to the Secretary of State Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, and to the Secretary of Labor, Hon. James. J. Davis. A copy of the letter to the Secretary of Labor is reproduced below:—

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington D. C., October 19, 1926.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Mr. Alfred Martin, a gentleman of the highest standing whom I have known for a great many years, and a member of the Society for Ethical Culture, has talked with me with reference to the injustice that he conceives to have been done to Dr. Taraknath Das, a Hindu who took out his first papers of naturalization in this country in 1908, and when in 1914 he applied for his naturalization certificate, the examiner contested his right to become an American citizen. The matter was carried into court, and United States Judge Dooling, of the United States District Court in San Francisco, held that the applicant was entitled to a certificate, which was issued to him. Since that time he has travelled and has received passports and has married an American-born woman. Now, by our decision, at the instance of the Government,

it is held that such certificates are void, because under the law there was no authority to grant a certificate to anyone but a white person and that Hindus do not come within that description. There are about 40 Hindus who received certificates, and who, acting on the assurance that they had become American citizens, have lost the citizenship of great Britain and are really without a country and without allegiance to any government. It would seem to me that such a situation calls upon Congress to right the matter and that the admission of a few Hindus would not at all break down our rule of rigid exclusion. Their might well be special legislation on the subject to meet a real injustice. Doctor Das has called on me and has asked me to give him an opportunity to be heard by the heads of the departments whose advice and wishes in the matter Congress would be certain to consult. I have therefore given to Doctor Das a letter of introduction to you, with the hope that some time, at his instance, you may be able to receive him for a few minutes and talk the matter over with him.

With very best wishes, my dear Mr. Secretary.

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

Sincerely yours,
WM. H. TAFT.

We had extended interviews with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, Asst. Attorney General of the United States and various high officials of different Departments of the U. S. Government. All of them assured us that the Administration would not oppose any bill, validating the citizenship of those Hindus who were naturalized, *altho they would not approve of any legislation classing the Hindus to be eligible to American citizenship.* After securing the supposed approval of these officials including the members of the Cabinet of the Government of the United States, we enlisted the sympathy of Hon. David A. Reed, the United States Senator from Pennsylvania who on the 7th day of December 1926 introduced the following Senate Joint Resolution No. 128 (and a memorial signed by more than 2500 responsible American citizens, urging upon the Congress and the President of the United States to enact such a law as would validate the citizenship of the American women who are married to the Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens. The above-mentioned memorial was circulated by my sister Dr. H. D. Keatinge, M. D. of New York City).

(S. J. Res. 128, Sixty-ninth Congress, second session)

JOINT RESOLUTION providing for the ratification and confirmation of the naturalizations of certain persons of the Hindu race,

Whereas on February 19, 1923, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of United States *versus* Bhagat Singh Thind decided, that

persons of the Hindu race are ineligible for naturalization in the United States; and

Whereas prior to such decision naturalization was completed by the following persons of the Hindu race in the following Courts. (*here follow names.*)

Whereas certain of said naturalizations have been canceled by judicial proceedings since February 19, 1923, and certain of them are threatened with cancellation in cases now pending and in certain of them cancellation has been denied and in certain of them no cancellation proceedings have been instituted; and

Whereas there is need of a uniform rule of law relating to such cases: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the naturalizations aforesaid are hereby ratified and confirmed and the persons aforesaid are declared to be citizens of the United States, and no woman citizen of the United States shall be deemed to have lost her citizenship by reason of her marriage to any of said persons.

On the 9th day of December 1926, the Senate Committee on Immigration held a hearing on the bill; but on that day no action was taken. The second hearing on the bill was held on December 15th 1926; and the Americans opposed to the passage of the bill presented their side of the case.

There was a third meeting of the Committee to consider the Bill at a later date; but no action was taken. From four United States Senators who are members of the Senate Committee on Immigration and other officials we learnt that although the United States State Department, U. S. Department of Labor and others assured us that there would be no opposition to the passage of the bill, it was due to the opposition of the Administration (the United States Government), that the bill was not reported out and thus the measure was killed in the Committee. The following letters will throw light on this point:

Royal S. Copeland, New York
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.
Feb. 9, 1927

My dear,

I am sorry to say there is some *opposition from the Administration to the Hindu Bill.* I am doing what I can to straighten it out, but it is a difficult undertaking.

Cordially yours
(Sd) Royal S. Copeland

United States Senate
Committee on Immigration
December 23, 1926

Dear Mr.

...There to be no objection whatever to the bill itself. Everyone realizes that it is a simple justice to the persons concerned. The whole trouble

comes through the fear on the part of many Senators that it will set an uncomfortable precedent which would embarrass us if a similar bill were introduced for the benefit of Japanese.

Very truly yours
(Sd.) D. A. Reed.

Another Senator in a confidential communication says that the investigation at the U. S. State Department shows that there is considerable danger in the enactment of this legislation. Simple justice has no show in these days of political opportunism. As things stand today the efforts to validate the citizenship of Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens have failed, because the U. S. Government does not want to see this done. Until next December no further efforts can be made for this purpose, because the Congress will not be in session after March 4, 1927. Furthermore it is our belief that because of the opposition of the Government all future efforts will be futile.

V

Sometime Ago through the efforts of Mr. Sailendranath Ghose of New York, Senator Copeland introduced a bill, which, if enacted would have qualified the Hindus as "white persons" and thus eligible to American citizenship. Now it is quite clear to us that when the American Government and legislators are not in favor of validating the citizenship of less than one hundred Hindus, it will oppose the Copeland Bill, which will make all the Hindus (about three thousand of them) in America, eligible to American citizenship. Senator Copeland personally told us, that he did not see any chance for his Bill; and his Bill even did not have a hearing before the Senate Immigration Committee. The Copeland Bill will die with the ending of the session of the Congress on March 4, 1927. We do not know if Senator Copeland will re-introduce the bill. If he does, there is no reason to think that it will ever be enacted as a law.

VI

In conclusion the true status of the Hindus regarding their citizenship in the

United States is as follows:— First : The United States courts have already cancelled citizenship of forty-five persons and alone in the case of Mr. S. G. Pandit, the courts have sustained his contention that the United States Government has no right to take away citizenship which was secure in good faith on the part of Mr. Pandit. This decision is going to be reviewed by the U. S. Supreme Court. Secondly: All efforts to validate the citizenship of the Hindus who were naturalized and their American wives have failed due to the opposition of the American Government and the American public. There is no reason to think that the prospect of securing justice in the future will be more favorable than in the past.

"All men are born free and equal." It is one of the inalienable rights of man, to give up the allegiance of one Government and to acquire citizenship of another State for the purpose of upholding "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." These are supposed to be the spirit of the fundamentals of the American ideal of human rights. In America today, as well as in other countries, there are in existence double standards of international morality—one for the superior White-men and the other for the Asiatics.—The people of India are enslaved Asiatics, and they cannot, under the existing circumstances, expect to have equal rights with the *superior Whites*. In the Western world a new and more rigid caste system has arisen, based merely upon the color of the skin of men. Let us hope that the dawn of a new era is in sight, when the Asiatics will be able to demand and extract recognition of equality in matters of human rights, as human beings.

Does the fate of these Hindus and their American born-wives so unjustly rendered stateless, make any appeal to the Indian people?

New York City

February 21, 1927

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

(5)

THAKURJHI i.e., Elokeshi, appeared to be a bit foolish ; but was in reality some thing quite different. No sooner did she find out that the childless Chhotobou had a good deal of cash than she discovered a lot to love in her. Every night she would scold her husband Priyanath, "I have lost everything for you. Had I not been staying away with you I would have become a king's mother by now. With my boy, who is beautiful as the golden moon, in the house, would Chhotobou ever look at that ugly imp—"Elokeshi would then heave a sigh ; which, if it could blow over the ugly imp's life would surely scorch it to annihilation ; and conclude, "The poor have God to help them." She would then find solace and silence in sleep. Priyanath too would repent his folly and so fall off into slumber. Thus passed the days of this couple and Thakurjhi's love for Chhotobou was rising fast like the waters of a river in flood.

To-day she was saying, "With a mass of hair like the rain clouds, why don't you ever coil it up properly. The ladies of the Zamindar family are calling to-day, come, let me do it up for you."

Bindu declined her offer. "No, Thakurjhi, you know I cannot keep my head veiled and (with the edge of the Sari) my son has now grown up. He will notice the change."

Thakurjhi was surprised, "What an idea Chhotobou ! Let the son grow up ; would you, a married woman with your husband alive * give up doing your hair for that ? My Narendranath (may his enemies have their faces covered with ash) is even a few months older ; would I therefore give up attending to my hair !"

Bindu said, "Why should you ? your case is different. Naren has all along seen you do so. But if Amulya suddenly finds me to-day with my hair nicely coiled up

he would be astonished no end, perhaps he will shout or do something else—no, no, it will be a terrible shame!"

Annapurna was passing by. She looked at Bindu, suddenly halted and said, "Why are you looking so flushed Chhotobou ? come here ; let me touch you and see if you have got fever."

Bindu felt shy because. Elokeshi was there. She said, "Why must you touch me everyday to see if I have got fever ? Am I a child that I should not know when I have a temperature ?"

Annapurna said, "Oh no, you are shrivelled up with age. Come near me. these months (September and October) are extremely bad times."

Bindu answered. "No, I will certainly not go near you. I am telling you I am perfectly all right and yet you must examine me."

Annapurna said, "All right. But don't mislead me." She went away looking very suspicious.

Elokeshi commented "Barabou is rather fond of fussing ; isn't she ?"

Bindu kept quiet for a second and said, "May all people be as fond of fussing. Thakurjhi, as she is !"

Elokeshi kept quiet.

Annapurna was returning the same way with something in her hand. Bindu called out, "Didi, listen, will you have your hair done up ?" Annapurna turned round. She stood silently for a while and took in the whole situation, then said to Elokeshi. "I have requested her ever so many times ; but it is useless to request her. Such a mass of hair, she won't touch it ; such abundance of clothes and ornaments, she won't wear them ; such beauty, she won't look at herself ; she is altogether unearthly in her ideas and ways. The boy too is taking after her. Do you know, Chhotobou, what Amulya told me the other day ? He said, "What is the idea in wearing nice clothes and ornaments ? Chhotoma has a lot ; does she wear them ?" Bindu looked up proudly and said with a smile, "Now you see Didi,

* A widow is not supposed to do things which will improve her personal appearance.

if it is necessary to be unearthly in one's ideas and ways to make ones son a great man ! If you live till then you will see how people will point out and say, look, that is Amulya's mother." Her eyes filled with tears as she said these words.

Annapurna saw this and said in a soft and affectionate tone. "It is because of that that we never say anything where your son is concerned. May God grant you your wish ? But we are never so extravagant in our hopes as to expect the child to become some day a leader of the community."

Bindu wiped her eyes with the end of her sari and said, "It is with this one hope in my heart that I live. My God !" She suddenly felt a shiver run through her body and her hair roots were set atingle. She was ashamed of this rush of emotion and said with a semi-apologetic smile, "No, no, Didi ; if ever this hope is blasted, I shall go mad."

Annapurna remained silent. She had known of her sister-in-law's hopes and desires but had never before felt them so strongly in her own heart. Today she became fully conscious of the reasons why Bindu was wakeful as a Yaksha* and alert as a ghoul where Amulya was concerned. Her mother's heart filled with the greatest respect and love for this woman whose whole existence was in thoughts of her son's fullest well being. She turned her face to hide her tears of joy.

Thakurjhi said, "Well all right ; but to day you—"

Bindu cut her short and said, "Yes, Thakurjhi, do up Didi's hair to-day—I have never seen it done up since I came here." She smiled a little and disappeared.

About five or six days afterwards, one morning, the old family barber was descending the stairs after giving Jadab his shave, when Amulya came and stopped him.

He asked the barber, "Kailashda† can you cut my hair like Narenda has his cut ?"

The barber was surprised. He asked "What is that like ?"

Amulya pointed out various parts of his head and said, "See, you have to leave three-fourths and cut away one-fourth here, three-eighths and five eighths here, one eighth and seven-eighths here and here, close to the neck, cut it as short as possible. Can you do it."

The barber laughed and said, "no, dada, I don't think even my father could do it."

Amulaya wouldn't give up. He encouraged the barber and said, "It is nothing very difficult—Three-fourths here and three-eighths at this place."

The barber sought a new avenue of retreat. He said, "What day is to-day ? I cannot cut your hair unless Chhotoma gives permission, you know !"

Amulya said, "All right, wait, I shall go and enquire. Give me your umbrella, otherwise you will run away." He captured the umbrella forcibly and ran away. Entering the room like a cyclone he said, "Chhotoma, do come at once!"

Bindu was about to sit for her Anhik* after her bath. She cried, "Don't touch me,† don't, I am doing my Anhik !"

"Oh, do your Anhik later on, come outside and order him to cut my hair, he won't do so otherwise. He is waiting."

Bindu was rather surprised. It has always been a fight to have Amulya's hair cut. Why was he so eager to have it cut to-day ? As soon as she came out the barber said, "I have been set a very difficult task, mother ; I must cut his hair like that of Narenbabu and there are ever so many rupees, annas and pies in the calculation ! I don't think I could do it."

Amulya said "Oh yes, you could. All right, just wait, I shall call Narenda." He could not find Naren, for the latter was out. Amulya came back after searching the whole house for Naren and said. "He is not in ; however that does not matter ; Chhotoma, just instruct him, will you ? About three-fourths here, three-eighths here and one eighth here. But cut it very short at this place."

Bindu was amused at his eagerness. She protested, "But I have got my Anhik to do !"

* A Yaksha is a subject of *Kuber* the god of wealth. Misers are superstitiously believed to become yakshas and guard over their hidden treasures after their death.

† In Bengal it is the custom to address menials who are old and have served long as "Dada" (elder brother) or as "Khuro" (uncle) or something else. This ancient and truly democratic system has received a set back through contact with the West.

* Religious duties which are to be performed morning, afternoon and evening.

† One has to observe purity of body and clothing during Anhik. One must not be even touched by any body with impure garments on at such times.

Do your Anhik afterwards, or I will touch you."

Bindu had to give way.

The barber began his work. Bindu signed to him and he gave Amulya a good even crop. Amulya felt his head all over with his hand and said, "That is all right!" Then he jumped up and disappeared.

The barber took up his umbrella which had been restored to him and opined, "But mother, it will be difficult for me to enter this house to-morrow."

The Brahmin woman had prepared his meal and was looking for him every where. Bindu heard, while measuring out the milk in the kitchen, Amulya shouting about in quest of his uncle's hair brush. A little later he rushed into the kitchen weeping, rested himself against Bindu's back and cried. "It's all wrong! He has spoilt every thing. Chhotoma, I shall kill him when he comes to-morrow." Bindu could no longer suppress her mirth. Amulya left her and cried in disappointment, "Are you blind? Can't you see?"

Hearing the noise Annapurna entered the kitchen, heard the case through and then said, "But what does it matter he will cut your hair again to-morrow and put things right."

Amulya became even more angry and cried, "Where will he get the three-fourths here? Where is the hair for it?" Annapurna attempted to pacify him by saying "Oh, it may not be three-fourths; but it will be half or somewhat more at any rate."

"Rubbish! Is it the fashion to keep only half or five eighths here? Ask Narenda, he will insist on having three-fourths." Amulya could not even eat his food properly that day. He stirred and scattered some of the rice, then went away.

Annapurna asked Bindu "Since when has your son developed a taste for hair dressing?"

Bindu smiled; but the next moment she became dead serious and said with a sigh, "Didi it is something negligible and paltry but I am frightened to death, for all things have a small beginning." Annapurna too was infected by her fear and could say nothing.

The Durgapuja festival came on. In the other part of the village, the Zemindar house was preparing for it on a lavish scale. For about a couple of days Naren lost himself there. On the night of the *Saptami** Amulya

came * and said, "Chhotoma, they are having a *atra*, aren't you coming?"

Chhotoma said "Having it *now*? You mean they are going to have it to-morrow."

Amulya informed her, "Narenda told me, it will begin at 3 in the morning."

"You don't mean to say that you will pass the whole night there out in the cold? That cannot be allowed. Go with your uncle to-morrow morning, you will get a good place." Amulya was on the verge of tears and said, "No send me now. Uncle may not go or may go very late."

Bindu said, "All right, go to bed now. I shall send you with a servant at 3 or 4 in the morning."

Amulya was angry and lay on the bed with his face to the wall.

Bindu tried to drag him closer to her but he threw off her hands and remained stiffly aloof. After this everybody had probably fallen asleep for some time—the sound of the big clock outside striking one—two—three—four woke up Amulya all of a sudden. He counted the strokes, jumped up, shook Bindu violently and cried, "Get up Chhotoma quick, get up, it is past four!" The clock went on striking, five—six—seven—eight—Amulya burst into tears and said, "It is past eight now, when shall I go there?" The clock was still striking nine—ten—eleven—twelve. Then it stopped. Amulya understood his mistake and lay quietly in one corner, being thoroughly put out of countenance. Madhab used to sleep in another bed at the other end of the room, the noise woke up also him.

He laughed aloud at Amulya's discomfiture and asked, "Amulya what has happened?" Amulya remained silent in shame. Bindu, who was highly amused, said, "Oh, the way he shook me out of my sleep! People don't behave that way even if a house was on fire."

Amulya's silence roused pity in her heart and she said, "All right, go now, but don't you quarrel with anybody."

Then she called Bhairab who went out with a lamp as Amulya's escort. The next day Amulya came back at about ten in the morning, quite happy after attending the performance to the finish. Seeing his uncle he asked, "Well, why didn't you come?"

Bindu asked him, "What was the show like?" "Very nice, chhotoma. Uncle, do you

* *Saptami*, the first day of the Pujas which last for four days.

* F k-theatre

now they are having a *Khemta** dance this evening. Two of the dancers have arrived from Calcutta, Narendra has seen them, they are, just like Chhotoma—very beautiful—they will dance. I have also told father."

"You have done very well," said Madhab and laughed heartily at this naive comparison of Bindu and the nautch girls.

Bindu's face went red with indignation. She said, "Just listen to the sayings of your accomplished nephew! (meaning Naren) she turned to Amulya." "You shall not go there again—wretched swine! Who said they were like me; Naren?"

Amulya said in a frightened voice, "Yes, he has seen them."

"Where is Naren? All right, let him come home!"

Madhab suppressed his mirth with great difficulty and said, "Have you gone mad! Dada has heard the story; so cool off and don't make a row". Bindu had therefore to swallow her anger and burn within herself.

Towards evening Amulya went to Annapurna and entreated her, "Didi, They are having a dancing show at the Puja house may I go there? I shall get back in 10 time."

Annapurna was busy, she said, "Go and ask your mother."

Amulya persisted, "No didi, I shall come back very soon, do let me go."

Annapurna said, "No, no, she is one with a temper, you had better go and get her permission."

Amulya began to cry, pulled her this way and that way by the sari in order to drive home his appeal—"No don't tell Chhotoma, I shall go with Narendra—I shall come back in no time."

Annapurna said "If you go with Naren—"

Before she could finish her words Amulya dashed out.

About an hour later she heard Bindu searching for Amulya. She kept quiet. But when the search was beginning to assume serious proportions, she came out and said, "There is some sort of a dance going on, he has gone there with Naren—he will come back soon. There is nothing to be anxious about."

Bindu came near her and asked, "Who gave him permission to go, you?"

Annapurna knew that if Bindu came to

learn that Amulya had gone without taking permission, there would be trouble; she told a white lie in fear. "He will come back soon." She said.

Bindu went away her face dark with anger. A little later, Amulya came back and heard that he was sent for by his Chhotoma. He dared not respond to this call and went and lay on a corner of his father's bed.

Jadab had his spectacles on and was reading the *Bhagabat** in the light of an earthen vegetable oil lamp. He looked up and asked, "Well, Amulya?"

Amulya did not speak.

Kadam came and said "Come, Chhotoma is calling you."

Amulya came nearer to his father and whined, "You come with me, father."

Jadab was amazed, "I come with you! What has happened Kadam?"

Kadam explained the situation.

Jadab knew that this would lead to a quarrel. One has forbidden, the other has permitted; so he went with Amulya to Chhotobou's room and addressed her from outside, "Pardon him this once, he is promising not to do so again." That night when the two sisters-in-law were having their meal, Bindu said, "I am not angry with you didi, but it will not be possible for me to stay here any longer—Amulya would go absolutely wrong in that case. It might have been different if I had not expressly forbidden him to go; but, I have been wondering since that time, how could he dare to go out in spite of what I told him. Then, see, how wicked he has become. He did not come to me, he went to you; coming home as soon as he heard that I wanted him, he went straight to Barathakur and brought him over to plead for him. No, didi, such things were unknown till now and I would much rather go and live in a rented house in Calcutta than see this only child go to the dogs and make me weep for the rest of my life."

Annapurna was upset and said; "But if you go away, how shall I live alone?"

Bindu kept silent for a little while and said, "That, you know best. I have told you what my intentions are, that Naren is an extremely bad boy."

"Why, what has Naren done? And if

* Popular dance of which the rhythm is light and easy,

*One of the sacred books of the Hindus,

they had been brothers; what would you have done in that case?"

Bindu said, "In that case I would have him tied up by servants, flogged with *Bichhuti** and driven out of the house. Moreover Ifs don't count in practice—didi, let them go away."

Annapurna was inwardly displeased. She said, "It is not for me to keep them or drive them away. Go and ask him who has brought them here—don't find fault with me."

"How can I go and tell such things to Barathakur?" "Tell it in the same way as you tell him all sorts of things." Bindu pushed away her plate of rice and said, "Don't try to hoodwink me didi, I am now about twentyseven or twentyeight, the affair is not one which concerns the servants of the house, but is one in which relations come in—while you are alive. if I went to talk over things like this with Barathakur, wouldn't he be angry?"

Annapurna said, "Of course, he would be angry; but if I told him such things, he would never look at my face again. Whatever we might be, we are outsiders, and they are brother-and sister—why can't you see that? Moreover, I am an old woman, if I pranced about with such talk wouldn't people call me mad?"

Bindu pushed her plate farther away and remained stiffly silent.

Annapurna knew that she kept quiet only in fear of her elder brother-in-law. She questioned, "Why are you sitting with folded arms—what sin has the plate of rice committed?"

Bindu heaved a sigh and said "I have finished my meal."

Annapurna saw that she was in a mood and dared not press her more. Going to the bed-room Bindu did not find Amulya in the bed. She came back and asked Annapurna, "Where is he?"

Annapurna said, "I find he is sleeping in my room to-night. Let me go and pull him up."

"No, no, let him remain there." Bindu went away with a cloudy expression on her face. It was late in the night when Bindu was called out of her wakeful slumber by Annapurna. She asked, "What is it, didi?"

Annapurna answered from outside. "Open

the door and take in your son. Even my father * couldn't stand such wickedness as his!"

As soon as Bindu opened the door she came in with Amulya and said, "I have seen lots of pigs in my time, but never one to beat this one. It is now nearly two and I have not been able to get a wink of sleep—now he says he is hungry, now he complains about mosquitoes, now he wants a drink of water, now I must fan him—no, Chhotobou, I have to work the whole day, I couldn't live if I didn't get a little sleep at-night."

Bindu smiled and put out a hand to Amulya who at once crawled into her bosom and fell fast asleep within a minute. Madhab laughed at her from the other end of the room, "Well, Bouthan, has your desire been fulfilled now?"

Annapurna said, "It was not my desire, brother, he himself got into my bed to escape his mother's wrath. But I have no doubt been given a lesson! And what shameful words, Thakurpo,—he told me it made him feel shy to sleep with me in the same bed!"

All the three of them laughed out.

Annapurna said, "No more now, let me go and get some sleep." She then went away.

About ten days later, Bindu's parents, who were going on a pilgrimage, sent a *palki*† for Bindu in order to have her with them for a time before they started. Bindu was, without Amulya's cognizance, preparing to go over to her parents for two or three days, when suddenly Amulya appeared there with his books, ready for the school. A little before he had seen the *palki* outside, now his eyes fell on Bindu's feet and he stopped suddenly, "Why are you putting *Alta*§ on your feet Chhotoma?" He asked. Annapurna was there. She laughed out.

Bindu said, "It is a day on which people have to put it on."

Amulya looked her up and down and asked, "Why have you put on so many ornaments?"

Annapurna put the end of her Sari on

* In Bengal, people often take the name of their father in this way to express impossibilities e. g. "Let alone me, even my father would not be able to lift this stone" or "It will need my father to do this."

† A kind of Sedan Chair.

§ A red dye which married women use on their feet for beauty.

* A prickly plant which irritates the skin—used for whipping of a severe kind.

her mouth to hide her smiles and went out.

Bindu held back her smiles and said, "Must we all wait patiently for the day when your bride will come and put on ornaments and go without any ourselves in the mean time? Go to the school!"

Amulya did not pay heed to what she said. He persisted in his enquiry, "Why is didi laughing like that? I am not going to school any more—you must be going out somewhere."

Bindu said, "Well, what if I am; must I take your permission before so doing?"

"I too shall come with you." So saying Amulya went out with his books.

Annapurna entered the room and opined, "Don't you think he has gone to school. It is not so easy as all that. But, isn't he cute! He asks why you have put on alta and ornaments! In my opinion, you would do better to take him with you, or when he comes back he will kick up no end of a row."

Bindu said, "Do you think he has gone to school? Never. He is hiding somewhere and will appear at the right moment." It turned out to be so. He was hiding and when Bindu was taking leave of her elder sister-in-law, by taking the dust of her feet, Amulya suddenly appeared and stood holding on to Bindu's dress. Both the sisters-in-law laughed out.

Annapurna said, "Don't beat or scold him, now when you are going out. Better take him with you."

Bindu said, "Well supposing I did take him with me; but, even then, isn't it a bit too much that I should not be able to move out a step anywhere?"

Annapurna answered, "That is how you have brought him up, haven't you? Amulya, why not stay with me for a couple of days?"

Amulya coolly refused her offer, "Oh, no, I couldn't stay with you." Then he went and got into the *palki* before anyone else.
(to be continued)

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor The Modern Review.]

'League of Nations Bound to Maintain Status Quo'

Re: a note under the above caption which appeared in the March issue of *The Modern Review* at page 379 might I be permitted to make the following observations with respect to the duty of the League to maintain the *status quo* of India *vis a vis* the British Government.

Article 10 of the League covenant says: "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve *as against external aggression* the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League....." (italics are mine). While interpreting this article we cannot leave out of consideration the words "as against external aggression." Thus my interpretation is that the League is bound to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the

League *as against external aggression*, but it has no jurisdiction to interfere if a subject nation seeks, *by internal aggression*, to gain further political power or complete independence.

I would unhesitatingly say that the League is not only not bound to maintain the *status quo* of subject nations or dependent states but that it must encourage the attainment of full self-government by them. President Wilson's fourteenth point which was the foundation of the League's birth opened with the words "a general association of Nations must be formed....." Thus the idea distinctly was that the League should be a world organisation of which as many nations as possible should be members. By Article 1 "any fully self-governing state, Dominion or colony can become a member....." thus dependent, subject or subordinate states cannot become members of the League and this is as it should be because the League cannot be a free and democratic League unless all its

constituent members themselves are free and democratic. Now if the League has got to be a world organisation it must make an honest effort to see that all the states in the world become its members which can only happen when they first become free and fully self-governing.

The general aims of the League as contained in the pre-ambles of the covenant are "to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice in the dealings of organised peoples with one another." (italics are mine.)

Though Great Britain and India are part of the British Empire yet the English Nation and the Indian Nation are two different nations and two sets of "organised peoples" and it is certainly the paramount duty of the League (i) "to promote international co-operation" between India and Great Britain (ii) "achieve international peace by the obligations not to resort to war," viz, the relations between India and Great Britain should not be such that one may think of resorting to war against the other (as some Indians on the Government's own showing are contemplating) (iii) prescribe open, just and honourable relations between Nations (e.g., India and Great Britain), (iv) "maintain justice in the dealings of organised peoples with one another" (e.g., India and Great Britain). Thus a close analysis of the pre-ambles leads to one and only one conclusion and that is that it is the duty of the League to examine the relations between India and Great Britain and see that their relations with each other are "open, just and honourable" and are based on "justice" and tend to "promote co-operation and achieve peace" with each other and other nations of the world.

Article 3 of the covenant says that "the League may deal with any matter affecting the peace of the world." Under the provisions of this Article also the League can and should help India to adjust her relations with Great Britain on honourable and just lines. The League is a "League of Nations" and not a "League of Kingdoms" and there is no provision in the covenant which lays down that any nation whatsoever (whether) it is dependent or independent of any member of the League, and (whether it is itself a member of the League or is an outsider) may not lodge a complaint with the League and the League may not go into its question in order to maintain the peace of the world and to safeguard the just rights of the complaining nation.

Whatever may be the position of India *Quac* the British Empire, India and Great Britain are both independent and equal members of the League. India does not owe its position inside the League to the good grace of Great Britain or any other country. She became its member by virtue of its signing the peace treaty and paying its quota of expenses. Articles 12 and 13 of the covenant make the members of the League promise to submit all their disputes to arbitration. I wonder what would be the position if India as a member of the League informs it of

its dispute with Great Britain as another member of the League and formally seeks the League's arbitration! India is the only dependent country which has become a member of the League. Article I of the covenant prevents any other subject country ever becoming a member of the League. Perhaps the League owes it to its own honour and dignity as a free and democratic institution to see that none of its constituents continue any longer in the humiliating position of a subject nation. As India cannot be turned out from the membership of the League, its dependence would continue to be a matter of shame and disgrace to the League as long as India is not free.

The above is based on a purely legal and equitable interpretation of the League's covenant. I know it as well as any other man in the world that the League will not act on behalf of India to the detriment of Great Britain's power even if there was a distinct article enjoining the League to help subject nations to attain full self-government!

Jyoti Swarup Gupta

Editor's Note

In the last sentence of the criticism printed above the writer says: "I know it as well as any other man in the world that the League will not act on behalf of India to the detriment of Great Britain's power even if there was a distinct article enjoining the League to help subject nations to attain full self-government!" So, whatever the "purely legal and equitable interpretation of the League's covenant" may be, practically it comes to this that the League will be sure to maintain the *status quo*. And probably that is what I meant when in the heading of my Note in the March number I considered the "League of Nations Bound to Maintain *status quo*." I cannot say now positively in what sense I used the word "bound" when I wrote the Note. But, according to Webster the word is used in following senses:—

"Under legal or moral restraint or obligation obliged."

"Constrained or compelled; destined; or certain;—followed by the infinitive; as he is bound to succeed."

It seems to me that I used the word in a sense which approximates more to the last than to the first. I nowhere said that it was "the duty of the League to maintain the *status quo* of India *vis a vis* the British Government." And in fact my Note was concerned not merely or chiefly with the present condition of India but also with the status of all other subject peoples; so that even if the critic's arguments held good with regard to India as a member of the League, they would be inapplicable in the case of other subject peoples.

The writer thinks that, by using the words "as against external aggression" in Article X the League has deprived itself of any "jurisdiction to interfere if a subject nation seeks, by internal aggression, to gain further political power or complete independence."

Though I am not a lawyer this verbal loop-hole has not escaped my observation, I wrote in the February number, page 257:—

"It may be argued that as the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve the territorial integrity of all its members against external aggression, therefore it is not bound to do anything to prevent internal rebellion, whether violent or non-violent,—neither being just now within the range of practical politics,—for obtaining independence. Moreover, as India does not enjoy any existing independence, Article X does not exactly apply in her case. But assuming that the interpretation we have suggested here is correct, the League could at best remain a non-interfering spectator in case India made any active effort to be free, as it (the League) has done in the case of Syria; India can never expect the least help or sympathy from the League in any fight for freedom."

In the new edition of Chamber's Encyclopaedia Article X has been quoted in full because "it has in any case become so much a centre of controversy." Discussing the meaning of Article X Lord Robert Cecil writes in Volume XXXI of the twelfth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 738 :—

"Article X, when closely examined, will be found to be little more than a rather clumsy assertion that territorial or political changes ought not to be made by aggressive warfare. Such changes, if required, should be made under Article 19, which enables the Assembly to reconsider treaties which have become obsolete or dangerous to peace."

So, according to this interpretation, all aggressive warfare, external and internal, is shut out. As for the reconsideration of treaties, it cannot be said that Great Britain has become the mistress of India by virtue merely of treaties. Both external and internal aggression is also excluded by the member states' "acceptance of obligations not to resort to war", mentioned in the Preamble to the Covenant.

I need not discuss what the writer says with reference to President Wilson's 14th point, as the League is not bound legally, morally, politically or by the circumstance of the world to pay any attention to it.

Great Britain has not yet redeemed in a just

and generous manner the unambiguous pledges given by the East India Company, by her sovereigns, and by various statesmen who had anything to do with India. One need not, therefore, expect that the vague expression of some politically pious sentiments in the Preamble to the League's Covenant or in any Article thereof, will impel the League to do anything to free any subject people. Moreover, the word "organised", used in the preamble, has left a loophole of escape for diplomats. Indians and other similar subject peoples, it may be contended, are neither nations nor organised peoples.

It is true that the League is not prevented by any article from receiving complaint, from even subject peoples. But, on the other hand, there is no article which provides for the acceptance and consideration of such complaints; and on that ground the League is sure to refuse to entertain any petition from subject peoples. Moreover, the question of the representative character of the petitioners is sure to be raised, and decided, most probably, against them.

It is a misreading of facts to say that India does not owe her membership of the League to the good grace of Great Britain. In fact, the Imperial British Government practically made the subordinate Government of India sign the Peace Treaty for the purpose of increasing the number of British Votes.

The mere idea of India informing the League of its dispute with Great Britain must excite laughter. The Indian delegation is Indian only in name. It is chosen by the alien and foreign subordinate British Government of India and carries out its behests. Can this subordinate Government of India instruct its nominees (forming the Indian delegation) to complain against the Imperial British Government, which is its master?

I should be glad if the League ever came to have any feeling of shame or disgrace because of a subject country like India being one of its members. But I am not very hopeful of ever having any such pleasure.

March 23, 1927.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

PROFESSOR MEGHNAD SAHA

PROFESSOR Meghnad Saha was born in 1893 in the village of Seoratali, P. S. Kaliakur, in the district of Dacca. His father, Jagannath Saha, was a small trader and had to bring up his large family with great difficulty. He had his early schooling in his native village, and later, since there were no schools above the primary stage at his place, at the age of 10, he was sent to the village of Simulia about 6 miles from his native village, where he was housed by a charitably disposed

gentleman, Dr. Ananta Kumar Das, family physician to the Zemindar family of Kasimpur. From this school, he passed the M. E. examination in 1905, standing first in the Dacca Division, and securing a scholarship.

This scholarship enabled him to proceed to the city of Dacca, and prosecute his studies at the Dacca Collegiate school. Later, he was obliged to change to the K. L. Jubilee School, from which place he passed the Calcutta University Entrance Examination of 1909, standing first in Eastern Bengal,

and first in Mathematics in the University and first in languages in Eastern Bengal. While a student in the second class, he competed for the all-Bengal Bible Prize Examination held by the Baptist Society, and stood first with a prize of Rs. 100.

He passed his I. Sc. examination from the Dacca College in 1911, standing third in the Calcutta University, and first in Mathematics and Chemistry. In 1911, he

came to Calcutta and joined the Presidency College. From the Presidency College, he took his B. Sc. and M. Sc. (Applied Mathematics) degrees, standing second in both cases. Mr. Satyendra Nath Basu, Prof. of Physics in the Dacca University, and author of "Bose-Einsteinche Statistik" beating him both the times. At the Presidency College, he had amongst his teachers Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Prof. D. N. Mallick and Prof. C. E. Cullis. Though engaged in the study of Mathematics, he came much under the influence of Sir P. C. Ray, and was associated

with him in many of his philanthropic and other activities.

In 1916, he was appointed by Sir Asutosh Mukherjee a lecturer in Physics and Mixed Mathematics in the newly established University College of Science, founded on the donations of the late Sir T. N. Palit and Sir R. B. Ghosh. While serving in this capacity, he submitted a thesis for a Doctorate which was examined by a board consisting of Prof. O. W. Richardson, of King's College, London, Prof. A. W. Porter of the University College, and

Mr. E. B. Cunningham. Dr. Saha was a student of Einstein's theory of Relativity, even before it attained its present celebrity, and conjointly with his friend Mr. S. N. Bose had prepared translations of his works which were afterwards published by the Calcutta University. His doctorate thesis was a result of these studies. He received his doctorate in 1919, and the same year, he was awarded the Premchand Roychand

studentship on a thesis entitled Selective Radiation Pressure, and its Application to Problems of Astrophysics. This thesis marks his entry into Astrophysics (or physics of heavenly bodies) to which his researches were to give a new stamp, and a fresh period of activity. The P. R. Studentship and a Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship enabled him to proceed to Europe in 1920. He worked for sometime in the Imperial College of Science with Prof. A. Fowler, successor to Sir Norman Lockyer. It was at this time that he published the most famous of



Professor Meghnad Saha

his Scientific works "On the Thermal Ionisation of Gases." At the present time, it is probably known to many that atoms are not the ultimate constituents of matter, but they can be further broken up into parts which are atoms of negative electricity (electrons), and a remainder which is positively charged. Dr. Saha was the first to point out that this breaking up of atoms could be accomplished by mere heat, and he gave a detailed description of the way in which this "splitting up of atoms", or "ionisation", as it is called, can

be detected. His theory gave a clear and precise explanation of the facts accumulated by Sir Norman Lockyer and Prof. Pickering of the Harvard University observatory, who examined the spectra of two hundred thousand stars, and classified them into a number of well-defined groups. A popular account of Dr. Saha's work appeared in the *Modern Review* of October, 1922, from the pen of Sir P. C. Ray.

In 1921, Dr. Saha went to Berlin to work at the laboratory of Prof. W. Nernst of Berlin on the experimental verification of his theory. While engaged at work in Berlin, he received an invitation from Prof. Sommerfeld of Munich to address the physicists there on his works. This was done in May, and the lecture was published in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*, vol. 6. About this time, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee created for him a chair in Physics on the donations of the Rajah of Khaira, and recalled him to Calcutta.

The Calcutta University was then passing through a very critical stage. The Government of Lord Lytton and the University under Sir Ashutosh were fighting like Kilkeny cats, and the scholars were allowed to starve or vegetate. Dr. Saha remained at Calcutta, trying in vain to get a laboratory where he could work further on the experimental verification of his theory. At last, through the efforts of his friend Dr. N. R. Dhar, he received an appointment at Allahabad as Professor of Physics, and left Calcutta in October 1923, to join his new appointment. While he was at Calcutta, the memorable North Bengal Floods occurred, and the Calcutta people spontaneously combined to form the Bengal Relief Committee with Sir P. C. Ray as President. At Sir P. C. Ray's request, he took charge of the publicity department of the Relief Committee, and did his work with enthusiasm and thoroughness.

Prof. Saha has been at Allahabad for about four years. He has given his labour and attention whole-heartedly to the improvement of his own department, to the reorganisation of studies, and to the initiation of research work. He has since been elected a life member of the Astronomical Society of France, and is a Foundation Fellow of the Institute of Physics in London. Alone or with his colleagues and students, he has

been publishing papers of great value and wide interest. His new theory of "the Structure of the Atom" has not yet seen the light of day, and is expected to be an important contribution to physics.

In the meantime, his "ionisation theory" has been gaining new adherents and new workers. The first and foremost is Prof. Henry Norris Russell, Prof. of Astronomy in the Princeton University, U. S. A. With the resources of American observatories at his disposal, Prof. Russell verified many of Saha's predictions, and carried out an important extension of Saha's theory. Following Russell, two brilliant Cambridge graduates, R. H. Fowler and E. A. Milne, carried the theory still further mathematically, and pointed out fresh fields of application. Milne in particular took up Saha's theory of Selective Radiation Pressure, at the point where he left it, and put it on a sure physical basis. For these works, Fowler was admitted to the Royal Society in 1925 and Milne in 1926. So that if Prof. Saha were an Englishman carrying on research in England, he would probably have been admitted to the Royal Society in 1924. Professor Saha was elected to preside over the Mathematics and Physics Section of the Indian Science Congress in 1926 and in his Presidential address, he gave a complete survey of these works.

Prof. Saha and Prof. D. M. Bose of Calcutta have been invited to represent India at the Volta Death Centenary which will be held in Italy in September this year, at Como the native town of Volta. About a hundred and thirty years ago, Volta, following Galvani's obscure observations on the twitching of a frog's nerves when touched by a metal, discovered what is now known as the "Voltaic Pile" or Voltaic Cell. His researches were responsible for ushering in the age of 'Electricity,' and Italy is celebrating the Death Centenary of her great son with great pomp, and enthusiasm. Eminent scientists have been invited from all over the civilized world, and it is in the fitness of things that Prof. D. M. Bose, and Prof. M. N. Saha have been chosen to represent India at this unique gathering.

BEETHOVEN, THE SPIRITUAL HERO

BY ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE musical genius of Beethoven is of universal renown. But what is very little known is his grand spirit. I wish to say a few words about it to my Indian friends, for I know that they would appreciate fervently the heroic and religious aspect of Beethoven's character.

Beethoven, coming as he did of a poor family, received an education which was not at all complete. He supplemented it by his own effort, his life-long studies and his burning meditations. He was never satisfied, like most of the musicians (even some of the greatest, like Mozart), with a deep knowledge of his own art. Beethoven wanted to know everything. He wrote in 1809:

"There is no work of thought which should be too learned for me. With the least pretension of knowing such works thoroughly I have striven from my very childhood to grasp the sense of the best and the wisest works of all ages. Shame to an artist who does not consider it his duty to push this spirit of research to the farthest point possible."

But mere study is not all; merely to understand is not sufficient. One must learn to select. Beethoven has preference always for the greatest and the best. His instinct goes straight thither from the beginning: Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, the sages of Greece and Rome, the poets and the thinkers of India—a veritable Eagle's vision! I think of his correspondence with the orientalist Hammer—Purgstall in 1809 and their common plan of working on an Indian pastoral drama (on *Devayani*; vide the *Modern Review*, March 1927). I remember his attraction for the religious ideas of India and for the literature of Persia. The Soliloquy of Macbeth threw Beethoven into a delirium of emotion and he conceived writing music to Macbeth, unfortunately not finished.* No less a loss to

the world is his music on Faust which Beethoven wanted to write from 1808—a work which made him cry with enthusiasm and regret, when a friend reminded him of it in 1827. But the indifference of Goethe, not to speak of his ill-will with regard to Beethoven, discouraged the latter. What to speak of sympathy, even a single appreciation from Goethe of the admirable music for Egmont was denied to Beethoven.* But



Beethoven in 1814
when he met Goethe

more generous than Goethe, Beethoven conserved his warm admiration for the Poet

lost to us; for his premature death prevented him from translating his dramas into notations.

* Apart from a certain personal coolness, Goethe, already aged, felt a sort of instinctive antipathy for the new-born romanticism whose passionate music seemed to Goethe (and he was wrong!) to have a dangerous expression through Beethoven. Those crises of the soul disturbed Goethe's serenity, conquered at the cost of struggles and sacrifices. The "Olympian", as Goethe was called, alone knew the dangers which he repulsed from the depth of his soul and which he wished to impress upon all those who took the risk of re-awakening the "soul-troubles."

* Beethoven possessed the power of concentration to an extraordinary degree. He used to carry in his memory the contents of several great compositions simultaneously. He used to construct them in spirit without producing them publicly till they satisfied him completely. That is how numerous inspired creations, almost complete, were

down to the last days. In his conversations Beethoven expressed profound thoughts and judgments on Goethe, Schiller and Klopstock.

Beethoven used to read again and again his favourite books. The volumes of his small library were full of marks and underlinings which all attest his warm admiration. Unfortunately that library is dispersed with the exception of two volumes of Shakespeare, the *Odyssey* and the *West-östlicher Divan* of Goethe. A Berlin manuscript of Beethoven contains a collection of quotations which he had transcribed out of the books that he studied; here also we find the *transcriptions* mixed up with Beethoven's own *reflections* and both are of equally great interest. Quotations and personal thoughts seem to be of the same substance. While reading, we are inclined to ask if it were Homer, Herder, Kant, Schiller or Beethoven who speaks! One would feel that the same hand had been striking the notes of accord and that the whole weaves into the same texture of Harmony! Being a man whose natural language was that of sound and not of words, Beethoven sometimes used to borrow his expressions from others; but he only took such expressions as were already his own. One would almost swear that some of the most striking expressions are Beethoven's own language. In any case, what were only noble thoughts, general and abstract truths with the authors cited, came to be animated, quivering, pulsating under the pen of Beethoven, who seemed to rewrite them with his heart's blood. For we read them in his life and find them transfused into his blood. His grand cortege of friends from ancient India, from Greece, or from Germany—all idealists, participate in his sufferings and his heroism.

From this ensemble of thought, flowing or sparkling, what is the form that emerges? What picture? What statue of the soul?

To begin with, we see a Herculean grandeur wrestling with Fate; then a heroic renunciation which raises itself above Fate by accepting it—Hercules on the funeral pyre!

The ancient writers had worked on a tragedy—Hercules on Mount Oeta, which, later on, the Christian writers had likened to the Passion of Christ. When I read Beethoven, I am struck by the identity of suffering and of magnanimity. It is always the same Passion, the Eternal Passion of offering oneself in sacrifice to Humanity.

I shall cite certain poignant pieces,

extracted from the notes of Beethoven, and I shall mix in the design, the passages which he had transcribed from his studies and his own thoughts, so that one can see to what an extent the one and the other proceed from the same spirit:

"Now fate has laid hold on me" (Homer). "Would that I do not disappear into the dust, without glory! No, let me accomplish, first of all, grand things whose echo would resound in the ears of the generations to come" (Beethoven).

"Wishest Thou, then the laurels of victory, without the dangers of battle?" (Herder)

"Show thy strength O Fate! We are not masters of ourselves; he who is determined would attain self-mastery. May it be so then!" (Beethoven)

"Under the teeth of the tiger...I thank thee Almighty, on high! I die in suffering but not in error." (Herder).

"Endure! (Entsagung) Accept! (Ergebung) Thus we shall gain ground even in the depth of misery and we shall render ourselves worthy of the pardon of God for our faults" (Beethoven).

"*Vide malum et accipi.* I saw evil days and I accepted" (Pliny).

"Only to Him, to Him alone, to God who knows everything, that we should resign all!" (Beethoven).

"What can I do? To be greater than Fate, to love them who hate us and to seek the highest good of perfecting ourselves in creation" (Zacharias Werner.)

"Thou canst not be a man only for thy sake. Thou canst exist only for others...O God, give me strength to conquer myself." (Beethoven)

And in conclusion, I quote four lines of Zacharias Werner which Beethoven so well extracted that they seem to-day like the brazen inscription of the soul of Beethoven—a Christian Marcus Aurelius—a warrior-sage of antiquity:—

"*Fight for Righteousness and for his daughter, the Eternal Liberty glorified by Law. Submit thyself to the inflexible will of Iron Fate! Obey and renounce thyself!*"

Kampf für das Recht und für des Rechtes Tochter
Die durchgesetzte verklarte eu'ge Freiheit,
Ergebung in den ungebengten Willen
Des eiseruen geschicks; gehorsam und
Entsagung ...

The most penetrating spirits amongst the contemporaries of Beethoven—men who had approached him with understanding which gives sympathy—had found in him the grand drama of Sacrifice, and their hearts were pressed with a sort of religious emotion. The poet Rellstab, the musicologist Rochlitz, the organist Freudenberg have almost the same expressions in depicting Beethoven: "the patient man of suffering"—"who had brought to millions of souls the joy, the pure spiritual joy,"—"the man who in order to give his

best to the world, was obliged to be deeply wounded and tortured," and who, although lonely, had united in the embrace of his "*Hymn to Joy*" all men all brothers.

To a noble friend—a woman suffering like him, to Countess Erdody, Beethoven wrote in imperishable words which had become the motto of all heroic souls :—

"We, finite beings, are endowed with infinite spirit ; we are born only for suffering and for joy ; and we may almost say that those who are chosen by Fate receive Joy through Suffering."

He was, while alive, as he is to-day, the great consoler for us. He is for all



Countess Theresa Brunswick
Beethoven's "Immortal Beloved"

ages the most noble tonic in European music, with the vigorous Haendel ; but the latter, health incarnate, turns his eyes away from suffering or screens it with his dazzling brilliance. Beethoven opens his arms to all sufferings and leads them to Joy.

The benefaction of his music does not rest only on his large and profound humanity, comparable only to that of Shakespeare*,

* The great composer Schubert, while young, used to see Beethoven often worn with age, lost in his dreams. Without daring to discuss with Beethoven, Schubert said to one of his friends : "To compare Mozart with Beethoven is like comparing Schiller with Shakespeare. Schiller is already understood. Shakespeare far from being so, for a long time still."

who shares the bread of daily life with all. To those who know how to listen to Beethoven his music seems to be a religious light, a revelation of the Infinite : of that *Double Infinite*, that which is enveloping us and that which is within us. Beethoven passes through our hearts that ecstasy in which J. H. Andreas Stumpff (1823) found Beethoven, sitting on a grassy sward in a valley near Vienna, contemplating the starry heavens—that ecstasy which Beethoven made to shine with the palpitation of the stars, in the sublime *Adagio* of one of his Quatrets. (in E flat, opus 59, dedicated to Count Rasumoffsky) :

"My Spirit," said Beethoven to Stumpff, "mounts up to the Prime Source (Urquelle) from which flows inexhaustibly the stream of the whole creation. The things that would penetrate the heart must come from on high ; otherwise we have only notes, bodies without soul, mere mud. The human spirit should build out of the earth where the divine spark had been sent, banished as it were for a time, and like the field sown by the peasant, the human spirit should blossom and fructify ; thus enriched and multiplied, it should go back to the Source from which it had emerged."

Thus the genius of Beethoven appears as a perennial stream of Life which flows from the Urquelle, the Prime Source, and with thousands of human streams mingling with one another, goes back to the original spring. Thus the great musical genius is the mediator between the human and the divine and he is fully conscious about the magic character of the Art of which he is the Sovereign.

"Music," said Beethoven, "is the nonmaterial entrance into a world that is the highest in our knowledge, it is a world which envelops mankind and yet it cannot grasp that world fully...Music is the revelation which is higher than all philosophy, all wisdom. It is the Sacred Wine that exalts the soul up to the region of New Birth unto a New Childhood, and I am the Bacchus who presses that magnificent wine for human beings—wine that makes them God-intoxicated. God is nearer than anybody else to me, in my Art...He who would understand once only my music shall be free from misery, in which the others are engulfed." (Conversation with Bettina Brentano, 1810)

These are words of illumination. We who have verified on ourselves their efficacy, we

can bear witness to their prophetic value. Two women of his age measured the comprehensiveness of the words, through their intuition of love and of genius. Bettina Brentano was so fascinated as to dare writing to Goethe: "None has any doubt on the matter, but I declare that Beethoven marches long in advance of the thoughts of the whole humanity and I have doubt as to whether we shall ever be able to capture his thoughts fully." (1810)

Theresa of Brunsvik, "*The Immortal Beloved*."* old and lovely, long after the death of him who loved her, wrote in her diary:

* Beethoven used that name in a letter which had been discovered amongst his intimate papers after his death and which were supposed to have been addressed to the Hungarian Countess Theresa of Brunsvik. Although certain doubts subsist still on that identification, it is no less certain that

"Beethoven had outpassed his age as well as ours. His epoch did not understand him. A Christ, without comparison."*

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Translated from the original French

By Dr. KALI DAS NAG

profound affection united Beethoven with the Brunsviks. He dedicated to Theresa the lovely Sonata for piano (opus 78) and to her brother Franz the famous *Appassionata* (opus 87). Theresa never married and after the death of Beethoven she consecrated her life to the service of the poor. She was the first to found in Europe a foundling hospital.

* Theresa, profoundly Christian in spirit, wished to say in this phrase (written in French in the original text) that she is not permitted to compare Beethoven with Christ, but that, maintaining all proportion, Beethoven was a Christ.

R.R.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Opium and Government Excise Policy

In *Welfare* Mr. C. F. Andrews has concluded his series of informing and outspoken articles on the Government's opium policy. In his last article he says:—

A word of praise must be given for much of the contents of the Government of India's own letter to the Provinces, when it turns aside from perversely and stupidly recommending the Royal Commission on Opium of 1893 and faces the hard facts of the excessive consumption in India at the present time over large areas. Sections 4 and 5 in the 'Letter,' which I shall quote in full, leave very little to be desired, as a bold and frank statement of the evils of opium addiction existing without any serious control in India.

The following is the text of sections 4 and 5 of the 'Letter':—

Section 4. While there are large areas in India where the consumption of opium per head of the population is considerably lower than the standard of legitimate consumption laid down by the League of Nations which is 600 milligrammes per head per annum (equivalent to a little over 6 seers per 10,000 of the population per annum) the consumption in different parts of India, and in different areas in one and the same province, shows very large variations, and there are places where the consumption per head very largely exceeds the League's standard.

Section 5. As examples I am to mention the following:—

1. The whole of Burma, where of course smoking is rife—both among the Chinese and among the older Burmans, consumption is as high as 15 to 20 times the standard of the League of Nations in districts full of Chinese like Rangoon, Tavoy, Mergni and about 5 times that standard in the whole of Burma on the average.

2. The Brahmaputra Valley in Assam, where there is both smoking and eating, consumption is as high as 30 times the League of Nations' standard in the Frontier Districts, and average 8 to 9 times the League's standard for the whole of Assam.

3. Orissa and Midnapore. Consumption is about three times the League's standard.

4. The Northern Circars of Madras. Consumption is about four times the League's standard (but ten times the standard in one district).

5. Sind—where consumption is about six times the League's standard.

6. Central Provinces and Berar. Consumption is about three times the League's standard on the average and five times in Berar.

7. The districts peopled by the Sikhs. Consumption is about four times the standard on the average, and in some districts 8 to 13 times the standard.

8. Areas adjoining Rajputana e.g., the northern districts of Bombay where the consumption is about 6 to 8 times the League's standard.

9. Big industrial centres like Calcutta (7 times), Bombay (7 times), Cawnpore (5 times), Lucknow (3 times), Madras (4 times), Ahmedabad (7 times) etc., and

10. A few places in the Deccan like Poona, Ahmednagar (4 to 6 times the standard).

11. Isolated places like the Nilgiris (over 3 times) and Benares (over 5 times the standard.)

"It seems clear that in places where the consumption is so high, there is a likelihood of abuse: and it appears to the Government of India that it would be well to consider whether any special measures are necessary and practicable to reduce the consumption and prevent abuse in such areas. In Assam and Burma, of course, special measures of restriction have already been taken, and there it would only be necessary to consider whether anything further can be done either in the province as a whole or in particular parts of it."

If the very frequent assertion, not only of the Government of India, but of the local Governments in this matter, were entirely genuine, beyond even the point of self-deception, and they were unmistakably anxious to reduce consumption, even at the sacrifice of revenue, then there are two very easy methods of testing their absolute sincerity:—

(1) Let the staff, employed for detection of opium smuggling be appreciably increased out of the revenue gained from the Government sale of opium.

(2) In the black spots, let the opium, offered for sale at the licensed opium shops be rationed down year by year, and a registration of names of purchasers, open to public inspection, be made compulsory. The fall in opium consumption would at once be found to be large—much larger indeed than any reduction obtained by increasing the price of opium. The amount purchasable at one time by one customer on one day should be reduced at the same time, wherever it is still as high as 3 tolas.

Obstacles to Indian Social Unity

Mr. Jyoti Swarup Gupta points out in *Welfare* some of the obstacles in the way of Indian social unity and makes suggestions whereby they may be overcome. The things which he has in mind will be understood from the following sentences:—

1. It was an evil and inauspicious day when denominational schools, colleges, hostels and Universities were started in the country. They became the centres from which the Hindus and Muslims began to look upon themselves as separate entities.

2. Very often we are distinguished as belonging to different communities and different parts of India by our dress. During communal riots the ruffians make their dastardly attacks on members of the other religion simply because they recognise them as belonging to a different religion by their dress. Dress is responsible for the growth of communalism and provincialism. Hence it is absolutely necessary to have a common national dress.

3. When we meet different people, we have to use different forms of salutations and greetings and these create confusion and sometimes also a little unpleasantness or awkwardness.

4. We have got a bewildering number of

nomenclatures viz., Babu, Lala, Shriyut, Pandit, Seth, Munshi, Moulvi, Syed, Mirza, Mr., etc., by which to address different men. It is very confusing and troublesome to remember these fine distinctions and then some people have a fancy for a certain prefix and they do not like being addressed in any other way.

5. We should select a suitable day—preferably some full-moon-day in spring or autumn—and celebrate it every year as a national festival in which all Indians irrespective of all caste or communal considerations should partake.

6. We should also have a national flag and motto to constantly remind us of our nationalism.

7. If possible we must have a national parl in all important places. It must have Hindu and Jain temples, Sikh Thakurdwara, Muslim mosque, Christian church, Parsi fire temples and Jewish synagogue.

Wanted An A₁ Nation

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma rightly observes in *Welfare*:—

We are not an A₁ nation, nor are we a B₂ nation. We are a C₃ nation, a nation which consists of men whose health is very poor, whose vitality is very low, whose energy is extremely limited whose capacity for work is meagre and whose joy in the mere fact of living is non-existent. How can we think ourselves to be otherwise when the average expectation of life of an Indian is only 22 years, when most of the infants that are born are never born with a long lease of life, and when for our womenfolk the duties of motherhood mean a life-and-death struggle.

As an example of what may be achieved by combined individual and national efforts, which he advocates for India, he instances the case of England.

In England the slogan is:—better health for every body. There is a progressive decrease in the general rate of mortality there every year. The President of the British Medical Association said in his presidential address this year that the rate of mortality in England had fallen by nearly one-half in the last fifty years, and that a large percentage of humanity can now outrange the psalmist's three score years and ten. Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health gave it out sometime back that the English people had put at least a dozen years on to the average life. Where two adults died before only one infant dies now. In England they have routed the great pestilence and won victories over diseases which are more splendid than the Victories of Waterloo and Trafalgar. The Black Death killed half the population of England in the fourteenth century but the Black Death no longer constitutes a menace to the life of the English people. Plague used to make London like a deserted house in the sixteenth century and small-pox used to claim tens of thousands of inhabitants as its victims, but these scourges of mankind are now conquered. So have diseases like leprosy, typhoid and diphtheria disappeared and ceased to impose very heavy toll

on the lives of old and young. Of course, England still suffers from tuberculosis, cancer and rheumatism but men are trying their level best that the English people should be rid of these pests of mankind also.

Veneration for Ancestors

'We read in the *Light of the East* :—

Every great nation, whether of the past or the present, has, or has had when it was a great nation, the deepest veneration for the memory of its ancestors. The most ancient documents of India's civilisation already speak of honours rendered to the "fathers" similar if not equal to the worship rendered to the gods. The same ancestor worship characterised the ancient civilisations of China, Japan, Egypt, Rome and Greece.

One can truly say that attachment to the ancestors and a vivid remembrance of their deeds is one of the most essential features of civilisation.

Mankind therefore only rises above the savage state into which it ever tends to relapse, owing to the efforts of several generations. If we are civilised today, we owe it as much to our ancestors as to ourselves. On the other hand, as witnessed by several countries of the West to-day, civilisation goes down with worship of tradition and of those that handed it over to us. All the immorality or amorality preached openly by European and American newspapers, their tales of divorces, their nude pictures, the materialism blatant in their pages go hand in hand with the forgetfulness or even scorn of the Mediæval or the "Mid-Victorian." Thus in olden times, Roman virtue sank apace with the respect for the *mos majorum*, the rule laid down by the ancients.

We owe them life and with life not only the enjoyment of civilisation, but also every other gift. Rightly do the Ten Commandments place immediately after our duty to worship the one true God, to serve Him and to honour His name the great commandment, which also "is equal to the first :—" "Thou shalt honour thy father and mother." And history confirms their promise "that thou mayest live long : for these nations alone have lived long who loved their fathers and mothers and—for their sake—loved their race and tried to keep it alive."

Nor do we only love our ancestors. We preserve as sacred treasures the memories of their heroic and holy deeds.

The Three Jewels of Jainism

The Jaina Gazette observes :—

The Three Jewels of the Jaina faith are *Samyak Darsana*, right intuition or faith; *Samyak Gyana*, right knowledge; and *Samyak Charitra*, right conduct. A combined acquisition of these three leads to Nirvana, the ultimate goal of a true Jaina's spiritual life.

An old Jaina work defines *Samyak Darsana* as *Sradhana*, i.e. intuitive faith in the *Tattvarthas*, i.e., in the true significance of the nature of things. It

means a full belief in the reality that underlies all phenomena of nature. This is gained when one realizes the true importance of the seven *Tattvas* as enumerated by the Jains. These are Jiva, Ajiva, Asrava, Bandha, Samvara, Nirjara and Moksha or Nirvana.

Samyak Gyana is right knowledge of the ultimate reality of things. It comes as a flash of intuition by leading an intensely pure and ascetic life or by a study of Jainism both with regard to its origin and its contents.

The third jewel, *Samyak Charitra*, is right conduct, both for house-holders and ascetics. The rules for laymen are designed to prepare them for following the harder discipline of Yatis or Monks in course of time.

India's Greatness

The editor of the *Young Theosophist* writes :—

In the Course of his address to the graduates of the Calcutta University at its Convocation, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the Vice-Chancellor, enunciated a proposition that the chief belief that a certain caste was the eldest son of the Creator or that a particular race was the chosen seed of the Lord or that particular country was destined by Providence to lord it over all others, was opposed to scientific truth, contrary to the teaching of history, and fatal to the world's peace and progress. In maintaining this, the learned Vice-Chancellor emphasised that no nation could be great unless it realised that the supreme value of the community of life and thought rested in the transcending of the barriers of caste and creed, the privileges of birth and communal peculiarities. We associate ourselves whole heartily with these sentiments of the Vice-Chancellor and earnestly appeal to our readers to make India great by acting in a spirit of brotherhood with all fellow-beings irrespective of caste or creed. That will indeed make the task of the Lord easier in establishing peace in this country as against the present strifes between the various sections of the Community.

Indian Revolutionaries

"Politicus" opines in *The Volunteer* :—

The existence of the revolutionary party, may have its influence over the government as well as on the other parties that preach peace or peaceful war. It may remind the country of the depth of the wound and register the intensity of the pain felt. It may warn the government that all is not well. It may be one of the signs and symptoms of existing injustice of a deep national sore. With all that one wishes that the revolutionary had never existed and had used his gifts to shine in other ways and in other paths of life.

But whether we will it or not, whether he is a desirable or an undesirable, the revolutionary has been a fixture in the struggle for freedom. I

cannot commend either his negative ideal or his methods. But I know that the country and the government have to bear him since he would not be wiped out unless his temper, his point of view were changed. Yet no government can neglect the fact when some of the best brains coming from some of the highest families set about subverting it by all possible means. Nor can the leaders of the people neglect such a movement since such noble youths engaged in revolutionary activities are the best material for turning out the most devoted servants of the land in other fields.

I think that it is waste of blood and endeavour for the revolutionary to act as he does. With such an intense patriotism, with such an instinct for the service of his countrymen, with such a zeal for reform, it were better to try to free his country by other means. To be ready to die for one's country is no doubt a great thing but it is greater still to live for it—to live a life of constant service and sacrifice. How profitable would it be if the conflagratory fire of the revolutionary that seeks to consume the foreigner were to transmute itself into the steady and silent flame of fervent service to his countrymen.

Hand-spinning as a Supplementary Industry

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :

The Royal Commission is among other things, in search of a supplementary occupation to fill the idle hours of our agricultural population. Actual experiments have proved, beyond doubt, the validity of the claims made on behalf of the Charkha in this respect. There can be no satisfactory solution of the problem of rural poverty in India other than the removal of the drink temptation and the revival of hand-spinning.

Hand-spinning is the only supplementary industry that can be taken up by the large agricultural population in the dry areas of this province. Other industries that may be suggested can be taken up only to a very limited extent in particular localities. Most of them are not feasible for want of a sufficient market for the products in the neighbourhood. Again they are not suitable by reason of want of the necessary skill, opportunity for special training, education, aptitude and initial outlay. Hand-spinning is the only occupation that can fill the spare hours of the rural population if we take into account the limited skill and knowledge of the people and the necessary conditions of any spare time occupation, namely, that it should be simple, easily learnt and capable of being taken up and put aside any time so that it may not interfere with the main occupation.

That hand-spinning with its poor return has appealed to the economic sense of the rural labourer is evident from the rapid and spontaneous development in every dry rural area where a good centre has been started with efficient management.

The Man-eating Microbe

After mentioning the bacilli of dysentery, diphtheria and tuberculosis and the germs of the two venereal diseases, and describing their ravages, Mr. Thurman B. Rice observes in the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :—

These and other death dealing microbes are responsible for more deaths in a day than all those caused by wild beasts in the entire history of our country. We have heard it said that certain persons with reputations for being fighters could whip their weight of wildcats. We should like to see the man who could whip one ten-thousandth of his weight of tubercle bacilli. Strong men not infrequently die of a pin scratch, because it opens the door for the man-eating microbe.

It is true that these germs are very small, but they are deadly for all that. What families Mrs. Microbe does have! She makes the old woman who lived in a shoe look like a rank amateur. A baby microbe under favourable conditions is mature in about ten minutes of age; it is a parent at half an hour, and at the end of an hour is a grandparent. Its progeny after twenty four hours, if it should continue to reproduce itself at the rate of one division each half hour, and under favourable conditions many bacteria can beat that, will be about 17,000,000,000,000 of other man-eating microbes, each a fighter and each a chip off the old block.

Though a single germ is small, the sum of its potential progeny after three or four days of multiplication makes a mass larger than a lion, an elephant, or any prehistoric monoster. It would be a comparatively simple and easy matter to start with one germ of certain kinds and after two days of cultivation have enough to kill the entire population of large cities.

Mathematics as Fine Art

Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswamy, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., contributes to the *Benares Hindu University Magazine* a thoughtful, well-written and suggestive article on "Mathematics as Fine Art." We give below two paragraphs from it.

Art divides itself into two schools, according to the amount of Suppression we demand or are prepared to sanction—the classical, and the Romantic. The dominant note of classic Art is its Restraint; it discards the lower emotional levels pertaining to the personal life and easily achieves sublimity. It is pitched too high to be impressionable to the traces of the author's personality: what for instance can we learn of Valmiki from the Ramayana? The classic Art constitutes therefore the most effective screen for the sensitive soul of the Artist that Aesthetic Concealment may require.

Mathematics as Fine Art is of the classic type. She is not the Venus, but the Pallas Athene of austere brow, her harmonies are not of the physical ear, but belong to a subtler sense. The discipline

she demands is the transmutation of emotion into the intellectual plane; for, she dwells on the heights with the Cosmic Deities, rapt in the unfolding Rhythm of Form.

Buddha Day Celebration in India

We are glad to read in the first number of *Buddhist India* :—

The dawn of the two thousand four hundred and seventieth year of the Buddha Era which was initiated by Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India marks a new spirit on part of both Buddhists from Ceylon, Burma, Chittagong, Nepal, Kalimpong, Mysore, Bombay and Hindus of different provinces of India. Four decades back the vast majority of the Indians had almost forgotten all about Lord Buddha and His Message of Unity, Universal Love and Brotherhood, and the spread of ancient Buddhist culture and literature in the East and the West formed the monopoly of oriental scholars of Europe and America. With the advent of a few Buddhist organisations into India the growing interest taken by broad minded Hindus of India, and the zealous attempts of Buddhist to restore the historic position of Buddhism as a religion of India the New Year of 2470 forms a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Modern India. Indians who professed different systems of religion in India, leaders, scholars and people have come forward to commemorate the Buddha Day in the land of Buddha, or Buddhas. Until the advent of the Moslems into India, the Indians professed Buddhism. They were the scholars, the missionaries, the artists and what not, who unfurled the sacred banner of Dharma not only in India but to the oversea lands—to China, Korea, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Siam etc. Ashvaghosha, Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dipankara, Santaraksita were all Indians and it is therefore not strange that they should as of yore take lively interest in the furtherance of the Indian yet universal religion in the exploration of the vast Sanskrit and Pali literatures, as well as those now in the different languages of Asia, of art and architectural remains which originated with the advent of Buddhism. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the Hindus should participate in the Buddha Day celebration, nay organise it in holy centres where there was none before.

Enrichment of Indian Literature

Mr. J. N. C. Ganguli writes in the *Young Men of India* :—

In order to enrich Indian literature, prose ought to be used profusely, since even now song literature has a disproportionate place in the publications here and there. Since the days of Ram Mohon Roy the importance of prose was fully realised, as opposed to the Sanskritic fashion of having even chemistry and medicine in verse. Thus more critical essays have to be produced in literature, and prose translations ought to be made of the master minds of the world. Mere names

can never inspire a nation—for this, the thoughts of the giant intellects have to be imported from all parts of the world. This is true of Western countries, otherwise there is no explanation for the great demand for the translations of foreign classics in every country in Europe. This will be possible in India when the vernaculars are used more widely, not only in the universities and law courts, but in all the higher walks of life. It will be right to say that the great works of Western philosophers have no mention in our vernaculars, nor those of the poets and artists. Such cultural neglect is becoming day after day really culpable.

Science, which is the basis of modern life and civilisation, will not be at all found in the vernaculars, except, perhaps, as a few juvenile readers. Apart from its many branches, the elementary formulation of the more common ones has not as yet taken place. 'Science Primers' for schools and colleges have not even the proper vernacular glossary of terms, since such words cannot be found. Although such attempts are being made in certain quarters, e. g., the Calcutta Sahitya Parisat the result has been very meagre and therefore nugatory. Sanskritic philosophical terms are not understood today, because of the poverty of the Sanskritic vernacular dialects. Word-coining is admitted to be one of the best avenues for the assimilation and importation of thought, and here the vernaculars fail because of the want of thought units. There is not a single vernacular book in higher mathematics, whether Indian or Western, and it is an instance of a subject native to the soil. The same holds good roughly with regard to medicine, chemistry, astronomy, etc.

The country is apparently keen on politics but if the question is raised. How many solid books on politics, and sociology are available in the vernaculars? the answer will be a direct negative. It is because there is no systematic political and social thinking, language following thought in all ages. Western political social theories ought certainly to be known in India more generally, together with what there is in ancient Indian thought itself. Economics is in a similar plight.

Shock Tastics in Social Reform

Mr. M. Madhava Rau observes in the *Canara High School Magazine* :—

In all important stages of the World's progress, leaders of Society have been divided into two groups, one advocating what would in military language be called a massed frontal attack on social abuses, and the other advocating social reform on 'the lines of least resistance.'

He does not favour the latter method, as the following paragraphs will show :—

Society may be often likened to the blindman in the American ship (we believe it was the *Lusitania*) which was torpedoed by German submarines. All the best doctors had tried to restore his sight but had failed. The shock given by the torpedoes led to wailing and weeping and wringing of hands; fond mothers went crazy with anxiety for their offspring; but the shock instantaneously removed the thick film before the blind man's eyes, and completely restored his sight. Nations

frequently go purblind to their social ills; and it is only a great shock that can open their eyes. It was the Muslim riots of 1923 that opened the eyes of the Pandits of Multan to the necessity of reclamation to Hinduism and made them take back into their community a Brahmin Lady who had embraced the Muhammadan faith. The shock thus comes sometimes from without; but sometimes it has rendered from within.

No fortress is impregnable to devoted troops. Port Arthur was deemed impregnable, but fell in a few months before the heroic assaults of General Nogis troops. The sacrifices of the Japanese were great, but not disproportionate to the momentous result. Long-rooted customs seem unconquerable, they cannot be starved out like fortresses. The human mind quails at the idea of frontal assaults. Weak generals devise flank attacks which are dispersed before they are well on the way. The selfishness of vested interests is ever on the alert, to repel inroads from whatever direction. An able and intrepid general arises, who deems a sustained frontal assault to be the cheapest in the long run. The very magnitude of the task, the forlornness of the hope, awakens the necessary *elan* among the young, which spreads by moral contagion, and the invincible citadel is carried in a few rushes. It is thus that in history, invincible customs have fallen, and not by feeble tactics which are honoured by the name of 'Reform on the lines of least resistance.'

Religion and Politics

Pandit Chamupati, M.A., tells us in *The Vedic Magazine* :—

In all countries that are today self-governing the struggle for religious liberty has proceeded hand in hand with the struggle for political freedom. In England Reformation and Renaissance were two mutually convertible terms. In Indian history political upheavals have been ushered in invariably by successful campaigns for religious reform. Political subjection is an outward symptom; the root of the disease is in the internal working of the social organism. The outlook of the community has to be broadened from within, so that every part of it is given its due place in the social hierarchy. Only a novice in politics would hope to achieve Swarajya for India, without giving to the depressed classes the fundamental right to make equal progress with the rest of the Nation. The plight of the widow and of the early married girl pushed into the meshes of wedlock in order either to further the gross worldly interests of her father or else to satisfy some so-called religious whim of her mother is, to the serious-minded politician, no small barrier in the way of his battle for equality. The dominance of the priesthood which keeps the masses bound to silly superstition is a fetter from which the feet of the community must be released before they are made ready to tread on the path of liberty. Immorality is a canker which is eating into the vitals of the society. Added to evils inherent in political bondage there are malpractices and pernicious household customs for which the ignorant wilfulness of the people themselves is alone responsible.

The writer does not contend that a country has

to be made a moral and social Utopia, before it is fit to fight for its political rights. No politically free country is free from moral and social evils. What is contended in this article is that because of the lower political status from which a subject community has yet to rise, special moral stamina is required of its members to cope with the exigencies of the unequal struggle, it is going to put up. In free countries politicians even of dubious moral purity may hold the helm of affairs: in subject nations spotless moral character is the foremost qualification of leaders. What force is there to purge the nation of its moral and social iniquities, if not religion?

Madras Goes Ahead

We read in *Stri-Dharma* :—

The first province in India to enfranchise women to its Legislature, the first in which a woman was nominated (the first also, along with the Punjab, for a woman to have contested a seat in open election) to it. Madras has the honor also of being first in having unanimously elected a woman as the Deputy President of the Legislative Council. While congratulating Srimati Muthulakshmi Ammal, M. L. C., on the great honour that has been done to her, we congratulate the other members of the Legislative Council on their chivalry in having bestowed it upon her.

In his opening address to the Madras Council, the Governor gave out certain interesting facts about the polling by women at the recent elections. Of the 116,536 women voters in the Presidency, there were about 106,274 registered voters in contested constituencies, and 93 per cent went to the polls. In the previous elections in 1923, out of 82,367 registered voters, 9,361 or 11.36 per cent went to the polls. With proper facilities at the polling booths for lady volunteers to guide their sisters how to exercise their franchise, and perhaps also a lady polling officer, we are sure the percentage will show a still more considerable increase. We are also happy to note that the Madras University has five lady members on its Senate—Miss Serena E. J. Zacharias, B. A., L. T. elected by the registered graduates, Miss K. C. Kousalya, B. A., L. T., by the Academic Council and Miss Lowe, M. A., M. Sc., Mrs. Paul Appaswami, B. A., M. Sc., Mrs. R. Lakshmi pati, B. A. nominated by the Chancellor.

But Others Left Behind

The rejoicing of Madras at this honour to its womanhood is, however, very much tempered by the disappointment at the unjust treatment which the sister provinces have received at the hands of their respective Governments, sadly lacking in imagination. No other Legislature in India except Madras has women members.

Child Marriages Forbidden in China

The same magazine notes that

The Governor of Shantung has forbidden early marriages and has issued a circular to all the magistrates in the province to that effect. No boy

under the age of 18 shall be allowed to marry and no girl shall be allowed to marry under the age of 16. And the Chinese Kuomintang Congress adopted resolutions in favour of equal, political, economic, and education rights between men and women.

Progress of Women in Turkey

We read in the same magazine :—

Bedrie Hanoum has been appointed to the most important Government position yet granted a woman by the Turkish Republic, namely, Head of the Bureau of Hygiene.

Indian States and Women's Rights

According to *Stri-Dharma* :—

The Indian States are peculiarly fortunate in being able to effect reforms in social and other conditions, unhampered by the "neutral" attitude of the Government, as they are in British India. In Baroda, a Committee has been appointed to enquire into the working of the law preventing child marriage, which has been in force for the last 20 years, and recommend how to make it more effective. The Ruler of Bharatapur, in a recent Proclamation, has forbidden early marriage in his State. In Travancore and Cochin, women can vote for and sit in their Legislative Councils, and they actually do so. In Travancore, a lady is a member of the Government. In Mysore, recently, the proposal to give women the right, for voting and membership of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, was adopted by a majority after "a full-dress debate" for over two hours. The measure received "support from unexpected quarters," in spite of the opposition of the usual kind. It is expected in all quarters that Srimati Parvathi Ammal Chandrashekaraiyer will soon be nominated to the Council, and we can assure the State that she will be an acquisition to it. Mysore has, in the meanwhile, nominated her to the District Board of Bangalore; Mrs. Madurabai Uchagavkar (Lady Surgeon) to the Kadur District Board; and Mrs. Mandyan B.A., and Miss. Lewis (Lady Surgeon) to the Kolar District Board.

"Yoga-Mimansa"

Yoga-Mimansa may be roughly described as a quarterly journal devoted to an exposition, with illustrations, of the general principles underlying the Yogic poses, their physical culture and therapeutical value, their claims in the field of psychophysiology, etc. Physical culturists, medical men, experimental psychologists and those who are classed as general readers should find the periodical interesting and instructive.

Tiru Pan Alvar

The Indian Educator has been giving short accounts of the saints known in South India as *Alvars*. The following extract relates to Tiru Pan Alvar :

'It is folly,' sings Kabir, 'to ask of a Saint what his caste is'; for the quest for God and manifestation of Divine grace have been witnessed in all grades of human society without distinction of high and low. Tiru-Pan-Alvar is the Vaisnava counter-part of the Saiva Nandanar. Though born of the lowest caste, Tiru-Pan-Alvar has been accorded one of the highest places among the Vaisnava saints.

There is a short poem of 10 stanzas which forms Tiru-Pan-Alvar's contribution to the *Nalayira Prabhandam*; and the following lines are rendered from that poem,

The heavy karmic load of my past lives that
bound
Me to the earth removed He and made
me His Slave!
Not that alone! He entered me and did in me
reside!
I know not what great tapas I performed to
deserve this boon
It is the gracious Heart alone of Ranganatha
Where marcy's self eternally resides.
That made my humble soul His serf.

Need of Higher Education of Girls

We read in the *Social Service Quarterly* :

The state of civilization which any particular nation has reached can be gauged from the conditions in which the educational work of the nation is carried on. If the State spends a goodly portion of its revenues on educational activities, if a large number of brilliant young persons have devoted their lives to the sacred but humble work of training young boys and girls of their countries into excellent citizens, if the merchant princes in large business centres vie with one another in endowing educational institutions with their munificent donations, if even the poorest of men deny themselves the comforts of life for the future of their promising children, one may take it for granted that the nation with all its grievances and drawbacks is sure to rise to a high level of prosperity and eminence. It is needless to comment on the conditions which prevail in India, but I intend touching only one phase of the problem of education and that is of the higher education of women. How necessary the spread of higher education is in India today can be found from the scarcity of women teachers, women doctors and women social workers in certain spheres where women alone can do real effective work. In western countries women form a large proportion of primary and secondary school teachers in boys' as well as girls' schools. On account of their zeal and devotion they have improved the quality of work, and the value of their systematic training is highly assessed. In the sphere of social work we find that we have very few

really capable workers who can be safely entrusted with activities like those of vigilance associations or rescue work. In short, as the needs of society become highly complex, it is very difficult to meet the demand for capable workers unless we adjust our educational system to our present requirements.

Economic Consequences of the Calcutta Riots

Mr. Samarendranath Guha tells the reader in *Labour* :

The riots have done incalculable mischief to the Marwari community of Calcutta. The grasp of these businessmen from the north over the commercial, industrial and economic life of the province is as complete as things can possibly be. This community, in particular, was the target of the Mahomedan hooligans from the upcountries and being by nature, the most timid and harmless of men, they had no other alternative but to close down all business and keep themselves carefully guarded within their houses. Burrabazar, the busiest part of the city, therefore, looked dull and deserted and in the absence of any business for about a month, the marwari business-men lost lacs and lacs of rupees if not crores.

But the financial loss to this community had its repercussions on other classes of workers who are so intimately connected with them. The carters, the coolies and other labourers who generally can save nothing to fall back upon in times of emergency were hard hit owing to the suspension of business at Burrabazar and some of them had to live on scanty diet for several days. A socio-political upheaval of such intensity always brings misery in its train but of all classes of people, the worst sufferers are the day-labourers at whom it deals the most stunning blows.

But even the European merchants and manufacturers in Calcutta were not immune from some amount of financial loss which fell to the lot of the Marwaris. They manufacture and import goods to this country and it is by the agencies of the Marwari and merchants and "banians" that they find a ready market in the country. The conclusion becomes irresistible that the European merchants must have suffered heavily owing to the Hindu-Muslim fanaticism in Calcutta. This should be an eye-opener to the bureaucracy that it is in the interest of their own nationals that all communal riots in the country should be suppressed with an iron hand and suppressed as speedily as possible.

On Second hand Books

Mr. Manubhai Kalyanji Desai waxes eloquent in praise of second-hand books in the *M. T. B. College Magazine* :

Cheapness apart (though I don't see any reason why that by itself should not be considered a sufficient virtue to count, in these days of heavy financial stress when you can buy at least five second-hand books for the price of one new) there

are other valid reasons why second-hand books appeal to me so much. The new book which you buy from the "first-hand bookseller" (I wish to be excused for calling him so) comes to you fresh without any living associations. From the printer to the bookseller there is no human being who has taken an intelligent interest in the particular copy which you purchase. You find that the copies that are issued from the press are all exactly alike. There is no individuality about any one of them. The second-hand book, on the contrary, has the personal human touch about it (alas it often proves to be a very rough and dirty touch!) while reading it (or for the matter of that, any volume of a popular novel from a circulating library which is much in demand) you come in contact with a thousand thumbs that have turned over its pages. As you proceed with it, you begin to take delight in constructing for yourself from internal evidences—the passages they have marked, the notes they have scribbled, even the very odour they have imparted to it, and the general manner in which they have handled it—the true personality of the previous owner or reader (for the two are not always identical!)—his age, education, nature, tastes and inclinations. His habits, the inevitable cups of tea having left indelible disc-marks on the cover and the cigarette ashes lying between the leaves at various places of rest. But above all, you discover at once, the industrious book-worm who has greedily devoured the whole volume from cover to cover, as also the flirting dilettante who has gone only half way and has abandoned his further pursuit. Thus through the second-hand book, you smell the breath of many more beings besides that of the author.

Chinese Nationalist Spirit

The editor of the *National Christian Council Review* holds that

It is impossible for us in India to remain uninterested and unmoved while China is in convulsion. Now especially, when Indian troops are landing on Chinese soil, we have a right to know what they are there for and whether it is intended that they be used to intimidate or coerce in any way a kindred people, 'rightly struggling to be free.' Mahatma Gandhi describes the purpose with which these troops are sent as 'in reality to aid in suppressing China's bid for freedom, and ostensibly to protect foreigners.' We cannot believe that this is so, for to believe it would be to abandon all faith in the veracity of British statesmen of whatever party. At the same time, it is well that we should endeavour to obtain as much reliable information as possible as to the character of this powerful upsurge of a nationalist spirit in China and as to its relation to the Christian movement in that land.

Roads and Civilization

In the opinion of *Indian and Eastern Motors*.

The history of Civilization may well be called the history of roads, and highways. Communi-

cation has always been a most essential requirement of any established community. Where people are numerous and their very numbers demand roads for the unity and coherence which is essential to their preservation.

In the earliest civilizations of which we have record, roads have played a vital part in the growth and preservation of nations. Natural highways in Asia and Europe have been utilized time and again in the great migrations which have changed and recharged the political maps of the two continents innumerable times. Many of them have been trodden by so many millions of feet that they have become well-defined highways, dating back beyond the time known to man at present. The famous Khyber Pass in India, used by countless hordes which flowed into India's fertile plains from Northern Asia is one of the oldest of these natural highways. But the earliest roads constructed by any nation, so far as is known at present existed in Ancient Egypt.

The same periodical states :—

No discussion of the history of roads would be complete without mentioning the names of Telford and MacAdam. The incredible condition of roads in England in the 18th century was due to the law compelling each parish to maintain its own roads. Later, the establishment of turnpike trusts and toll systems for maintaining the roads effected very little improvement owing to the ignorance and incompetence of those in charge. Telford worked out a pitch foundation for roads which proved to be fairly satisfactory, and MacAdam introduced the idea of keeping sub-soils dry and firm by a water proof road covering and adequate drainage. MacAdam's methods have been the most lasting and have had a great effect upon road building everywhere even to the present day.

The Calcutta All-India Olympic Sports

We gather from Mr. A. G. Noehren's article in the *Young Men of India* on the Calcutta All-India Olympic Sports,

That the activities of the Indian Olympic Association during the past triennium have infused life and enthusiasm into Indian track and field sports all over the country, must have been evident to the crowds who witnessed the final Olympic trials at the beautiful Eden Gardens, Calcutta, on the 5th February. Over a hundred picked athletes and swimmers, all of them specially selected as the best in their class as a result of provincial Olympic meetings conducted all over the Indian Empire, journeyed to Calcutta from such distant points as Travancore, Bombay and Lahore, to try for a place on the team that is to represent India at the IX Olympiad.

This goodly company of men, comprising Hindus of all castes, including Brahmans, Muhammadans, Persees, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, were so imbued with the spirit of sportsmanship that racial and religious differences were entirely submerged and the gathering took on the character of a happy family.

The five-mile event was won by D. V. Chavan of Karachi. In swimming D. D. Moolji of Bengal won both the quarter and the mile, Abdul Hamid of the Punjab won in the 120-yard high hurdles contest. The half-mile was won by Murphy of Madras. The mile was won by Venkataramanswamy of Mysore. And so on.

The inter-provincial mixed relay was the most thrilling race of the meeting, and the success of the Bengal team, which won by a narrow margin over Madras, was due only to the superiority of their sprinters. The outcome of the whole inter-provincial contest depended on this last event, for had Bengal lost, the Punjab would at least have tied for first place.

It was decided not to enter an Indian team for the Far Eastern Championship Games this year, because of the ominous political situation in China. The following gentlemen were then provisionally chosen to represent the Indian Empire at the Amsterdam Olympiad in 1928: Hall, Burns, Murphy, Abdul Hamid, Gholam Murtaza and Venkataramanswamy. Two additional reserves were put on the list, tentatively, viz., Chavan and Moolji, the swimmer. A subsidiary elimination test will be conducted in Lahore early in 1928, at which these athletes will be required to meet any challengers developed in the course of the year, before their ultimate selection is ratified.

The Indian Olympic Association is now in a satisfactory financial condition, with over Rs. 10,000 on fixed deposit to her credit, and a fairly strong organisation representative of all the best sporting element in the country. The Indian movement believes that the development of star athletes should always remain secondary to the greater Olympic ideal of promoting mass play and recreation among the youth of India. The Y.M.C.A., too, has always consistently maintained this point of view, believing that character, initiative and manliness can only be developed on a strong physical foundation. The All-India meetings bring the diverse races of India together on the friendly field of sport; and it is the hope of all friends of the Indian Olympic movement that these periodic meetings will bring about that spirit of loyalty and cohesion between communities, on which the integrity and progress of the country depend.

The Greater India Society

Prabuddha Bharat looks upon the establishment of this society "as one of the happiest events of recent days.

To know oneself is to be strong. The proverb 'Knowledge is Power' is never truer than in our case. To become conscious of a glorious heritage is to be filled with large hopes and indomitable power. We cannot therefore too highly estimate the value of such a venture as the foundation of this Society from the national point of view.

From the scholastic stand-point also, we are sure, it has a great usefulness and a bright future. Many of those who are associated with the Society

are well-known for their profound scholarship and enjoy international reputation. If they take to their work with earnestness as we hope they will do, the achievements of the Society are bound to be very fruitful in the advancement of historical knowledge and the Society may one day become a great centre of the study of Indology.

St. Francis of Assisi

Serampore College Magazine observes in the course of a character-sketch of St. Francis of Assisi that

Francis looked upon the world of Nature around with a sense of kinship far above what was commonly felt in his day. The objects of the outer world were to his eye not merely the works of God's creative hand, but in themselves the expression of His eternal love and the channels by which it might reach and attract the heart and mind of man. Coming from the essential life and love of the Most High and intended to enrich and beautify the souls of His creatures, the orbs of heaven, the elemental forces of the world, and even the experience of men in the midst of earthly existence, might be regarded as in a real sense the fellow-offspring of every true child of God.

It is this sense of the intimate union and communion with Nature into which the human soul may enter that constitutes the charm of Francis' *Cantic of the Sun*. In this respect, it rises higher than the Hebrew Psalm 148, on which it is based.

The Party System in India

Mr. T. I. Ommen opines in *The Indian Review*:

Party system is an indispensable element in the working of governments of all democratic countries. History does not record any instance of a large free country without it. Great statesmen and political philosophers, while fully conscious of its defects, have recognised its inevitability in democracies. India can be no exception to the general rule; and in the evolution of Indian democracy party system assuredly has a prominent part to play.

In the case of India, however, the problem is complicated by the fact that she is not a free country in the sense that her Government is not responsible to her people. Under the Reformed Constitution, the element of responsibility does not exist at all in the case of the Central Government and it is partially introduced in the Provincial Governments. In the case of the latter it is only in relation to the Transferred Subjects that the principle of responsibility can be said to exist. The Government of India is an irremovable one and is not responsible to the legislature. Government by parties has, obviously, no place in the scheme of its working. If resolution is carried against it in the Central Legislature, it does not feel itself called upon to resign, neither could it, under the existing conditions, constitutionally do so. In fact,

there is a good deal of truth in the argument often advanced that in relation to the Government of India there is room only for two parties—the party of the Government, always in power and the party of the people or the non-official party.

In the Provincial Governments, on the other hand, so far as the Transferred Subjects are concerned, the party system can work well under normal conditions.

Value of Indian Lives

The Telegraph Review exclaims:—

HUMAN LIVES AND THEIR VALUE

Poor Sheikh Mahmood a Telegraph Peon, died at the hands of the rowdies during the last communal riot in Calcutta—and the benevolent Government has given a generous dole about Rs. 40/- to his family! Apparently human lives in the Post and Telegraph Department are estimated at a less value than that of a fox-terrier, whose master was sometime ago compensated by the court of a moffussil station by more than Rs 150/. We have heard from reliable sources that the same charitable dole is extended to Postal officers and clerks as well. A sub-postmaster at one of the moffussil stations in Assam was done with fever, and wanted relief at the earliest opportunity. That opportunity did not come till the officer sacrificed his life in the discharge of his responsible duties; and it is said that his family received compensation to the extent of about Rs. 150. Such is the value of our lives under the benevolent Post and Telegraph Department! It is a most amazing surprise that no effective calculation is made of the loss suffered by the relatives on the death of the earning member, and the helpless position in which they are placed.

Modern Woodcuts

Mr. N. C. Choudhuri has contributed to *Welfare* a well-illustrated, informing and enjoyable article on modern woodcuts. Says he:—

One of the recentest developments in the field of European art is the revival of the woodcut. Though this movement has reached its climax only in the last few years, woodcutting has a long history behind it.

The invention of the camera and the various process-engravings provided better and more inexpensive substitutes for woodcuts, and deprived them of their *raison d'être* even in this particular department. Fortunately, the ruin of the commercial prospects, of the woodcut has proved to be its artistic salvation. It has been set free from its bondage. Now-a-days many books are found decorated with woodcuts. But it is not because they are the cheapest and the most faithful medium of reproducing an illustration. Their justification is artistic and not utilitarian. The lead in the revival was taken in France. But, at present, woodcutting is practised in every country and by artists like Brangwyn and Derain

who have made a name in other fields of art, as a means of aesthetic expression.

in any considerable scale anywhere to place our individual and social economy on a stabler and more solid basis? 'No.'

'This Communal' Strife !'

In the same magazine Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee tells the reader :—

Whenever some Indians fight and murder one another and are at the same time found to be fighting as a Hindu crowd against a Mahomedan crowd, we give the whole affair the name of a 'Communal' strife and feel satisfied that we have explained everything in the way of causes and motives connected with such outbursts of passion and pugnacity. People outside India, when they read of these 'Communal' disturbances understand that there are two strong communities in India, one Hindu, the other Mahomedan, and that they cannot help fighting one another occasionally as their interests and ideals are mutually opposed.

But is there a Hindu Community in India? And is there one Mahomedan?

By a community we should understand a group of men who live together, have common ideals, work for mutual benefit and attempt to move forward along the path of progress unitedly and in the spirit of co-operation, fellowship and enlightened self-abnegation. Thus we may speak of the Quaker Community, the Society of Friends, than whom one can scarcely find a better example for illustrating the true meaning of community life and positive communalism. 'Watching over one another for good' is the soul of Quakerism. If one Quaker fails to pay his just debts or go in any other way against the ethical principles of the community, the others try to reclaim him by admonition or help.

Looking at ourselves, both Hindus and Mahomedans, we cannot say that we are very much of a community except in so far as we get ourselves stabbed in the back by a member of the opposing community (Hindu by Mahomedan and vice versa) during a period of 'Communal' tension. We say this because we find that in practically every field where we could look for manifestations of the community spirit we find a tragic barrenness in India.

First of all there can be no true community life among masters and slaves. Where some members of a group are denied their just and elementary rights there can be no question of building up a community. Be we Hindus or Mahomedans, we keep down half of those who form our community—the Women. This great injustice and drawback heads a long list of shortcomings that stand in the way of our attainment of the ideals of positive and true communalism.

Do we care for our poor and our aged?

Do we arrange for the education of our young?

Can we claim to be succouring those Hindus and Mahomedans who are stricken by leprosy, deformity or any other of the countless chronic and acute scourges that have made India their favourite hunting ground?

Where are our communal efforts to make ourselves more honest, brave and pure and less cowardly, sneakish and dishonest?

Are we practising mutual help and co-operation

The Problem of the Future of the Indian States

Mr. C Vijayaraghavachariar, president of the Nagpur (1920) Session of the Indian National Congress, discusses in the *Hindustan Review* the problem of the future of the Indian States. His article contains much curious and instructive information. For instance :

Of the 562 Indian States, only ten have an annual gross revenue of a crore and more, the highest being the revenue of about six crores which Hyderabad has. There are 53 States which have a revenue of 10 lakhs and over up to 100 lakhs. There are 127 States with 1 lakh and above up to 10 lakhs. The remaining 372 States have all revenues below one lakh. Of these so many as 137 States have a gross annual revenue of less than Rs. 10,000 while no less than 40 States have an income of less than Rs. 1,000 a year. Two of the "Ruling Princes" deserve special mention. Rajah Naik Gangaram Ankush, Naik of Vadhyawan has a gross revenue of Rs. 160 a year and his "subjects" number 54, compressed within an area of five square miles. Rajah Bavji of Bilbari has an income of Rs. 90 a year and his "subjects" number 32, inhabiting a tract of 1½ square miles. It would be a most marvellous study to know under what circumstances such States were constituted. In the meanwhile we may venture to compare a vast group of such States, at least, those with the gross annual revenue below Rs. 1,000, to children's toy puppet representing animate Rajahs and Ranis.

The writer thinks that we shall have to give up the slogan that our political freedom is best attained with the whole country for our Dominion. His reasons are stated below.

If we would take India to mean what was intended by nature to be, a physical geographical unit surrounded by the seas and the Himalayas and designate her "India Irredentia" in analogy to Italy on the eve of her political unification, then Statutory India and "India Irredentia" are by no means exactly the same. British India on the one hand includes Burma and Aden and does not include Ceylon, the half of India, while the Indian States necessarily exclude Bhutan and Nepal and there are the French and Portuguese possessions in India. If then the makers of Modern India would, for political unification, have their country as God made it and gave it to them, then they should exclude Burma and Aden which would be easy enough and include not only Ceylon which may be practicable but also French and Portuguese India as well as Nepal and Bhutan which is impossible unless we go to war and conquer. Thus we shall have to give up the slogan that our political freedom is best attained with the whole

country for our Dominion. If then we have, of necessity, to confine ourselves to a geographically and ethnologically imperfect India for our political and economic freedom, is it absolutely necessary for us to think of mending and ending the Indian States as part of our programme for achieving our own salvation? We are decidedly of opinion that it is not. Nay more. Not only is it constitutionally impossible but also the very attempt would be injudicious on our part. On the one hand the declared policy of the Suzerain has, ever since the Mutiny, been one of 'once an Indian State, always an Indian State.' Therefore, the Dominion Home Rule of British India may not interfere with this recognised and long-established imperial policy.

Nirvana

The Rev. Mahinda, an English Buddhist, writes in the *Mahabodhi* :—

Nibbana, far from being annihilation, is a very real and tremendous experience: the greatest indeed, that any being may find. It is the awakening from the evil dream of life with its sordid lusts, hatreds and ignorance. It is the manifestation of man's final and supreme victory—the conquest of 'self.' It is the profound comprehension of the conditioned nature of all existence—its transiency, its suffering, its soullessness. It is the realisation of freedom; freedom from the triple bondage of lust, hatred and ignorance. When man has found this inward peace, freedom and serenity, he no longer looks to any heaven for happiness. Released by wisdom from desire, supreme amongst god and man, he looks upon the very gods in heaven with sympathy and compassion, even as grown man looks upon children transported with trifles. Clinging to nothing whatsoever in all the world, he does not fear or tremble. Unfearing, untrembling, he attains to his own deliverance, and he knows: "Rebirth is ended; lived out is the holy life: done all that was to be done; for me this world is no more!"

"This, brothers," says the Buddha, "is the highest, this is the holiest wisdom namely, to know that all suffering has vanished away. He has found the true deliverance that lies beyond the reach of any change. And the Saint whose peace is no more disturbed by anything whatsoever in all the world the pure one, the sorrowless, the freed from craving, he has crossed the Ocean of Birth and Decay. Steadfast is his mind, gained is deliverance. For he has surmounted the lust of the world."

The Struggle of Hindus

In the *Widows' Cause*, it is said of the struggles of peoples :—

There are two phases of a struggle. Defensive and offensive. Hindus have ever been on defensive, either because their Dharma teaches them so or because they are incapable of going beyond defence. 'Defensive means stop and stand. Offen-

sive means 'marching on and it means go on and win.' Other nations and communities are to go on and win'—We are to stand. It implies we can never progress. It denies marching on, probing in new discoveries and new fields. But can we march on? Marching is always as a body. With two crores of widows whom we are bent always to leave and shun, we can never march on.

So with a number of dissatisfied widows, which fail to organise the Hindu nation, which is a cause of its daily decrease, which tells upon its potentiality, who unnecessarily consumes up the provisions of the garrison, who may run away at any critical moment to the enemy and divulge the secrets of the garrison, whose existence is not conducive to the morality of soldiers, and who are great check to 'marching on' the Hindu stronghold may explode at any moment to yield to enemy.

This is a picture of our struggle in India.

"We are not to play, to dream, to drift,
We have hard work to do and loads to lift,
Shun not the struggle, 'tis God's Gift."

Poultry Farming as a Profession

Mrs. A. K. Fawkes, poultry expert to the U. P. Government, observes in the *Federation Gazette* :

In a large number of middle class families in India today there are many young men who are unable to find employment owing to the overcrowded state of most of the so-called professions.

The desire of most young men is to secure some post or other which will bring him a comfortable home and the means to support himself and possibly a wife and family.

To try and do this on a very slender income in the unhealthy surroundings of a big town or city is not worth the struggle.

I would suggest that such a man should turn his attention to a country pursuit more especially if he has a love for country life, animals and simple pleasures.

Common sense and a small capital

He may not amass wealth but he will lay up a store of good health for himself and his family and many happy experiences and memories.

The great advantage of choosing poultry farming as a profession is the fact that it can be started on a small capital, and that although there is plenty of scope for brain work and business methods one need not have taken a University degree, to succeed if he has ordinary common sense and is of a persevering nature.

She then roughly sketches out her plans for the career of a would-be poultry-farmer.

Necessity of Prayer

The annual number of the *Bhymeah High School Magazine* Mr. Salahud Dean Hajee Ismail writes :—

If the development and the steady growth of the body demands attention at particular times of

the day, there is no reason why the needs of the soul should not be ministered to in a similar manner. And it certainly does not stand to reason that the satisfying of these needs should be limited to once in seven days. Such a process, if persisted in continually, must bring about ultimate deterioration. There comes in then, the absolute necessity of daily prayer.

We possess the religious instinct, which helps to raise a certain side of our human nature. Man is a worshipping animal. He adores beauty and loves the sublime; he bows down before the Supreme Power. But his doing so must help his own growth in some way; and that way consists in winning for himself that which inspires him to worship the object of his adoration. Lacking power ourselves, we bow down to One who possesses it. We pray, then, in response to our religious instinct, which is inborn, innate, in us.

Value of Local and Family History

Mr. H. D. Griswold tells us in the well got-up 25th anniversary number of the *Forman Christian College Magazine* :—

There are a multitude of interesting customs, queer sects (some of them secret), strange books, and stranger people, all waiting to be written up. If such work is done in a right manner, with accuracy and simplicity, it is often of permanent value.

The true work of an historical society is not the rehashing of old matter, but the investigation of things that enlarge the boundaries of knowledge.

Then consider the second line of research, namely, family history. Here a limitless and virgin field is open. Let a Hindu student trace his ancestry back by names and dates (Births, Marriages and Deaths) just as far as he can, distinguishing carefully between definite facts on the one hand and conjectures and traditions on the other. The names, both of his male and female ancestors, should be given, names of the various *gotras* that have intermarried, forms of religion professed, occupations of the members. University degrees or other honours, etc. etc. Information bearing on the caste or community should be carefully given. Family history should be studied, both as an illustration and as an integral part of general history and sociology. Muhammadan, Sikh, Parsee, Christian students should follow a similar plan. A multitude of questions might receive illumination in this way. In the emphasis these days on historical and genealogical studies the truth of Pope's saying is recognized that "The proper study of mankind is man".

The First Modern-Indian Dissector

Among other interesting reading matter, the newly started *Medical College Magazine* of Calcutta gives some details of the life and work of Pandit Madhusudan Gupta, who was in modern times the first Indian to dissect a dead human body, as narrated below.

On the 10th January, 1836 "at the appointed

hour with scalpel in hand he followed Dr. Good-eve into the godown where the dead body lay ready. The other students deeply interested in what was going forward but strangely agitated with mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm, crowded after him, but durst not enter the building where this fearful deed was to be perpetrated; they clustered round the door; they peeped through the jilmils, resolved at least to have ocular proof of its accomplishment. And when Madhusudan's knife, held with a strong and steady hand, made a long and deep incision into the breast, the onlookers drew a long gasping breath, like men relieved from the weight of some intolerable suspense."

Thus was the barrier, which ignorance and superstition had, for ages, opposed to the acquirement of a correct knowledge of the wonderful mechanism of the human frame broken down, by this courageous man, and a way opened for his countrymen to the acquirement of one of the noblest sciences which can occupy the human intellect.

In commemoration of this courageous deed on the part of Madhusudan, Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune caused a portrait of the pandit to be painted by Mrs. Belonos at his own expense and had it hung up in the Anatomy Lecture Theatre of the College where it is still carefully preserved.

The writer of this article has been told that the claim of Madhusudan to be the First Hindu Human Anatomist has been doubted in certain quarters. For the benefit of these people the following quotations from authoritative sources are given :

"On the 10th January 1836 the Pandit Madhusudan Goopta, a Hindoo of the Boido caste, who had held the post of Medical teacher in the abolished class at the Sanskrit College, and who was well acquainted with Sanskrit Medical literature, practised with his own hand the dissection of a human body."

"A few courageous pupils led by the example of one whose conduct on that and many other occasions cannot be too highly appreciated—our respected Pundit, Modooosudan Goopto, secretly and in an outhouse of the building, ventured under my superintendence with their own hands to dissect a body."

"Major General Hehir wrote to the *Times* as follows in the Mail week : Western medicine is still young in India. Only a few generations ago Hindus would not touch a dead body in the dissecting and postmortem rooms. I have personally had many conversations in Calcutta with that fine old man, the late Pundit Madhusudan Gupta, who, in 1835, was the first Indian to dissect the human body to teach Anatomy."

* J. E. D. Bethunes speech as quoted by N. M. Kumar in *Indian Lancet*, 1896.

† W. C. B. Eatwell, M. D. Principal of Medical College of Bengal on "The rise and progress of rational medical education," 1860.

†† Dr. H. H. Goodeve's General Introductory Lecture addressed to the students of Calcutta Medical College, 1848."

§ Article under the heading 'Need of Western-men' published in the *Statesman* of the 9th January, 1925.

We hope the magazine will publish a portrait of the Pandit in its next issue.

Rural Labourers in Bengal

In the *Calcutta Review* Mr. Nalinaksha Sanyal dwells on an aspect of the agrarian revolution in Bengal and comes to the tentative conclusion that

The difficulties of labour have re-acted in a very unfortunate manner on the different classes in rural society, and it appears at times, as though the labourers, who are on the upper hand, are exploiting the land-owning classes, and taking revenge for the

exploitation of labour in the industries. This state of things cannot make for a healthy reconstruction of the villages. Those young men that are now being asked to go back to the villages must be warned as to the necessity of working on the plough with their own hand, and they must have the necessary physical and mental equipments for the work, otherwise their distress will know no bounds, and they will come back in a few years to their old services and will again swell the ranks of the unemployed, more dejected and broken down.

At the same time a scheme for sanitary improvement and mass education must be actively taken in hand to give steadiness to the improvements in the condition of rural labour. And, above all a systematic endeavour should be made to reconstruct our broken-up social edifice and to consolidate the disintegrating forces of our agrarian life.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Great Britain's Fitness for Self-rule

Britishers assert with reference to India that among other qualifications for self-rule which she must acquire is perfect religious toleration and equal treatment of all religious sects, forgetting that their own country and many other independent countries did not possess this qualification during centuries of political independence. And, theoretically, even up to the commencement of the present year, religious toleration did not exist in Great Britain, as the following paragraph quoted from *The Living Age* will show :—

Among the obsolete Acts repealed by the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, which has just become a law in Great Britain, are statutes dating back to 1549, forbidding books of Roman Catholic ritual 'ever to be kept in this realm.' Catholic burial is legalized for the first time in four centuries, monastic organizations may legally receive gifts and bequests, and a priest who performs Mass or wears the habit of his order elsewhere than in the usual place of worship is no longer subject to a fine of fifty pounds. Naturally these ancient laws have not been enforced for a considerable period, and their removal from the statute books is mainly a matter of form.

mann, they probably anticipated considerable joking about the matter. Since M. Briand has been honored with the order of the olive branch by both the Vatican and the Nobel committee, the irreverent Paris press professes to regard him as the next candidate for canonization after Jeanne d'Arc. Some serious criticism upon the award to Mr. Austen Chamberlain appeared in the English papers. We might expect the *Radical New Leader* to exclaim, 'Could irony go further than to present the prize to the Foreign Secretary of a Government which substitutes the Locarno Pact for the Protocol refuses to sign the potential clause for universal arbitration, protests against the inquiries of the Mandates Commission, makes an ally of Mussolini, proceeds with the Singapore dock, denies Egypt independence and India self-government, and takes pride in the fact that it rules the seas and declines to surrender the right of blockade?' It is rather more surprising to find the *Saturday Review*, which is a champion of the present Government, although it reserves wide latitude of independent criticism, qualifying its approval of the award by the remark that Mr. Chamberlain 'appears to have forgotten that it was the pressure of public opinion which compelled him to abandon his own dangerous plan for a Franco-British alliance in favor of the Locarno scheme'; and adding that there is some color to the fear that he is trying to build up a sort of Supreme Council of the four European Great Powers which shall do in secret all the work that should be done by the League Council in public'.

Winners of the Nobel Peace Prize

The same journal observes :—

When the Nobel jury awarded peace prizes to Messrs. Dawes, Chamberlain, Briand, and Stres-

The Awakening of the Orient

In the opinion of Deputy Mahmoud Bey, as expressed in *L'Echo de Turquie*, The Asiatic world is on the move. Many

significant events, some brusque and brutal, others gradual and gentle, impress this truth upon us.

Why have the peoples of the Orient so long endured the sufferings that have been their lot? Why have they bent their necks patiently under the yoke of tyrannical monarchs, chieftains, and foreigners? It is because modern civilization, with its inexorable demands, has paralyzed them both physically and morally. That explains their spirit of resignation, which has benumbed their will and robbed them of defense. This passivity, this apathy, is due to the fact that the Oriental nations have believed for generations that their predestined fate was slavery and subjection. They have never realized that they, like other men, were entitled to a place in the sun that they had the right to enjoy a full free life.

Consequently the awakening of Turkey is the most striking thing that has occurred among the Eastern nations. Her revolution shines like a beacon light over the rest of Asia. It is a pillar of fire, a guiding torch, to our racial and religious brethren wherever they dwell.

We feel that the logical series of deliberate reforms which we have put into effect should enable foreigners to make reasonable and hopeful deductions regarding our aims and prospects. A new flame burns brightly in the soul of the East. It is love of independence, of political and social freedom. To-day the number of purchasable men among us is negligible compared with those who guard jealously their private and national honor. No longer can we be beguiled by beautiful but empty promises or forced to bow before the threats of strangers. Henceforth the Orient thinks for itself. It has definite ideals, and men capable of pressing steadfastly toward them. Physical force cannot subdue the power of thought or the love of higher things. When the men who direct the destinies of nations have fully learned this truth there will be more peace in the world.

We have just adopted the Swiss civil code, with all its provisions concerning marriage. We have thoroughly reformed our social institutions. But the world at large is unaware of our transformation.

Only two months ago I took my wife to consult an eminent physician in Germany—a man who holds a chair in a great university. After the consultation the Professor said to me *sotto voce*, in the most matter-of-fact way in the world: "But of course you still have other women in your harem."

Germany Supreme in Commercial Aviation

According to a British correspondent of the *London Morning Post*,

Germany to-day, as far as commercial aviation is concerned, is mistress of the world. Her lines stretch from city to city in direct competition with the rail-roads; and her influence extends to every adjoining country.

During the years that followed the Treaty of Versailles Germany was seriously hampered by its restrictions which forbade her to construct air-planes of over a given power. This year they

were abolished once and for all, and almost overnight the great airplane factories of the country were humming with work. Germany had set out on her career of conquest in the air.

Private companies, such as Junkers and Aero-Lloyd, which had organized a network of light airplane services across Germany were immediately amalgamated into one monster society, the Luft Hansa. To-day this company has an influence in Germany only comparable with that of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Canada. Her machines, full of passengers, winter and summer run to schedule with the regularity of the railways, and the fares are exactly the same as first-class by train.

To-day in Germany it is possible to travel five hundred miles in a night by sleeper smoking cabins allow the German to continue puffing his everlasting cigar; and—greatest commercial asset of all—the amazing absence of accidents or forced landings has brought about a confidence in air travel unknown in any other part of the world.

Women's Movement in India

The Inquirer of London writes:—

At the All-India Conference of Women held in Poona last month the Maharani of Baroda made an eloquent appeal to the women of India to carry on the work of overcoming social evils which (like *suttee*, now abolished and other unhappy practices still in existence) impeded their progress and kept their status low. She very rightly emphasized the importance of Indian princesses being "emancipated and soundly educated"; for this small, but influential class can do an enormous amount of good (far more than we can possibly realize in England) in helping on the advancement of their sisters and making it possible to get many serious wrongs concerning them righted.

Again:—

Women's Institutes exist in India and are known as Mahila Samitis. There are about a hundred of them already in Bengal, and they owe their foundation to the late Mrs. G. S. Dutt, whose biography by her husband with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore, has just been published. It is said that, as a result of the work of these Institutes or (Samitis) Indian women are gradually leaving the purdah and entering upon social work, and at a recent meeting Mrs. Lotika Basu, B. Litt. (Oxon.) who presided, made an earnest appeal to her hearers to work together without any caste or religious bias. Addresses were given on education, physical training, and health.

Preparations for World-Peace

We read in the *Literary Digest*:—

THE RUSH TO BUILD SMALL WAR-SHIPS
No Limit was set by the Washington Arms Conference in 1921 on the number of cruisers and submarines to be built by the Powers. As a result the relative strength of the Powers in these craft is as follows, as given by the *New York World*:

Great Britain—Cruisers, 40 built, 11 building 3 appropriated for; total, 54 of 332,290 tons. Submarines, 35 built; 10 appropriated for or building.

United States—Cruisers, 10 built, 2 building, 6 authorized; total, 18 of 155,000 tons. Submarines, 56 built 3 building.

Japan—Cruisers, 19 built, 6 building; total, 25 of 156, 205 tons. Submarines, 49 built, 19 building.

France—Cruisers, 3 built, 6 building, 1 authorised total, 10 of 80,350 tons. Submarines 22 built; 23 building or authorized.

Italy—Cruisers, 8 built, 2 building; total, 10 of 50,784 tons. Submarines, 9 built, 13 building.

Sunkar A. Bisey a Hindu Inventor

East-West of New York contains a biographical sketch Sunkar A. Bisey, a Hindu inventor born at Bombay on the 29th April, 1867. His inventions relate mostly to type-casting, details of one of which are given below.

The monotype caster has over 1500 operating parts, the Universal Caster has about 1000 parts, the Thompson caster has about 600 parts, while Bisey's new type caster has only 250 parts. Therefore not only is it the simplest, smallest and cheapest of all, but it also gives a larger output than other machines and so the experts named it the "Ideal Type Caster."

BISEY IDEAL TYPE CASTING CORPORATION.

This Corporation was organized in New York in 1920 to develop and market the type casting and lead rule machine. The type caster was built and operated to the satisfaction of experts some time ago. The lead rule caster is partly built and is undergoing further developments. Over \$80,000 have already been spent on such work during the last six years.

He has half a dozen other inventions equally meritorious as those here mentioned, but which have remained undeveloped for want of capital. Some of his countrymen, friends, and admirers, realizing these facts, have organized Bisey Patents Company, and are endeavoring to raise capital to further finance his existing work, develop and market his other inventions, and give possible help to other Indian inventors.

(Editor's Note: Readers who are interested in Mr. Bisey's work and the aims of the Bisey Patents Company can get further information by writing to the Bisey Patents Co. P. O. Box 288, Grand Central Station, New York City.)

Regional Sociology

Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee's book on "Regional Sociology" has been favorably criticised in American periodicals. For instance, *The American Journal of Sociology* says:—

The available facts rather than the theories in regard to man's relation to his environment have

been subjected to a searching analysis by the professor of economics and sociology in Lucknow University, India, Radhakamal Mukerjee. On the basis of this analysis he has constructed a program for systematic studies which he has called regional sociology.

Mukerjee's regional sociology outlines, in fact, a program of scientific studies more comprehensive than anything else that has yet been attempted in this field. The title suggests that the volume is an extension of recent studies in human geography. On the contrary, the point of departure is not geography, but ecology. It is a study, in other words, not of man and society as parts of the changing landscape, but rather of the whole complex physical environment in which human aggregations develop a cultural life. To the studies of plant and animal communities, arising out of the characteristic conditions of a natural region, the new science of regional sociology proposes to add the study of the human community. Just as plant formations and human communities are determined not merely by their physical environment but by their relations to another by their co-operation," as Mukerjee calls it—so the human community is determined not merely by physiography and climate, but by the plant and animal communities which with it constitute the regional complex. In other words, the geographical region and the web of life within that region has been made the subject of a new division of the social sciences.

The relations of man to other living things—plants, animals, and microbes—are, however, complicated by man's relations to other men. The effect of the multiplication and extension of the means of transportation and communication has tended to extend vastly man's physical and social environment and to bring about a new division of labor among the peoples and races of the world. Furthermore, the inventions and devices of civilization which have emancipated mankind from immediate dependence upon the physical world, have at the same time increased man's dependence upon other men.

What Mukerjee's interesting and suggestive volume mainly contributes to our present knowledge is a point of view and a frame of reference. Briefly, the point of view is this: The region which nurtures man—his habitat—has as a result of the "cumulative effects of environment and ecological succession" become at once a natural and a cultural entity. It is the interrelation of all these factors—physiographic, economic, and cultural—which reduce themselves eventually to specific types that the new regional sociology proposes to describe, classify and explain.

Vocational Education in China

International Labour Review has a well-documented article on vocational education in China from which we learn that

With a view to developing the commercial and industrial resources of the country, training schools of three different grades—primary, secondary, and advanced—were set up in China by an Imperial

Order of 1905. The Order also provided for the establishment of apprenticeship schools, of training schools for teachers of industrial subjects, and of supplementary courses of study for students having left school.

In 1916, according to the Ministry of Education there were 531 vocational schools; the National Association of Vocational Education gives the total for the year 1921 as 719, and for 1922 as 1,209. From 1921 to 1922, therefore, there was an increase of 70 percent; and the multiplication and development of vocational schools has continued since then.

Prior to the reform, the attention of private initiative had already been turned to vocational training.

In 1917 the National Association for Vocational Education was founded at Shanghai; it has thousands of members from all the provinces in China and even some in foreign countries. Although a private association, it receives a subsidy from various provincial governments, and is of considerable importance.

By way of experiment, the Association itself has established several vocational schools, of which the oldest and best organised is the Chung Hwa vocational school, at Shanghai. Trade courses are held there in iron working, wood working, button-making etc.; there is a practice workshop for each of these courses. In addition, it has been decided to establish continuation courses and evening courses for pupils over 14 years of age who are already in employment.

Government activity in respect of vocational training for workers was first exercised in September 1921 in the initiative of the Ministry of Communications.

In view of the large number of workers (about 50,000) employed on the State Railways, and their social conditions, it was considered that the level both of their moral and of their material existence might be raised by general and vocational education. With this object in view, a preparatory committee was appointed; as a result of its deliberations, twelve schools for the general and vocational education of the workers were established along the four main lines (the Peking-Hankow, Peking Mukden, Peking-Sui Yuan and Tientsin-Puknow railways), three schools being allocated to each of them. In addition a system of lectures was organised at the ten principal railway stations of each of these four lines. Central, branch and itinerant libraries were provided for the workers; and two reviews have been founded, one of which appears weekly and the other once in ten days.

The instruction given varies according to the age of the workers. Those who are over 40 are advised to attend the Sunday lectures; those aged 30 can take special courses after the day's work; and for young workers instruction is provided in general and vocational subjects. The duration of the various courses is from ten to twelve hours weekly; they have been attended by more than 4,000 workers.

When Restriction Creates Liberty

Professor Henry W. Farnham, (Economics), Yale University writes in the *International Student* :—

The most over-worked of all slogans at present is 'liberty.' It is so abstract that unless qualified it means nothing. To most of the early Puritans liberty meant freedom to worship God according to their consciences. To some of their descendants it means freedom to buy a cocktail. In fact, there may be as many different kinds of liberty as there are possible restraints to be negated.

"Now, many of our legal restraints on liberty are imposed solely because they make other forms of liberty possible. Physical liberty has been promoted by compulsory vaccination laws which have nearly eliminated what was once a scourge of humanity, yet are still criticized by many. Mental liberty has been promoted by compulsory education laws which have forced parents to send their children to school. Economic liberty has been promoted by labor laws which make the wage-receiver more efficient and prevent the stunting of his growth and strength by overwork in childhood or in unsanitary surroundings.

"The test, then, of every law which restricts personal liberty is this: Does it make for liberty in the larger and real sense? To try to discredit a proposed law by resorting to phrases and catch-words is simply to muddy the stream of thought and to give us heat when we need light. It is a mere platitude to condemn a law because it infringes personal liberty. There are few laws which do not. Our constitution was not adopted to secure absolute liberty. With the felicity of diction which marks this wonderful document it aims to secure 'the blessings of liberty. If liberty is to be a blessing and not a curse, it must be a liberty which subserves, not the crude egotism of the individual, but the 'general welfare'."

Lanka's Lassitude

In *The Indus* Mr. P. C. C. De Silva gives a rather depressing picture of the people of Ceylon, as will appear from the following paragraphs :—

The Majority of her people are quite indifferent to her welfare or her prosperity. They seek their selfish ends; they live their unwanted lives and die their unmourned deaths. Castes and creeds divide her people. Birth, false birth, is still the hall-mark of superiority and the "opensesame" to all well-paid posts. Family influence and fawning servility bring titles and honours and the slaves are satisfied—they have done their bit—they can die happy!

What of her poor? The majority of them cannot even read or write their own names. The towns have an overwhelming number of schools but the villagers are left with nature as their only teacher and their only book.

Westernization has so overspread the country that even the poorest think that a knowledge of English and a possession of a coat and a pair of trousers with all their necessary paraphernalia is the only passport to respectability.

It is partly this that has made most of our young men and some of our older men utterly lacking in the knowledge of reading or writing their own language, though they are almost adepts at English—a foreign tongue; and

partly the system of education carried on in the bigger schools, which puts English first and one's own mother-tongue second. Nowhere else in the civilized world, as far as we know, do we find the same state of affairs.

Politically, Ceylon is in a muddle. She has many leaders, but no leader. There is no unity among them, and one often finds personal passions predominating over patriotism.

The difficulty in Ceylon is her mixed population,—Sinhalese, Tamils, Malays, Moors, Burghers, and Europeans make up the majority of her numbers and it would need a greater than Gandhi to unite all these heterogeneous elements into one homogenous whole.

The first and primary step to be taken must be the abandonment of caste and clan prejudices. Here it must in fairness be said that these prejudices are not half as tightly bound as in India. We have no untouchability, but we have the outcast Rodiya, whose daily task is to beg for crusts of bread and "eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table."

Buddhist Propaganda in the West

In an article on Buddhist propaganda in Europe and America, contributed to *the young East* of Tokyo, Mr. Har Dayal points out certain mistakes which the Buddhist missionaries in Europe must avoid if they wish to succeed. The first is:—

Buddhist propaganda in Europe must not be carried on in the name of Hinayana, or Mahayana. These old forms of Buddhism were necessary and useful in the past. Europe needs a Nava-yana or Paschima-yana. We need a few intelligent Buddhists, who can pick out the *essentials* of Buddhism, and then give them a European form. Why should they preach Japanese or Ceylonese Buddhism in Europe? Europe is not Japan or Ceylon. The Christian missionaries in India, China and Japan make the fatal mistake of trying to convert us to the Anglican church, or American Presbyterianism, or German Lutheranism. They forget that these particular forms of Christianity were evolved for the needs of particular countries and epochs. Hence they fail miserably. They cannot seize the spirit of Christianity and embody it in new forms for Asia. The Buddhist missionaries must not repeat this mistake of the Christian missionaries. Europe will not be converted to Hinayana, or Mahayana, or Zen, or Lamaism. That is impossible and undesirable.

A Century's Retrogression in Primary Education in India

We read in the *Australia-India League Bulletin*:—

It may interest our readers to note the fact that in 1813 it was reported to the House of Commons that almost every village in India had its school—a sad contrast to present conditions

after over 100 years of British rule. Much good has doubtless come from the British connection, but in the educational field there has been lamentable failure. A foreign system of education, grudgingly financed, is not suited to India, whose ancient system of education compares more than favourably with the Western system. Efforts are being made by Indian patriots to restore the ancient system, which gave a school to every village in pre-British days; and under self-government education may hope to recover the ground it has lost by reason of the foreigner not working with the people however much he may work for them.

Proposed Treaty to Outlaw War

Senator Borah introduced a resolution toward the Outlawry Of War in the United States Senate on December 9, 1926. As the proposal to abolish war by outlawing it first took form in the mind of Hon. S. O. Levinson, Chairman of the American Committee for the Outlawry Of War, he was requested to prepare a draft of a possible treaty which would adequately embody the principles which Senator Borah has formulated in his Resolution. Stressing the great difficulty of such a task Mr. Levinson "with considerable diffidence" offered the following, which has been published in *The Modern World*:—

We the undersigned nations of the world hereby condemn and abandon for ever the use of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and for the enforcement of decisions and awards of international tribunals, and hereby outlaw the immemorial institution of war by making its use a public crime as the fundamental law of nations. Subtle and fatal distinctions between permissible and non-permissible kinds of war are blotted out; the institution of war is thus outlawed, as the institutions of dueling have been outlawed; but the question of genuine self-defense, with nations as with individuals, is not involved or affected by this treaty. In order to provide a complete and pacific substitute for the arbitrament of war, we hereby agree to take immediate action for the equipment of an international court of justice with a code of the laws of peace, based upon equality and justice between all nations. With war outlawed and the code approved and ratified, the court shall be given jurisdiction over all purely international disputes as defined and enumerated in the code or arising under treaties, with power to summon in a defendant nation at the petition of a complaining nation and to hear and decide the matters in controversy. We hereby agree to abide by and in full good faith to carry out the decisions of such international tribunal. The judicial system thus established being a complete substitute for the outworn and destructive war system, will enable the nations to adopt far-reaching and economically vital programs of disarmament.

(Signatures of the Nations.)

China and U. S. A.

The New Republic writes with reference to America's attitude towards China :—

If Great Britain is acting short-sightedly, the United States is equally guilty, and with less reason. The Nationalist government of China has offered to protect the citizens of any country which will repudiate its unjust privileges. The United States has in the past looked with favor upon such an action, which would cost us far less than it would Great Britain or Japan, and indeed would probably result in no substantial loss whatever. A resolution looking in this direction has been introduced in the House by Stephen G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Yet in this grave crisis, when the whole future of the Orient for many years is at stake, and a possible disastrous war looms, what is the policy of the United States? No one knows. All we have done thus far has been to concentrate our war vessels in Chinese waters and thereby make more likely the very catastrophe we are supposedly seeking to avoid. So far as can be learned, President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg are without any plan, save to stand with Great Britain, Japan and France. That, we submit, is to-day no policy. These noble allies have all but succeeded in pulling the house down upon their heads. Must we wait until it has collapsed beyond repair before we exhibit any mind or will of our own?

Lynching in America

The following is from the same journal:—

Thirty-four persons were lynched in the United States in 1926. Florida leads the roll of dishonor with nine. Texas is next with five and Mississippi third with four. Arkansas, South Carolina and Georgia had three each; Louisiana and Tennessee, two each, and Kentucky, New Mexico and Virginia, one each. Contrary to popular supposition, not all the victims of mob passion were Negroes accused of crimes against women. Three were white, one was an Indian, two were Negro women. Three persons were killed for a murder a year old, after one of them had been ordered acquitted by a judge and the other two were in the course of being retired; three others were killed "in revenge" for a crime they had not committed; one was shot by white officers while manacled.

It is this country which pretends to be afraid of racial degeneration if Asiatics were allowed to emigrate there.

A Peace Congress in France

The War Resister observes :—

Of all the many Peace Congresses which have been held during this summer, the Eleventh National Peace Congress of France, held at Valence

(Drome) at the end of September, has been the most remarkable for its condemnation of the war policy and colonial aggression of the French Government, its very definite opposition to all military action even by the League of Nations and its championship of the right of conscience. The following resolution was carried by a large majority :—

"The Eleventh National Peace Congress, desirous of achieving a really pacifist task, considers it necessary for France to give an example to the whole world—and to other nations in particular—in opening the way for the organisation of universal brotherhood :

"Demands—

- (a) Complete national disarmament in the sense proposed in Denmark.
- (b) The immediate cessation of all colonial wars and of all violence against any other people or country.
- (c) The complete and definite abolition of conscription.
- (d) Absolute recognition for every conscientious objector, of the individual right not to kill, not to learn to kill, not to assist (directly or indirectly) in killing his fellow man.
- (e) The total suppression of military prisons and courts martial.
- (f) The immediate proclamation of a complete amnesty—so long promised—to the 120,000 objectors and deserters, as well as to all other military offenders.
- (g) Requires all those proclaiming pacifism in France to bind themselves morally never in the future to assist or participate in any war, whatever may be the consequence."

NO ARMS BEHIND THE LEAGUE.

The Congress also endorsed the following statement :—

Being opposed to all military action the Congress desires that even the League of Nations should have recourse only to political, moral and economic sanctions for the execution of its decisions, and not to an international armed force.

"The Congress further hopes that men will refuse in greater and greater numbers to carry on war. It thinks that if there is a conflict between the law prescribing war service and the conscience forbidding to kill that conscience ought to triumph in its categorical, but non-violent refusal to participate in that which is condemned by religion and morality."

The Congress further carried a resolution condemning the wars in Syria and Morocco and declaring the Riff war to be one of conquest.

Antiquity of Man in Egypt

"Observer" notes in *The Theosophical Path* :—

For the past two decades the evidence has been accumulating and the interest in Pre-Dynastic Egypt increasing, and now the leading Egyptologists are trying to connect up the earliest remains of prehistoric Egypt with the people of the Palaeolithic or Old-Stone Age in Europe, especially with the 'Solutreans', and some are even suggesting that real human beings existed in the Nile

Valley long before the most primitive European races, even the 'Heidelberg Man.' Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, is now seeking fresh evidence in favor of this theory. Very well made stone implements have been found in various parts of both Upper and Lower Egypt and it is claimed by some that the depth or thickness of the decomposed surface on some of these proves that they must be at least two million years old.

However this may be, Professor Petrie has definitely proved the existence of highly intelligent people who lived in Lower Egypt about eighteen thousand years ago. They made better pottery than that made in the same vicinity today, and they weaved linen of as good a quality as ours. He thinks their origin can be traced to the Caucasus Mountain region, and that much of the 'landscape background,' as it may be called, in the *book of the dead*, is derived from the topography of that district. We know that in the earliest historical period that sacred ritual was considered quite archaic and parts of it even incomprehensible.

The Singapore Base

According to the *Living Age*,

Among the more confidential topics that occupied the attention of the Imperial Conference was the Singapore naval base, England's proposed citadel between India and the Pacific. Some English military authorities contend, however, that unless garrisoned by an army which no modern British Government would maintain this base will be more vulnerable against Japanese attack than was Port Arthur. They recommend, possibly at instance of Australia, that the new base be placed in that continent, not too far from Sydney, where it could be readily garrisoned by local white troops. The Empire's problem in the Pacific would be still further complicated, of course, were our Government to withdraw from the Philippines.

England and China

The same journal tells us:—

China occupies more attention in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, than at any time since the disintegration of the Republic. The Nationalist movement spreading from Canton is considered a much more serious menace to Caucasian interests in the Far East than the rivalries and wranglings of tuchuns. The *Saturday Review* believes the crisis calls for 'masterly inactivity', which is its formula for waiting to see which way the cat will jump. 'It is an open question whether we have not prolonged and intensified the struggle by giving support to Chang Tso-lin, forgetful of the fact that his Kuomintang—that is Cantonese—enemies are not nearly so Red as they are painted. The same paper reports that the British-American Tobacco Company is rumored to have offered a large loan to the Northern armies to help the campaign against the Cantonese.' The *Nation and Athenæum* believes

that the powers should recognize the de facto authority of Canton in Southern China. Colonel Maloney, a British officer not long back from China, finds Canton very different from the Northern treaty ports. At Tientsin, Hongkong, and Shanghai the foreign quarters are modern, clean, sanitary, and excellently policed, while the Chinese quarters are generally filthy and mediæval. Precisely the reverse is true of Canton. The little island of Shameen, occupied by the foreign concession,—one-half French and two-thirds English,—is deserted and neglected on account of the boycott, and because every Chinese coolie shuns it like a pest spot. On the other hand, the great native city across the river is a modern metropolis, clean, well-paved, its broad new streets thronged with motorcars and lined with up-to-date hotels and shops. Lloyd George has sprung into the breach in favor of the Cantonese with a sensational speech at Bradford where he ridicules the idea that they are the tools of the Bolshevik. 'The Cantonese revolt,' he said, 'is not a Communist move. It is simply that the Chinese are struggling for the elementary and fundamental rights of every free and self-respecting nation. They were highly civilized when the ancient Britons, to whom I belong, were barbarians. Yet they are deprived of rights enjoyed by some of the smallest nations in the world, that only a few centuries ago emerged from savagery. Their ports are occupied by foreigners and governed by foreigners. They cannot raise revenue in their own way, but only under very narrow restrictions, and their customs are administered by foreigners.'

Would Mr. Lloyd George have said these things if his party had been now in power with himself at its head?

An Islamic League of Nations

Henry de Jouvenel, a distinguished French journalist, a member of the French Senate and an ex-Governor-General of Syria, writes in *L'Europe Nouvelle*:—

Believing it impossible to restore the caliphate at present, the Islamic nations naturally seek some other way to defend Mohammedan territory. One suggestion is an Islamic League of Nations to oppose the Geneva League, which they consider a specifically Christian agency. The Locarno treaties have strengthened the latter conviction in the East. Neither M. Briand, Mr. Chamberlain, Herr Stresemann, nor Signor Scialoja realized, when hesigned these peace accords, how generally they would be regarded in Asia as an alliance of Europe against that continent. None the less, every important Mohammedan newspaper thus interprets them.

This unfortunate misconception, which we should have hastened to correct, was aggravated a few months later when the League Council decided against Turkey in the Mosul dispute. The most influential names in that decision were the same as those affixed to the Locarno accords. Therefore, the Turks felt absolutely certain that the territorial despoliation of which they rightly or wrongly thought themselves the victims was a direct result of the Locarno 'alliance.' When the Kurd revolt

raised on their Irak frontier, the concentration of the Italian fleet at Rhodes, and the threat of a military landing, forced them to submit to what they believed was an unjust judgment, this conviction was confirmed, not only in their own minds, but likewise in the minds of Egyptians, Arabs, Syrians, and Persians, all of whom believed that Europe had conspired at Locarno to partition Asia.

Turkey's rulers, on account of their anti-clericalism, prefer an Islamic League of Nations, in which they would play a preponderant role, to the resurrection of the caliphate, which would weaken their influence. Mustapha Kemal Pasha aspires to make the Turks the Westerners of Asia. Meanwhile English influence in Persia, which has been preponderant until recently, seems on the decline. At Angora, Persians and Afghans met M. Alfred Sze, China's Minister at Washington, who is visiting the Turkish capital on official duties. Turkey's Ambassador to Persia, Shefket Memduh Bey, helped to draft the Treaty of Friendship between China and the Soviet Union, which we have reason to believe was signed about the first of October by Sun Pao-chi, the Chinese Ambassador at Moscow.

Russia, Afghanistan and India

Leopold Weiss records in *Frankfurter Zeitung*:—

Russia and Afghanistan have concluded a treaty of mutual friendship and protection. By it each Power obligates itself not to attack its neighbor, to preserve an attitude of benevolent neutrality in case of a conflict between its neighbor and a third Power, and not to tolerate hostile propaganda against its neighbor in its own territory. It is the third agreement of this character which Russia has concluded with bordering States in Asia, and the Russian press hails it as one more step forward in the Soviet Federation's policy of peace.

The Afghans are a young nation, and are just beginning to be conscious of their political destinies, to develop the natural resources of their country, and to organize a modern government. In spite of their youth, they already have military traditions behind them of which they are justly proud. They were once masters of Northern India, where they founded several independent States which attained a high degree of prosperity under Afghan rulers. The people dream of eventually recovering what they have lost. Even shrewd and matter-of-fact Afghans look forward eventually to reannexing India's northwestern provinces, which are inhabited almost exclusively by people of Afghan blood and have been relatively a short time under English rule. This may be visionary, or it may sometime prove to be a practical political programme. We may be sure at least that it is a project the Afghans will not forget if at some future time Britain's hold on India ever weakens.

Russia's peace offensive—her treaties with Turkey, Afghanistan, and Persia—has started the rumor that she is trying to organize under her aegis an Asiatic League of Nations. Recent events in China have strengthened this conjecture. London and Simla have watched her doings with

some concern. It seems to us, however, that the situation in Islamic Asia, with the possible exception of Shiite Persia, is trending in another direction. Moscow's treaties are rather to be considered as reinsurance contracts in which Asiatic countries commit themselves to little more than passive friendship for their great northern neighbor, along whose exposed southern frontier they form a protective covering of buffer States. Indeed, a vivid and abiding fear of armed aggression by the 'imperialist' Western Powers determines all Soviet foreign policy.

A Hebrew Quarterly Bibliographical Review

Kirjath Sepher is the name of the Hebrew quarterly bibliographical review of the Jewish national and University library in Jerusalem. It is in its third year. The annual subscription is ten shillings. Address: Jerusalem, P. O. Box 36, Meah Shearim. Except the names and descriptions of books in European languages and in Arabic or Persian, everything else in this review is printed in Hebrew characters, filling the greater portion of it.

National Feeling in China

The Indian of Singapore opines that

There is a clear expression of Chinese National feeling amidst all the welter and confusion in China. And that must give anybody pause. It has been the fashion to deride things Chinese and even a writer like Mr. G. K. Chesterton could talk with withering scorn about Chinese civilisation. But it is Donn Byrne we think, who speaking of the general sense of immobility and passivity that the world generally associates with the Chinese, calls it a "wise passivity"; and recent events would seem to confirm his diagnosis.

Social Studies in Japan

Dr. Toru Nagai writes in the *Japan Magazine*:

According to what is recently reported in the Japanese press repeatedly, the Education Department officials seem to strongly oppose students of colleges and academies devoting themselves to the study of social thought and social sciences. In my own opinion, it is a trifling matter, indeed it is rather out of the question. How would it be, if the study of social matters were neglected while in the student life?

No wonder that the Japanese Minister for Justice has lately been hustling to establish an organisation in which judicial officers will make, for the first time in their lives, research into social thought. There would not have been the necessity

of establishing such an organ, if the present-day judges and public procurators had been thoroughly taught social science while they were students of law.

Nothing is more strange than that people who study social science or social thought at all are not serious in their researches. Why do they not make it a true study? Marx's scientific socialism is not all of social science. If one is wedded to a single thought, or principle, adhering to it as if a religion, after the manner of an adherent of the Omoto-kyo Sect, who is inclined to idolize the *Ofudesaki* or Holy Scripture of that religion, he is not pursuing his study in sobriety.

One should not be an adherent of this or that one scientific theory; one ought to make thorough study in various directions so as to utilize one's knowledge thus gained for the sake of real social life. I hope my readers will deeply meditate on this matter of economic thought.

Home Rule for Scotland

There are very many persons in Scotland who though willing to remain citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations, want their country to have a separate and independent existence—a very natural and honourable desire. *Scottish Home Rule*, the monthly organ of the Scottish Home Rule Association, advocating self-determination for Scotland gives expression to their views, of which some idea can be formed from the following paragraphs from that periodical:—

It is generally recognized that the chief achievement of the Imperial Conference held during November is the new definition of the status of the various members of the British Commonwealth. "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united in allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

A minority of critics see in this "a capitulation to those elements of the populations of the Dominions bent on loosening, if not severing, the bonds without which the Imperial Commonwealth cannot hold together." ("Toronto Globe").

For our part we are glad to see that the statesmen of the Empire are beginning to recognize that a free association is much more likely to endure than one which is forced. If the British Commonwealth of Nations has a future before it of development and prosperity, until it may become merged in a coming World Commonwealth of Nations. As we hope and believe, it will be on the lines of national freedom and equality of status, leading to even more friendly relations between the nations associated.

This principle must be applied to Scotland. Scotland has demanded Self-government, and its demand has been refused, or put in the waste paper basket, by the English Parliament. We call it English because the great English majority

dominates there, and will continue to do so. On the five occasions on which a vote was taken on a Scottish Home Rule Bill, the majority of Scottish representatives voting in favour was never less than four to one.

Can it be said, then, that Scotland is "freely associated" by remaining incorporated as a province of England? Scotland entered into the Union with England by a Treaty which was carried through against the wishes of the people, by means of bribery and corruption, for the benefit of England.

That England has reaped enormous benefits from the Union no one denies. England remains the "predominant partner," and Scotland, according to Lord Rosebury, "the milch cow of the Empire," and well has the cow been milked. Of the hundred million pounds or more raised by taxation in Scotland, something like three-fourths is retained in London. Scotland is impoverished. Her natural resources are undeveloped, agricultural land is deteriorating. Deer forests and grouse moors continue to spread. It is wonderful, then, that in proportion to population, unemployment is over 50 per cent. higher and emigration over 200 per cent. greater in Scotland than in England?

And yet there is a small, but too influential class of Scotsmen, who would maintain the present incorporating Union which has reduced Scotland from a famous, free and independent nation, such as Wallace fought to save, to become subordinate to its overweening neighbour, and a reproach to its children. These men are the successors of those, chiefly of the nobility and their hangers-on, who betrayed their country into the grip of England for gold.

They sentimentalize over the ancient glories of Scotland, and are content that its future history should be that of a dead nation, whose sons abroad may rise to high position and show of what they are capable, but are denied at home the opportunity of devoting their powers to the good of the land of their birth. This they do, though seeing that the other members of the British Commonwealth have obtained full control of their national treasures and equality of status with England.

True Scots must be up and doing, and see that Scotland is no less self-governing than the Dominions and the Irish Free State. The Scottish National Convention has shown to way by its "Bill for the better government of Scotland."

The Philippines and the United States

The World Tomorrow for February, very commendably devotes much space to the consideration of the United States' duty in the Philippines, and discusses questions like "How did we get them?" "What have we done?" "What of the Future?" The declarations of America's purpose to give independence to the Filipinos, and the extracts from the Wood-Forbes Report of 1921, which the journal prints leave no room for doubt that the Filipinos should have independence at

an early date. Some of these declarations are :—

"If the time comes when it is apparent that independence would be better for the people of Philippines, . . . and if when that time comes the Filipino people desire complete independence, the American Government and people will gladly accord it."—*Republican Platform 1924*.

We declare that it is our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet"—*Democratic Platform 1924*.

"We favour the immediate and complete independence of the Philippine Islands, in accordance with the pledges of official representatives of the American people."—*Progressive (La Follette) Platform, 1924*.

"It is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein. For the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them, in order that they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of complete independence." *The Jones Law 1916*.

Imperialism in the Balance

To the same monthly Mr. H. N. Brailsford contributes a judiciously written article on what may be said for and against imperialism. Says he :—

Those of us who profess an instinctive and reasoned opposition to Imperialism, make a grave mistake, if we deny its civilising mission, or doubt the sincerity of those who devote their lives to it. It has graven the superb epic of its courage and organizing genius on the very crust of the earth, from ice-bound Siberia to the sands of South Africa. But always the gifts of education and intellectual stimulus and humaner government which it brings with it, are a by-product of its self-regarding activities. To bestow these gifts is rarely, if ever, the motive of the robust pioneers. If they have any motive which stands a little higher than material gain, it is glory and aggrandisement of the mother land. But the impulse which drives them to these "places in the sun" has usually been either the desire to monopolise a market or a new material or the even baser reckoning that there is cheap and unorganized labour awaiting exploitation. When it is none of these things, it is a reckoning that springs from the interplay of interests with geographical accident. Tsarist Russia advanced along the paths that led to an ice-free port, or England must acquire the gates and the strategical posts which dominate the road to India. Unless it be in some of the British West African colonies, the civilising motive, which limps lamely after the acquisitive motive, in the hope of justifying violence after the fact, has never yet

grown strong enough to restrain or transform the crude egoism of conquest. We have, it is true, introduced Western education into India, but our purpose was always to train a corps of satellites, who would serve our trade and our administration as intelligent underlings. To this day we have created no system of compulsory primary education and the impressive mass of our subjects remain untouched by all the intellectual wealth which we have to bestow. We have done something for public health, in the sense that we have checked the epidemics which might have swept the cities where we do business, but we have done nothing to lessen the hideous sacrifice of child life which curses every home in the Indian village. Order and security we can organize. The mechanism which grinds out its average dividend of 90 per cent from the Bengal jute-mills is well-oiled, but the mass of the people continues to cultivate by the methods of the Bronze Age and stagnates in a poverty to which we would not condemn the most worthless paupers of our own Imperial race. The by-product of civilisation is a convenience which too plainly serves our own purpose. And because, in our strategical railways, our health service, and even in our colleges, the limitations of this purpose are legible to the awakened intelligence of a conquered but critical India, we have reached the stage at which the schoolmaster can still keep order in his class, but can neither teach it nor inspire it.

A "Singularity" of the League of Nations

Mr. H. M. Brailsford continues :—

The Versailles Settlement has left the world more heavily armed than it was in 1914, and even in Europe the landscape is covered with finger-post that point to the scene of the next inevitable war. But let us suppose, for argument's sake, that the older causes of armament and war were removed as completely as men of good will desire. Can a world which retains Imperialism enjoy the reality of peace? Lord Cecil, surveying British commitments the other day, remarked that we had already reached the limits of disarmament. Our army was barely sufficient for the police of our Empire, while to secure its sea communications we required all the cruisers we possessed, though they might by international arrangement be built on a lighter model. An optimist may look forward to the growth of the influence of the League of Nations as the peace maker among European Powers. But this institution has one singularity. It meets from time to time on Europe to crown itself with "olives of endless age", and it performs these flattering ceremonies to the accompaniment of a constant fusillade in Africa and Asia. France plunges undisturbed through two second class wars in Syria and the Riff. Great Britain hurls her ultimatum at "independent" Egypt, and China's entry into the very Council of League is greeted by a salvo of British guns upon the Yangtse. Concede, if you please that among nations of white race, the League has somewhat diminished the risk of war : it excludes from the mercies of its arbitral procedure all the peoples of inferior status.

in the outer continents, who find themselves in the path of the expanding empires. When they revolt our arrogance refuses to dignify their struggle for freedom with the name of "war"; but these exercises mean, nonetheless, wounds and massacre, burned villages at homeless populations. Nor is it only pity which shrinks from this spectacle in alarm. So long as it is possible for the Imperial Powers to assign to themselves to hold by arms, the sources of the raw materials indispensable to modern industry can we boast that force has been banished from our planet, or reason seated on her throne?

Civilising without Conquering and Exploiting

Mr. Brailsford would assign to civilized nations the task of civilising without conquering and exploiting, and, therefore, asks and answers the questions:—

And yet, the reader will say it is too late for abstention and *Laissez faire*. Can we leave Africa to revert to barbarous tribal war, with slaves as the stake in the barbarous game? Or because a savage clan hunts game over the ground where copper & oil be hidden, can we from a prudish dread of violence deny these riches to mankind? On what page of Creation's Domesday Book is that clan's title registered for eternity? There are, I think two answers to these legitimate questions. If our purpose be to educate, or even to police, how comes it that we have never confined ourselves to these far from remunerative activities? For how long together have we even tried to keep school without a machine gun in the playground? And if it be the interests of all mankind which guide us to oil-wells, how comes that we reserve their products for ourselves? Searching for the new technique by which we may civilise without conquering and exploit the earth's riches without injustice to simple peoples, we shall find the solution in the development of international machinery which can aid the backward peoples, assist their finances or their administration, and control the development of their natural resources without consigning them to any government's exclusive guidance.

Modernization of Turkey

A. Rustem Bey, former Turkish ambassador to the United States, tells the world in the *Current History Magazine* what Turkey has been doing to take her place among modern nations. For example:—

Expressed by the watchword "Democratization and Secularization," the reformatory activities of Turkey have culminated in the suppression of her 600 year old monarchical form of government on the one hand, and the complete separation of Church and State on the other. Every department of State, every organ of public activity, has been thoroughly remodeled on the basis of

one or the other of the two principles just mentioned.

These ultra-radical transformations in the political structure of the State have been accompanied by equally far-reaching changes in the social organization of the country. Among the latter, special mention should be made of the formal abolition of polygamy, which was already all but complete in practice, the emancipation of woman and the substitution of the hat for the national headgear. What prodigious revolutions these changes represent, the latter two no less than the first, only those can realize who are acquainted with the special prejudices of the East.

As regards the abolition of the Sultanate, there is no doubt that the best form of government is, in principle, democracy no less for Eastern than for western peoples. The theory that Eastern countries are radically incapable of making progress under a constitutional regime is entirely false.

It was predicted that the transference to Greece (under the Turco-Greek convention for the exchange of populations) of the native Greek element of the provinces would act very detrimentally to the economic interests of the country. Nothing of the sort has happened. The incoming Turks are little, if at all, inferior to the outgoing Greeks in economic capacity, besides which the Armenians and Jews have promptly stepped in and filled any remaining gaps.

TREATMENT OF NON TURKS

A matter of special interest to the American public is that of the relations between the Turkish element and the Christian communities—the minorities, to use the consecrated expression. Opponents of the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne in the United States have made such charges as that Christian women are at present immured in Turkish harems, that the non-Turkish elements are under rigid persecution, fanaticism being the incentive, and that atrocities are even practised under cover of official connivance. These accusations may be dismissed in their entirety.

The truth lies in the exactly opposite direction. The Turkish people whose rigorous treatment of the subject Christian communities before and during the war was in the nature of a reaction to their subversive enterprises prosecuted by the most savage methods and a retaliation in kind has completely forgotten its grievances.

Be that as it may, Turkey is for going ahead, looking neither right nor left, now making straight for her goal, now blundering through toward it and gaining every day in health and strength. Carefully refraining from all kinds of external adventure, she has, on the contrary, strengthened her international position by the conclusion of a series of pacts of amity and good neighborhood. In a word, she is fulfilling conscientiously her share of obligations arising out of her situation as a backward nation struggling for the recovery of its legitimate place in the sun. In any case, what republican Turkey has achieved in the short space of two years with such a formidable mass of putrid matter accumulated during the centuries of misrule to be got out of the way is prodigious. Being simply

human, she could not have done more. The rest—so be it said to avoid appearing in the light of a patriot actuated by too sanguine expectations—the rest is on the lap of the gods.

Fallacy of Racial Inferiority

Dr. Franz Boas, professor of anthropology, Columbia University, thus concludes his article on "fallacies of racial inferiority" in *Current History* :—

We may dismiss as entirely unfounded the arguments based upon an assumption of inferior ability of various European and Asiatic groups. There is no reason to suppose that from the present migration from all parts of Europe and from many parts of Asia there will result an inferior mixed population. All historical, biological and sociological considerations point to the conclusion that we have at present merely a repetition on a large scale of the phenomena of mixture from which have sprung the present European nations.

The Message of Buddha

The British Buddhist prints Anatole France's views on the message of Buddha, some of which are printed below.

Without believing for a moment that Europe is ready to embrace the Doctrine of Nirvana, we must recognize that Buddhism, now that it is better known, has a singular attraction for free minds, and that the charm of Shakyamuni works readily on an unprejudiced heart. And it is, if one thinks of it, wonderful that this spring of morality, which gushed from the foot of the Himalayas before the blooming of the Hellenic genius, should have preserved its fruitful purity, its delicious freshness; and that the Sage of Kapilavastu should be still the best of counsellors and the sweetest of consolers of our old suffering humanity.

Buddhism is hardly a religion; it has neither cosmogony, nor gods, nor properly speaking a worship. It is a system of morality, and the most beautiful of all; it is a philosophy which is in agreement with the most daring speculations of the modern spirit. It has conquered Thibet, Burmah, Nepal, Cambodia, Annam, China and Japan without spilling one drop of blood. It has been unable to maintain itself in the Indies, excepting Ceylon, but it still numbers 400 millions of the faithful of Asia. If one reflects, its fortune in Europe during the last sixty years has been no less extraordinary. It was barely known when it inspired the most powerful of modern German philosophers with a doctrine whose ingenious solidity is uncontested. It is well known that Schopenhauer built his theory of the will on the basis of the Buddhist philosophy. The great pessimist, who kept a golden Buddha in his modest bed-room, did not deny this.

China Eminently Worth Knowing

Mr. Arthur de C. Sowerby, joint editor of the *China Journal* exhorts all who live in China to make it their business to know her, saying :—

To one who has been imbued with a spirit of curiosity, a desire to know all about everything this apparent indifference on the part of Europeans in China regarding things Chinese is hard to appreciate; but harder still is to understand the appalling ignorance of many Chinese themselves along the same lines. The latter phase of the subject has been forcibly brought to the notice of the writer during the last few years in his intercourse with members of the younger generation of modern Chinese, and it is harder to assign an adequate reason for it than for the indifference and ignorance of the foreigner in China. Whatever the reasons for this ignorance, however, the fact remains that it exists, and our object here is to call attention to it, and to suggest that, on the one hand, it is one of the main causes contributing to the present-day lack of understanding that exists between the Chinese and the Western so-journers in their midst, and, on the other, is largely responsible for the lack of balance and sound judgment shown by the younger generation of Chinese.

China is a great country with a long history behind her. Time after time her people have risen to high states of cultural development. She has produced a great art, a remarkable literature, and, until the revolution of 1911 upset things, a sound political system. She has great natural resources, marvellously rich fauna and flora, scenic glories that are surpassed nowhere in the world. Her people are industrious and, under good government, as good citizens as are to be found anywhere. Surely such a country calls for study on the part of those living within her borders, be they native or foreign? Surely the student of such a country and all she contains and stands for will be greatly rewarded for his pains?

We of the West pride ourselves on knowing our own countries; we pride ourselves on knowing neighbouring countries. We make tours for this very purpose: yet here in China we scarcely stir outside the precincts of the city or settlement that shelters us. It is the bustling tourist on a round-the-world trip who visits Hangchow, Soochow or Peking, and it is the bustling tourist, picking up odd scraps of misinformation here and there, who goes back to America or Europe to tell the world about China.

Let us, then, who live here, Chinese and foreign alike, make it our business to know China, and, knowing China, let us see to it that the rest of the world is made to know her too, for so will the stupid antagonism between yellow and white and the ignorance that breeds strife be dispelled.

ON THE BIRTH-DAY OF THE BUDDHA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The World seized by the fury of carnage
 writhes in the ceaseless grip of conflicts.
Crooked are its ways, tangled its coils of bondage.
 Wearily waits the earth for a new birth of thine;
 save her, Great Heart, utter thy eternal words,
 let blossom love's lotus with its honey inexhaustible.

O Serene, O Free, thou Soul of infinite sanctity,
Cleanse this earth of her stains, O Merciful.

Thou great Giver of Self, initiate us in the penance of sacrifice,
 take, Divine Beggar, our pride for thine alms,
Soothe the sorrowing worlds, scatter the mist of unreason,
light up truth's sun-rise;
 let life become fulfilled, the sightless find his vision.

O Serene, O Free, thou Soul of infinite sanctity,
Cleanse this earth of her stains, O Merciful.

Man's heart is anguished with the fever of unrest,
 with the poison of self-seeking,
 with a thirst that knows no end.
Countries, far and wide, flaunt on their foreheads
 the blood-red mark of hatred.
Touch them with thy right hand,
make them one in spirit,
bring harmony into their life,
 bring rhythm of beauty

O Serene, O Free, thou Soul of infinite sanctity
Cleanse this earth of her stains, O Merciful.

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

VII

DURING my less than twelve days, stay in England I could not possibly have seen much of the country, even if I had devoted all my waking hours to moving about from place to place. Any expression of regret, therefore, that I had not seen this place or that, this institution or that, would be vain. Nevertheless, I must say that I was sorry that, owing to an unforeseen circumstance, I could not go to Bristol to see the tomb of Raja Rammohan Roy, and his portrait in oil colours kept in the town hall of that city. That I was able to see the little that I did of England was due chiefly to the persistent zeal of Mr. Arabinda Mohan Bose which overcame my apathy.

I was to have left London for Geneva *via* Paris on the first of September. But as I could not reserve my seat in the railway train that day, I actually left on the second. Mr. Sasadhar Sinha of Santiniketan and Dr. Subodh Kumar Nag of Rangoon accompanied me to Victoria station and helped me in various ways, such as booking my luggage, etc. Mr. Nalini Kanta Ray also came to see me off. All these young men, and a few others whose names I am sorry I do not exactly remember, were very good to me.

The train by which I travelled from London to Dover was a very comfortable one. In England and on the continent of Europe my rule was to travel first class in the case of long journeys and mostly third class and sometimes second class in the case of short journeys. From London to Paris I travelled in a first-class carriage. In the train which took us from London to Dover, each first-class passenger had a separate luxuriously upholstered chair with a small table in front. Meals were served to each such passenger on his table; it was not necessary to go to the dining car.

Alighting at Dover, I found passengers who wanted to cross over to Calais filling in an embarkation card. I, too, did so. But the officer who was at the gate and was collecting the cards said that British nationals need not do so. I did not feel proud at this ignoring of my motherland and my nation, though, of course,

as India has no independent political existence, we belong to the British household—as serfs or menials.

I did not feel sea-sick while crossing the English Channel in the ferry steamer. I took my seat on a bench, on the deck. Finding that my attache case had slipped under the bench, I stooped to pick it up and place it on the top of my other baggage. Seeing this a European gentleman and a European lady came forward to help me. I do not know their nationality. I thanked them for their courtesy. I mention this trifling incident, because it serves to show that civility to strangers and old men is to be found among all peoples. Similarly, when, on the same day, I was travelling in the train from Calais to Paris, seeing that the sun shone full on my face, an elderly European lady, who was a fellow-passenger, asked her son to pull the curtain; and she did so, as often as this happened. When we all got down at Paris (Nord) station, she bade me good-bye. I do not know her nationality.

Mr. S. R. Rana, the well-known Indian merchant of Paris, and two Indian students, named Mr. Bijay Krishna Basu and Dr. Bimal Kumar Siddhanta, had come to meet me at the station. On my previous visit to Paris, too, Mr. Rana had been kind to me, and Basu and Siddhanta had helped me to see the city. After the long fatiguing journey from London to Paris I wanted to go to a hotel as soon as possible. But fumbling in my pockets for the baggage receipt, I found I had somehow lost it. So Mr. Rana kindly took the trouble to go from one railway official to another and so on to ascertain what I was to do to get my luggage. He was told that I should write out an application on stamped paper, take it to the police officer in charge of the police station nearest my hotel, &c., &c. A printed form of application was supplied, but we were informed that the formalities were to be gone through during office-hours and that as it was then evening nothing could be done that day. So there was nothing for it but to go to the hotel in the University quarter which Basu and Siddhanta had chosen for me. As the night was rather sultry and I had no change of clothes with me

for sleeping, I managed somehow to pass a very uncomfortable night. Next morning, Basu, who, by the by, belongs to Malabar, came to my hotel after purchasing a stamped paper from a tobacconist's shop (I am told, in France and Italy, and perhaps in other European countries, too, tobacconists sell stamps), copied out on it the printed application, and got it signed by me and countersigned by two of the hotel people as witnesses. Then we marched off to the nearest police station. There we were told that nothing could be done before 12 noon—it was then nine. Basu pleaded in French on my behalf that I was a stranger and that all my things, including change of clothes, being in my portmanteaux at the station, I had been put to great inconvenience. The police official then relented, took my application to his boss, and handed it back to us after a few minutes, duly stamped and signed. We then went to the railway station, paid a small fee and got my things. From the fact that printed application forms are kept, it appears that loss of luggage receipts is not infrequent. But my unpleasant experience ought to make young Indian travellers (and old ones too!) very careful.

During this my second visit to Paris, two Indian students came to interview me. One was Mr. Tendulkar, a student of mathematics, who said he had been asked to interview me on behalf of the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay. I told him that as I had not yet been to Geneva, I could say nothing about the League of Nations from first-hand knowledge, but talked with him for a quarter of an hour or so on the League and other topics. The name of the other young man is Mr. Dhavarle. He, too, comes from Maharashtra, and at the time of our meeting was engaged in Ayurvedic research work at the Cordier collection. He said he had been commissioned by *Le Matin*, the well-known Paris daily, to obtain for it my views on the Political situation in India. Having then been absent from India for more than a month and owing to lack of detailed recent information I could not tell him much about the Indian political situation, which was, relatively speaking, changing from day to day.

At the time of my previous visit to Paris I had a desire to see Madame Andree Karpeles-Hogman, an artist who had spent some time in Sentiniketan and whose portrait of the poet Rabindranath Tagore hangs in the

Visvabharati library. I wanted to see her also because she is a friend of my elder daughter. I was told that she too wanted to meet me. So this time when I was in Paris, I went to her and her husband's charming residence in a suburb of Paris. They both kindly came to my hotel and took me to their home. They are both lovers of India, and great "bhaktas" of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Naturally enough their house has been named "Chitra," after the name of the heroine of one of the poet's works. The long drive to Boulogne-sur-Seine was very pleasant. We passed by the side of some large patches of ancient forest land thickly overgrown with tall trees as in olden days but not at present infested with bears and wolves as, I was told, they were in days of yore.

On reaching the boundary of Paris proper, our taxi stopped, and the driver got down to satisfy the toll-collector that he was not carrying more petrol than necessary. That done, we drove on as before, the lady observing, "We French people are very progressive in certain things, but mediaeval in others." "Chitra," I was pleased to find, furnished and decorated in the oriental style. In Madame Karpeles-Hogman's studio I found a three-quarter size portrait of Mr. Dinendranath Tagore, the musician, which appeared to me life-like and artistic. I saw there also a smaller portrait of Rabindranath Tagore taking a walk, with his hands folded behind, as is his manner. This, too, is a good portrait. The pose however, seemed to suggest a quicker pace than is usual with him, though no doubt he does sometimes walk very briskly. The artist and her husband told me that they were constant readers of this Review. "It is our daily food. Andree reads even the advertisements and regrets that she cannot read *Prabasi*, as she has heard from Pratima Devi of the many good things it contains," said M. Hogman. I must here add that recently I have received a private letter from Madame Karpeles-Hogman criticising certain things in some back numbers of this magazine. But that is by the way. She talked of the pleasure she had in spending a night with Srimati Pratima Devi and my elder daughter in the small wooden cabin at Sriniketan built for the poet on the branches of two trees. M. Hogman told me that he was then reading "The Cage of Gold" by my younger daughter, which I found lying open on his study table.

To my great delight I saw at "Chitra" Rabindranath Tagore's little grand-daughter Nandini flitting here and there like a fairy. Everyday she played at carrying on correspondence with her grand-father. Any piece of paper or used envelope which she made marks on with a pencil and dropped into a basket or a box was sure to reach the poet! She is perhaps five or thereabouts, and though she was at "Chitra" only for a few months, she was speaking French quite fluently, now and then using a Bengali word when at a loss for its French equivalent. Children learn a foreign language quite easily and quickly, when they learn it by hearing others using it to denote certain things and actions, with which the words used are thus associated. At "Chitra" we had some home-made refreshments, and fruit sherbet in the oriental fashion, instead of coffee or tea.

On the morning of the 4th September I was to start for Geneva. On the previous day I had bought a ticket and reserved my seat. Buying the ticket was not a difficult matter. But on going to the office where the seat was to be reserved, I found a long queue of men and women waiting for their turn to come, which did not come quite quickly. This habit of forming queues and waiting patiently for one's turn should be cultivated in our country. There is too much of unseemly jostling and elbowing here at the windows of railway booking offices, etc.

In the train in my compartment, there was only one fellow-passenger. I learnt afterwards from her that she was the wife of an American journalist. She was bound for Geneva, probably to do some journalistic work in connection with the League meetings there. She was an elderly woman and did not seem to me to be in the best of health. When the train started, I found her covering her face with her hands and sobbing.

I could at once guess that she had left her near and dear ones at home, "and drags at each remove a lengthening chain", like myself. I managed somehow to fall into conversation with her, which comforted her. She asked me what Mahatma Gandhi was now doing. In fact, the few Americans I have met abroad seemed all to be greatly interested in the Mahatma's great spiritual and socio-political adventure. In the train nothing worth noting in particular happened. But, as is my wont, I will note one small

incident. At lunch in the restaurant car I sat at table with some Europeans. As I did not take any liquor and I had been warned not to take plain water, which was not always potable, I asked for a bottle of mineral water, which was given. I asked the waiter to open it for me; he did not. But soon afterwards I found the same man opening a bottle of his own accord for the passenger who sat next to me at table.

In a former letter, in speaking of the inconvenience caused to travellers in some European countries by customs inspection, I have described what trouble I had in getting my luggage when I got down from the train at Geneva. I need not repeat what I have written there. Owing to the kindness of my esteemed friends Dr. and Mrs. R. K. Das, the delay in getting my luggage did not put me to any inconvenience. The hotel which they had chosen for me was a good and quiet one, and the charges were moderate. Its name is Hotel-Pension des Familles. The food and service here is better than at some other hotels in some European countries which charge twice or thrice as much. What must be particularly pleasing to vegetarians is that all the cooking is done in this hotel with butter, not with lard, which is said to be usual elsewhere. In the dining saloon of this hotel I saw an old Englishman taking his meals for a week or so. One day he saluted me and asked where I came from and what was my business. Evidently he had spotted me out as a likely customer. I answered his questions, whereupon he introduced himself as the travelling representative of a British firm of paper manufacturers and asked me whence I obtained my supply of paper. He wanted to send me samples and quotations of his firm, which I received after my return from Europe. It is thus that European firms try to extend their business. The British firm in question naturally thought during that the season of the League Assembly meetings, various descriptions of press people would come to Geneva from all parts of the globe, and so had sent its representative to meet them and know their wants. Another Englishman whom I met in this hotel was Mr. F. E. James of the Calcutta Y. M. C. A. With him I had conversation on the League and other topics on two days. He came to ask when it would suit me to take tea with Mr. H. R. Cummings of the League Secretariat. Here, too, came a Musalman gentleman, a journal-

ist, who said he usually resided at Zurich. He inveighed bitterly against those Britishers who set Hindus and Moslems by the ear, using unparliamentary language, and had nothing but contempt for those of his co-religionists and countrymen who quarrelled among themselves to make it easy for the foreign masters of India to domineer over and exploit us.

The first meeting of the seventh session of the Assembly of the League of Nations took place on the 6th of September, 1926. In the Notes which I sent from Geneva I have already said something about this meeting, and also about the meeting at which Germany was admitted to the League as a member and the subsequent one at which the German delegates were welcomed and took their seats. The proceedings of the first meeting were to have begun at 11 A. M. But it was nearer to 12 than 11 when the proceedings actually commenced. Before that there was some disorder, and noise, too. The only persons in the hall who were entirely or partly dressed in non-European costume were Prince Arfa, the Persian delegate; Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer of Madras, an Indian substitute delegate; A Sindhi gentleman; Miss Nehru, daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru; one or two more Indian ladies; and myself. This might be taken to symbolise the respective proportions of their power and influence in the League of the European and non-European peoples of the world. By European I mean also those who are wholly or partly descended from Europeans and whose vernacular is some European language or other. Oriental figures being rare in the hall, some newspaper reporters made a curious mistake. For example, *La Tribune de Geneve* of September 7 wrote:—

"Ala tribune d'honneur on remarque un venerable personnage a longue barbe grise qui n'est autre que le poete philosophe Rabindranath Tagore."

"In the tribune of honour one could see a venerable person with long grey beard who was no one else than the Poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore."

The Poet-philosopher was then nowhere in Geneva or Switzerland!

Perhaps owing to the same mistake, the Maharaja of Kapurthala saluted me from the floor of the hall on the first day of the League Assembly meeting. I did not, of course, appropriate the salute to myself. My beard was responsible for similar mistakes made by

some people in Germany also. For this reason Rabindranath Tagore told me in Berlin one day playfully: "Ramananda Babu, I am tired of lecturing. You take some of my written lectures and read them out in some towns; and Pandit-ji (Professor Tarachand Roy of Berlin University) will translate them orally into German! That will be a great relief to me".

I was able to attend the meetings of the Assembly of the League kindly as I had been, supplied with twenty-four cards by Mr. H. R. Cummings of the Information Section of the League on the very first day. He also promised to give me a special ticket which would take me into Assembly commissions, council meetings, etc. But as I did not get it even a few days afterwards, a friend called for it on three days, but, somehow or other, could not get access to Mr. Cummings, or he was not in his office. I got the card afterwards, and it came about thus. One evening, as I was taking my usual walk by the side of Lake Geneva, I met Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Mr. Patrick, Secretary to the Indian Delegation. After exchange of greetings, Mr. Patrick asked whether I was going to attend the meeting of the second committee, dealing *inter alia* with intellectual co-operation, which was to be held next day, at which the Khan Bahadur was to speak on behalf of India. I enquired whether I would be allowed to get in. He replied in the affirmative. So, next day, I went punctually to the League Secretariat building, where committee meetings were held. At first I went to the wrong room and was refused admission. Then after I had found out the right room, I tried to get in, but there also I was refused admission. So, I had nothing for it but to send my card to Mr. Cummings, who was good enough to come out in a few minutes. I told him that I had come to hear the Khan Bahadur's lecture on being assured that I might do so, but had been refused admission, and that this had happened probably because I did not possess the special card which he had kindly promised to send me. Thereupon Mr. Cummings said, he had been very busy, etc. I replied that in my country I, too, was considered a rather busy man, and that, if I was not to have all the facilities promised to me in the letter of invitation, I had better have remained at home and bought the publications of the League for some rupees, instead of travelling so many thousand

miles and wasting so much of my time and money. Mr. Cummings then took me to the committee room himself, where among the audience I found some persons of both sexes young enough to be at school or college. And there I sat for some time hearing the French or English speeches and their translations into English or French immediately following them. I am glad to record that the Indian delegate's speech was not inferior to those of the other speakers I heard, and, though a Musalman hailing from the Punjab, he referred to India in the following terms :

"As a home of one of the most ancient civilizations of the world, India has great faith in intellectual culture and believes that the final solution of the great problems of humanity lies in the recognition by various nations of the value of the contributions made by each one of them to the progress of mankind and in a better appreciation of the merits of one another by means of intellectual cooperation."

The same evening I received the special card from Mr. Cummings.

On the 6th of September when, before attending the meeting of the League Assembly, I saw Mr. Cummings I wanted to have some information relating to the League so far as India was concerned. He took notes of what I wanted, but probably he was too busy to write to me on these points afterwards. No doubt, all that I wanted to know could be found in some publication or other of the League ; but at that time I was not in possession of such literature, nor have I been supplied with all such publications afterwards. But more of this anon.

I have never been accustomed to see bigwigs, and at Geneva I did not find any such special circumstance as would encourage me to change my habits. Hence I did not want to see anybody of my own accord. So, even after receiving a letter from Mr. Cummings on the 14th September telling me, "when the Assembly is over and the members of the Secretariat are not so rushed, I hope to be able to introduce you to those dealing with business in which you are specially interested," I did not ask him or anybody else to arrange for interviews with any important or unimportant persons connected with the League and thus encroach on their leisure. However, on the 28th of September Mr. Cummings wrote to me again. His letter is quoted below.

"Dear Mr. Chatterjee,

Dr. Rajchman could see you to-day at 5 o'clock if that is suitable for you, and I thought I would try to get an appointment with the Secretary-General after. If, however, you would rather not have more than one interview, I will try and get some other time for the Secretary-General.

If you are able to manage Dr. Rajchman, perhaps you might find it possible to come in ten minutes beforehand so that we might have a little talk.

Yours sincerely,
H. R. CUMMINGS."

I duly intimated acceptance of this arrangement, saying that I was willing to have both the interviews on the same day. I sent my card quite punctually to Mr. Cummings and had a little talk with him. He then went to see Dr. Rajchman. Soon after an assistant in the Information Office, where I was waiting, told me after conversing with somebody by telephone, "He (Dr. Rajchman) is frightfully sorry that he cannot see me now. He is very busy now in a Committee." Mr. Cummings also told me this. For all this I do not wish to blame either Dr. Rajchman or Mr. Cummings. But what I wish to point out is that the Committee meeting which kept the Doctor busy did not take place all of a sudden ; it was pre-arranged, and therefore it could have been foreseen that it might not be possible to see me at or after 5 P.M. that day. And as I was not a suitor or an applicant for any favour, the interview need not and should not have been arranged just to give me a chance. It would have been better if the League people had or exercised a little imagination in relation to a man who had come to Geneva at their invitation from a distance of six or seven thousand miles. This was my first experience of being invited to see a person and then being told that he was too busy to see me.

After I had learnt that Dr. Rajchman was frightfully sorry that he could not see me, Mr. Cummings went to Sir James Eric Drummond, Secretary-General, to ascertain whether he could be seen. But he too was too busy to give *darshan*. It is to be hoped, he was not either frightfully or even slightly sorry. I say again, I have no desire to blame Mr. Cummings for what happened. He asked me now whether he could arrange for interviews the next day. I replied, he should fix the day and hour after hearing from me. I never wrote to him on the subject again. When I bade him good-bye, he came with me out of his room, and told me that it had been

always the intention of the League to pay my expenses, and if I agreed to accept them, payment could be made at once. I said that I had decided before leaving India that I would pay all my expenses myself, adding that if the League would give me the literature I wanted, I would consider that to be sufficient courtesy. He agreed to send me home, to India, the publications of the League I wanted, and I sent him from my hotel a marked copy of the League pricelist of publications. Some of those marked by me I have received. As for the rest, he has written to me: "There are some of the things, such as the complete set of Mandates minutes, which I could not get," etc. I do not quite understand what this means. Does it mean that he could not get from the League Secretariat the complete set of the Mandates minutes for me? Or can it be that each and all of these minutes are out of print? If there be some which are not out of print, why could not these be sent?

All this will show that the League has not been able to give me all the facilities which were promised in its letter of invitation.

As for interviews with the important officials of the League, Mr. Cummings wrote to me on the 22nd November last:

"I am sorry you had to leave Geneva just at the period when senior officials were freer after the Assembly to discuss general League questions, as I was anxious that you should meet them before you left."

I have no reasons to question the sincerity of Mr. Cummings's anxiety. But, as I could spend only a limited period of time at Geneva, I was between the horns of a dilemma, as it were. If I went to Geneva "after the Assembly" to meet the senior officials when they were freer, I could have had no first-hand knowledge of the League meetings, but if and as I wanted to attend the Assembly meetings, I had to forego the honour and advantage of having *darshan* of the senior officials. Not being a man of abundant leisure, I could not await the convenience of the League officials, though, be it noted, the Assembly meetings were over on the 25th. of September, and I received the letter fixing the time for the interviews on the 28th.

Should it be thought desirable for the League hereafter to invite any Indian editor, it would be better if he were invited after consultation with the Government of India, as I was not, and if he accepted money from the League, as I did not, though asked to do so more than once. Such a person might possibly be more lucky than I was or expected to be.

INDIANS ABROAD

INDIAN STUDENTS' UNION AND HOSTEL, LONDON

THE Seventh Annual Report (1926-27) of the Indian Student's Union and Hostel, London has just been received. The aim of the organisers of the Institution is to "render useful service to the Indian Student Community in England" and to provide a Home "which will surround students with all possible help in their pursuit of further education and also to bring them in touch with the best life in this country." But in the report we do not find any account as to how far the organisers have succeeded in translating their aim into action—besides holding several Sunday Lectures, Group

Conferences, Socials, At Homes, etc. In *The Modern Review* for January 1927 (at p. 81) our Editor who visited the Hostel made the following observations:

The company of fellow-countrymen in a foreign country is undoubtedly a great comfort. The means of recreation and culture provided by these hostels are also much to be commended. But in so far as Indian student centres indirectly, though not intentionally, serve to keep our students from seeking the company of and mixing with British students of good character and other desirable non-Indians, they present a problem whose existence the authorities of both the centres do not ignore. They have been trying in their own way to solve it. I know there is much undesirable company in England. It is better for our youth not to have such company. But I am

not sure that these hostels succeed in keeping their boarders and other students away from such company. I was in fact told that some of them frequent dancing saloons of a questionable character; but I cannot vouch for the truth of this allegation."

Regarding other activities of the Union the Report states :

"The physical activities of the union are carried on as usual with enthusiasm and considerable improvements have been made in the Library and Reading Room by addition of books, especially on India. The number of volumes in the Library has increased during the year from 700 to 2000. The 'Indus' (monthly magazine of the Union) has been improved in size and appearance."

But the financial position of the Union is not satisfactory. Although the debt on the Hostel building has been cleared, yet funds are needed for extending the accommodation and effecting necessary improvements in the Hostel.

REVIVAL OF SEGREGATION IN MOMBASA

The Asiatic inhabitants of Mombasa have been subjected to a fresh indignity recently. Taking advantage of the absence of the Indian members on the Mombasa District Committee, the "white" members of the committee threw out an application by the Japan Cotton Trading Company who had applied for permission to house their staff in Cliff Avenue on Kilindini Road, Mombasa. The *Tanganyika Opinion* says that no suitable explanation has come from the Committee and the same journal affirms that the application was rejected on grounds of segregation. The affair has created a commotion in Mombasa, as according to the white paper of July 1923 the principle of segregation was given up and European claims were considered to be thoroughly upheld by the rigid enforcement of the sanitary regulations of the city. This revival of the objectionable and iniquitous principle has been received with great hostility by all Asiatics and will probably lead to further trouble.

CONGRESS AT MOMBASA

Some of the important items discussed at the Congress held at Mombasa were as follows :

There was a resolution for having trade commissioners in all the East African Territories with a view to help Indo-African trade. It was also emphasised that the

various Indian Merchant Bodies should send representatives to Africa to study trade conditions and possibilities there.

Another resolution dealt with the inadequacy of Indian Representation on the Tanganyika Legislative Council. There was also a resolution pressing settlement by the German Government of the war claims of Tanganyika Indians (mostly holders of pre-British German notes) which the former were attempting to avoid, may be with the approval of the British Government. The resolution was supported by Mr. A. B. Patel who said that if the British wanted to let the Germans off in the matter of these payments, the British should themselves settle the claims as the successors of the Germans.

A further important resolution dealt with the restrictions imposed upon Indians who desired to possess fire-arms for self-defence. The Merchants in the interior very often suffered as a result of having to go unarmed. It was therefore in all fairness that the present regulations were modified to suit existing conditions. The Indians were also not allowed to join the Defence Force though many of them wanted to do so. This injustice must also be removed.

SHAIK EMMAMALLY

By the death of Shaik Emmamally the Indian community in South Africa have lost a prominent member. He was an outstanding figure in many fields and his loss will not be easily made up. The following short sketch of the late Shaik Emmamally's life is taken from the *Indian Opinion*, Natal :

Colonial-born in every respect, it would be hard to believe that the late Shaik Emmamally was actually born in India, and it was in the year 1880 that he arrived in Natal with his parents when only two years old. He received his education at the St. Aidan's Mission School, which was then under the headmastership of the late S. Godfrey. His sporting career commenced as far back as 1897, when he played for the Eastern Star Football Club, to which he acted as Secretary also. This club was in the year 1898 merged into the Greyville Football and Cricket Clubs. As a member of the Greyville Cycling Club he participated in many events. His activities in the sporting circle are manifold. He has held the highest positions that the sportsmen could offer.

As manifold as his activities have been in the sporting sphere, he had found sufficient time to devote his time to the amelioration of the conditions of the Indian community. He has been a prominent member of the Natal Indian Congress and was Chairman of Committee, in the year 1920, committee-man from 1921 to 1924 and since then to the date of his death one of the Vice-Presidents. He was the first Treasurer of the South African Indian

Congress. As Treasurer of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall Committee since its inception, he had rendered splendid services. As a member of the Comforts Committee, he was ever ready to look into the interests of the S.A.I. Bearer Corps.

He had not forsaken religion, for he devoted much of his energies towards the Anjuman Esha-a-tul Islam. He was a foundation member of this Institution. He was a Life Trustee of the May Street Mosque, to which he also acted as Secretary and Treasurer.

He was for over 20 years Manager of the well-known firm of G. H. Miankhan & Co., from which he relinquished his services to become the senior partner in the firm of Victory Mineral Water Works.

He leaves a widow, four sons, five daughters, a brother and a host of relatives to mourn their loss.

"NATIVE" DACOITS IN NAIROBI

We learn from the *African Comrade* that there has been of late many cases of dacoity committed by armed Africans, the victims being Indians. In this connection the *African Comrade* has found it necessary to say harsh things against the dacoits as "natives". We

are told for example, "the native fosters an immense sense of gusto which tacked on to his criminal propensities work and have wrought and has, at one time or other, been a standing menace to the peaceful inhabitants." Such language is no doubt very expressive; but is a bit unfair in this way that it suggests that there is something wrong with being a "native" (over and above being a dacoit). We do not think there are more African criminals in existence than there are Indian criminals. In India too, outrages, atrocities and brutalities abound. This has however nothing to do with race but with criminality which is common to all races. We, therefore, suggest that when condemning anything in an African Criminal, stress should not be laid on his race. He need not be referred to as "native"; for that suggests an assumption of superiority. In order to keep Indo-African relations friendly it is necessary that Indians never try to carry a "Brown Man's Burden" in the land of the black. Journalists should take the lead in this matter.

NOTES

An Appeal to the "Free Spirits"

BY THE GREAT LIBERAL FRENCH THINKER
MONSIEUR HENRI BARBUSSE.

The state of war has continued during the eight years which have elapsed since the termination of the world war. Everywhere we find all the conquests of liberty, painfully won through centuries of sacrifice and uncompromising struggle, crushed or jeopardized. The right of association, liberty of the press, freedom of opinion, even the liberty of conscience, are threatened and violated. In the face of this bankruptcy of progress, we cannot any longer remain silent.

We think the time has come for calling upon any and every person who exercises any intellectual and moral influence in the world to reunite into an Association destined to fight against the wave of fascist barbarism.

In many countries of the Occident we find a "White Terror" violating the life and liberties of the people and the most sacred

principles of individual and collective freedom. This "White Terror" appears in a more or less open manner in different countries, but everywhere it is becoming more and more audacious and criminal, more and more organised from day to day.

Against this state of things, multiplying assaults, outrages, inexcusable and undeniable crimes, and against the danger of the most odious eventualities being brought to pass, the public opposition of persons who are universally respected and admired would offer an effective barrier. The mere fact of the formation of such an international association would have a forceful repercussion on public opinion, clarify the ideas, challenge the attention and prepare the mind of the masses for expressing their will with regard to their permanent interests and their ultimate destiny.

Such an initiative would bring also a salutary pressure to bear upon the governments which are betraying an intolerable spirit of complicity or complacency with regard to the forces of violence and fascism.

This is not all. Almost everyday we hear from Italy, Spain, Poland and the Balkans—in fact, from everywhere, the echo of crimes and innumerable outrages. Measures of reprisal are depriving hosts of loyal and brave citizens of their means of subsistence. Dire misery is raging in certain areas owing to the dictatorship and the reaction of fascism. One of the first attempts of the international association should be to extend its helping hands to the victims and martyrs of violence and to study the ways and means of supporting them in their privations.

Once the international association is established, above all parties, purely on the ground of justice, of reason, and of democratic progress, now in peril, it will decide for itself as to the appropriate means of realising its noble and just mission.

Hence we send this appeal to each and every soul who may join the cause in principle.

HENRI BARBUSSE.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We have neither the desire nor the power of effective interference in the affairs of foreign nations or in the activities and methods of the parties into which they are divided. But so far as our convictions and opinions may have any influence on world tendencies, we unhesitatingly, unreservedly and heartily support the principles underlying the Appeal printed above. We also thank M. Barbusse for sending this appeal to us in French, of which we have given a free translation.

Neither Indians nor foreign peoples should think that the methods of violence, followed in disregard of sound moral and political principles, to which the name of fascism has been given by European champions of liberty, are confined to Europe. The belief in force, dissociated from the dictates of reason, justice and morality, call it by whatever name one will, exists also in India in our midst. Our Government and its servants, the bureaucracy, whatever political or other creed they may profess, evince in their practice this sort of belief in force. It is quite safe for us to condemn Mussolini's methods in Italy or similar methods in other European countries; it is not so safe to condemn the methods of the British Government in India. But questions of safety apart, the lover of liberty must condemn despotism wherever it may be found. So, while we support the liberal free intellectuals of Europe

in their campaign against unprincipled despotism in Europe we also call upon them to lend us their vocal and practical support in our struggle for liberty. We do not write in a spirit of bargaining; for India's political influence cannot stand comparison with that of the European peoples. We write because consistency demands that the lovers of liberty should exert themselves to secure its triumph all over the world and most where the greatest and most strenuous endeavour is needed.

It is not merely the British bureaucracy in India who are practical believers in fascism. Some sectarian leaders, too, and their followers believe in violence and act up to that belief.

In Asia, it is not Indians alone who have suffered and continue to suffer from the cult of violence. The intellectuals of Europe should investigate the causes of the insurrection in Java and the methods adopted to crush it. France's treatment of the Syrians should form the subject of another such inquiry.

We intend to give in a future issue some idea of the "White Terror" in Bulgaria and the Balkans by translating passages from M. Henri Barbusse's book, *Les Bourreaux Dans les Balkans.—La Terreur blanche. Un formidable proces politique.*

The Bengal Detenus

For years more than a hundred persons in Bengal have been in detention without trial for political reasons. And this is not the first time in Bengal that men have been deprived of their liberty without trial. Of all those subjected to this kind of treatment, some have died of illness due to such confinement. The health of a larger number has been irretrievably ruined. Some are suffering from tuberculosis. We do not know, of how many of the detenus it can be said that they are in an ordinary state of health.

If the Governor-General in Council or the Governor of Bengal in Council had passed an order that, as the detenus were enemies of H. M. the King of England, they were to be subjected to such treatment as would shorten their lives, one could understand how matters stood. But as no such order has been passed, those Government servants who are in charge of the detenus should be held responsible for the death of those who have died of illness due to the treatment they received and for the serious

illness of others due to the same cause. It may, of course, be contended either that those Government servants were only carrying out orders or that they did not intend to cause the death of any detenu, shorten the life of any detenu or ruin the health of any one of those who have been deprived of liberty. The first contention we have already met. So, it is for the Government servants concerned to state what orders, if any, of the Government they are carrying out; we do not know of any. And, it is superfluous to add that neither Regulation III of 1818 nor the Bengal Ordinance provides for the shortening of the lives of those whose detention they authorize. As for absence of intention, all who are not insane must be presumed to intend the usual and natural consequences of what they do. So the plea of absence of motive or intention to ruin the health and shorten the lives of the detenus cannot free the officers of Government concerned from responsibility for the death of some detenus, the contraction of fatal illness by others, and the ruining of the health and the shortening of the lives of more. It is the bounden duty of the Government of India and of the Government of Bengal to punish those officers and subordinates who have been instrumental in shortening or ruining so many lives. Should they not do so, they would lose the moral right to accuse those of unfair criticism who might then hold that they either approved of or winked at the conduct of the public servants concerned.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is one of these detenus. As is well known, he is a brilliant graduate of the Calcutta University who was appointed to the Indian Civil Service on the result of the usual competitive examination. But as he wanted to serve his country as a non-official citizen, he resigned the service and became an active political and social worker. He was one of the foremost leaders of the Swaraj party and was elected Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. The Bengal Government, acting perhaps on the information supplied by secret agents, deprived him of his liberty on the ground that he was engaged in a revolutionary conspiracy. He has never been brought to trial, though Government has been repeatedly challenged to do so. Time after time, both in the Central Legislative Assembly and in the Bengal Council, resolutions have been passed demanding that he and other detenus

be released, or brought to trial in the ordinary courts of law. But the legislative bodies in India can no more see to the execution of their decisions than school debating societies. So those resolutions have not been given effect to. The Government's plea is that the continued detention of these persons is necessary for public safety. But there cannot be a greater absurdity than for foreigners to profess greater anxiety for public safety or to pretend to have greater knowledge of the means of securing the same than the accredited and elected representatives of the people.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is a young man who, before he was deprived of his liberty, had been all along in the best of health. But after his detention news of continued ill health have appeared constantly in the press. Among other symptoms, there has been a daily rise of temperature and loss of weight to the extent of forty pounds. It has been long suspected that he had contracted tuberculosis. One of his brothers, who is a qualified physician, has given it as his considered opinion that he is suffering from tuberculosis. A high medical officer of the Government only suspects that he may be suffering from tuberculosis. But he, too, opines that Mr. Bose should not be kept in confinement, but should be given the benefit of free air in a healthy climate. There appears to be, no doubt, however, that he has contracted tuberculosis, particularly as it has been reported in the papers, without any subsequent contradiction, that he was kept in a cell previously occupied by a prisoner suffering from that disease. The Government of Bengal has now come out with the very generous, merciful, just and wise proposal that Mr. Bose would be allowed to proceed to Switzerland in a steamer sailing direct from Rangoon, where he now is, to Europe, the conditions being that he is to give his word of honour not to land in any port in India and not to return to India before the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act expires, which it will in 1930. But as there is nothing to prevent its renewal or the enactment of a fresh law like it, the Bengal Government's proposal is tantamount to indefinite exile for Mr. Bose without an iota of any publicly tested evidence against him.

We do not know how our political opinions have been labelled by the British bureaucracy in India. But *The Servant India* of Poona is the organ of the Servants of India

Society, a society which has rendered conspicuous political, social and economic service to the country and is unequivocally in favour of the perpetuation of the British connection.

This is what this prominent Liberal organ says :—

The Government of Bengal have offered Mr. S. C. Bose indefinite exile in Europe in exchange of indefinite imprisonment in India, for reasons of his ill health. After the submission of the joint report by one of Mr. Bose's brothers who is a physician and Col. Kelswall, Chief Medical Officer, Rangoon, on the present condition of Mr. Bose's health, the Government are not likely to have any doubt as to the seriousness of his illness. A strange fate, however, seems to pursue each step of the policy of the Government towards the alleged revolutionaries. Mr. Bose's ruined health is directly due to his long imprisonment without trial, which in spite of all the speeches delivered in its behalf by the Government members, remains inexplicable in moral terms. The Government have substituted and followed the law of force in place of the law of justice with regard to the alleged revolutionaries in defiance of the opinion of the public whose interests they so ostentatiously claim to protect. The Government know that the condition of Mr. Bose's health is such that any further imprisonment may easily prove fatal : they also know that a change in Europe will do him good. In their anxiety, however, to justify their past conduct they have imposed certain conditions on his transfer to Europe. One of them is that he is not to return to India before the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act expires, a condition which amounts to indefinite exile for him. The other is that he should leave for Europe from Rangoon in a boat which does not touch any Indian port. The latter condition is obviously meant to create in the mind of the public a psychological effect, namely, the extremely dangerous character of the detenu, Mr. S. C. Bose. This miserable and palpably stupid device will utterly fail to produce the stage-effect which the Government wanted. Humanity and justice, even though much belated, demand that Mr. Bose be at once unconditionally set free.

Similar true stories of other detenus, and some worse true stories, too, may be told, but this one will suffice.

Personal Rule or Self-rule by the People ?

Which is preferable ?

In the course of his speech at Bhopal, the Viceroy observed that "if the end of public benefit is constantly kept in view and pursued, the difference in the systems of government would not present insuperable difficulty in the way of achieving that end." Or, in other words, there is no difference between rule by a capable, wise and benevolent despot and

self-rule by the people. Such a pronouncement does not show that the Viceroy has been a good student of history or of human nature. In no country has there been a succession of such despots. And there cannot possibly be ; because the possession of uncontrolled and irresponsible power naturally and inevitably leads its possessors, barring a few noble exceptions, to use that power for private ends instead of for public welfare, making them voluptuaries or ambitious tyrants, or both. But even if an unbroken succession of benevolent, wise and capable despots were possible, their rule would not be preferable to popular self-rule. The Viceroy postulates "public benefit" as the end. Everything depends on the sense in which that expression is understood. Is it to be understood in the sense in which cattle receive benefit from good breeders and good farmers ? But men are not like cattle. Those men are not entitled to be called men in the highest sense of the word for whose good feeding, clothing, housing, medical treatment, locomotion, instruction, entertainment, etc., others make provision, even when they are adults. Men entitled to be called by that name must possess the knowledge, the capacity, the will and the power to do for themselves what the advocates of personal rule want should be done for them. Thus "public benefit" or benefit to the public will be seen to mean benefit not only to the bodies of men but benefit also to their minds and hearts and souls. Or, in other words, the benefit that ought to be aimed at includes as its highest constituent the full development of the personality of men, so that they may be free agents for their own and their fellow-creatures' welfare.

Mistakes may be made by democracies and crimes committed in their name ; but on the whole they are guilty of fewer mistakes and crimes than other kinds of government, and greater progress is made under them.

The League of Nations and Health Problems

A Reuter's telegram reads as follows :—

LONDON, March, 23.

The party of foreign medical officers visiting England under the auspices of the health section of the League of Nations will reassemble in London to-morrow, having completed an intensive course of study while attached to the provincial health departments. Before they leave for the final confe-

rence at Geneva in ten days' time, they will visit various sanitary organisations in the metropolis and will inspect the London County Council's schemes for housing and slum clearance.

The League's party of foreign medical officers have toured in England in preference to India, because in the British Empire England is the most insanitary and unhealthy country, far more so than India. In fact, Englishmen, being consistent and logical altruists, have made a paradise of India in respect of public health and neglected the health problems of their own country. Hence they had to call in the aid of the party of foreign medical officers selected by the League of Nations. India will no doubt benefit greatly by their visit to England. If the health of England improves, we shall have good cricketers and other athletic and necessarily ideal men as rulers, instead of dyspeptics.

The Case of Khadga Bahadur Singh

A Nepalese girl of the name of Rajkumari was made over by her grandmother or grand-aunt to one Padam Prasad. This man sold her to a rich trader of Calcutta named Hiralal Agarwala. This man, with his companions, who were all vile debauchees, treated Rajkumari in unspeakable ways. She escaped from Hiralal's house and sought the help of the police to obtain justice, which she did not get. Hiralal and others were responsible for her diseased condition, which necessitated her resort to a woman's hospital. A Nepalese young man named Khadga Bahadur Singh, who is a graduate, came to know of her sufferings. His blood boiled. He resolved to make an example of Hiralal. He went to his office and gave him several blows with his *Kukri*. The man died. Khadga Bahadur Singh was arrested: or rather he himself surrendered; for he could have cut his way through those who wanted to arrest him. He was brought to trial before Mr. Justice Gregory of the Calcutta High Court. At the close of the evidence against him, his Lordship asked whether he wished to make a statement. Thereupon he said:—

To-day I stand here on a charge of the murder of one Hiralal Agarwala of Calcutta. Strange and incredulous it may be that a person like myself who so early as 1918 at the age of only 13 turned an absolute vegetarian, who since his childhood had been trying to practise non-violence and who naturally gravitated into following the

doctrine of non-violence preached by Mahatma Gandhi—strange it is that such a person should be called upon this day to defend himself on a charge of murder. It will no longer be strange if you hear the causes which led me to travel so long a distance from 'Ahimsa' to the so-called "Himsa" in so short a time. Before I deal with these causes I may be allowed to briefly refer to my past career and present activities.

Born of a high Gurkha family at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces I passed my Matriculation Examination from Dehra Dun, I passed my Intermediate Examination in Commerce standing first at Dacca and I graduated last year—I took my B. A. in Commerce last year from the Calcutta University standing first also.

I was acting as Hon. Secretary of the Calcutta Gurkha Association when I committed this act which has provided me with an opportunity to state my humble opinion as to what should be the duty of every self-respecting person towards the race of his mother.

A HIDEOUS STORY

Now when the Rajkumari case appeared in the local press it attracted the attention of my Association and I as Secretary started enquiring into the matter, searched out the girl and heard from her own lips—rather I should say gradually heard from her lips—a story of shame and sorrow so revolting, so hideous and so outrageous in all its details that when I think of that even now it startles me in my sleep and I lose control over my temper.

GANG OF RICH MEN

Only a small part of that brutal story has been brought to the notice of the Court but I shall not supplement the rest. A sense of decency and propriety forbids me from doing so. But I should only add for the enlightenment of the general public that there exists in Calcutta and elsewhere a gang of rich and respectable persons who are so highly placed in society as to be beyond the slightest breath of suspicion and who are active accomplices of Hiralal in this diabolical deed and who must not think that we do not know them. We know them fully. Let them not chuckle over their escape in the present case. Let them remember a time will come when the just indignation and the fury of our community will be on them when proper enquiry will reveal their names to the public.

WHY HE STRUCK HIRALAL

Now I come to the causes which led me to do this act. Briefly they are. (1) The forcible abduction and the outrages on the person of the girl (2) her relationship to me as a distant sister and her descent from the illustrious Rana family of Nepal, the ruling family of Nepal. The English gentlemen of the Jury will at once understand the shock to my feelings of loyalty and devotion to the throne if they are placed in the same circumstances. The third reason was the deceased Hiralal's public slandering of Nepalese women folk and ridiculing their sense of virtue and honour, his calling of Rajkumari a street woman and his boasting that he would continue his game like a lion and let the Nepali dogs bark, he cared not a

hang for them. He thought that the length of his purse would enable him to escape justice but he should now—if he had been living, have known this and I ought to tell you that a person must remember that money may cover a multitude of sins but money will not help to save one's life. It did not do with Hiralal.

My next reason is the most distressed and diseased condition of Rajkumari who was rolling in pain and agony in her sick bed where I used to visit her sometimes alone, sometimes with Mr. Giri, to give her medicine and what comfort and consolation it was in our power to give.

BLACKMAIL STORY DENIED

These were the main factors which determined the course of my action. Here I may also add that Hiralal in his statement said that I wanted to extort from him a lakh of rupees and that he saw me going about his house a couple of months before. This is the blackest of lies and he did it simply to blacken me. I have never seen this man before. I never knew his house. I never heard of his name. I saw him for the first and last time, on the 26th February when he met his death in my hands.

MORALLY RIGHT.

From what I have stated just now, it would be evident that the woes and miseries heaped on that poor girl, the aspersions cast upon our entire women-folk were so great an insult to our womanhood, so deliberate a challenge to our nationhood, so defiant that I could not take it lying down. I accepted it and it is for you gentlemen of the jury to say how far I have acquitted myself creditably in the matter. For my part, I am convinced that what I have done is morally right and could not be legally wrong; for if I understand aright, law exists and primarily exists for the suppression of evil, for the punishment of wrong-doers, for the protection of the person and property of the public, and law expects further every person to do his duty towards society and the State by helping in carrying out these objects, and I could not think of any duty more clear and more imminent than that the wicked should be punished and taught to respect the motherhood of women, that society be made aware of cancerous evil corroding its very vital parts and that the State be made aware of the existence of a very widespread organisation carrying on under its very nose and ever eluding its keen eyes the beastly human traffic, a relic of the barbarous times and a disgrace to any civilised government and more so to the British Government which prides itself in season and out of season as being the very embodiment of law and order.

SHALL MOUNT THE SCAFFOLD.

I fully believe that I have done no wrong either legally or morally and I therefore repeat this day what I repeated yesterday that I did strike Hiralal but I am not guilty at all. But if your lordship and gentlemen of the jury think that it was not my duty to defend the honour and chastity of my sister, if they further think that my duty was rather to sit quietly and look at the shame and sorrows of my sister and that I should sit and whine about it and mourn my miseries, if they further think that I have done a greater disservice

to the society by exposing these weak and dangerous points which Hiralal and his friends have created, that I was a greater danger to the society or to the State or to the domestic peace and happiness of homes than Hiralal, then I take my stand here to take the fullest consequences of my act. Inflict upon me the utmost punishment. I anxiously look to the day when I shall mount the scaffold and fly towards Heaven to appear before the Almighty's throne and plead for a reign on earth when persons will be allowed to defend the honour and chastity of women-folk, when women will be virtuous and men will be chivalrous, when women will be Goddess Shakti and bloody tyrants will learn to tremble and respect them.

After the prosecution and defence counsel had had their say, the Judge charged the jury, who found the accused unanimously 'not guilty' of murder but 'guilty' of attempt to murder in the proportion of six to three and unanimously 'guilty' of causing grievous hurt. His lordship sentenced the accused to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of grievous hurt but passed no separate sentence on the charge of attempt to murder.

Taking a common-sense view of the law as it stands, we cannot say that it has not been rightly administered. But all the same, we are distinctly of the opinion that the prisoner ought to be pardoned and set free. And in this we only reflect the public sentiment. If he cannot be pardoned, he should at least be spared the company of criminals in jail.

"Khadga" means "Sword", "Bahadur" means "Brave", and "Singh" means "Lion". The young man has proved true to the name his parents gave him and has earned the respect of all right-thinking men.

It was only to be expected that movements would be set on foot to obtain his pardon. We read in the dailies that

Hon. Mr. A. N. Moberly, Home Member, Bengal Government, today received a deputation of representative Indian and European ladies at the Bengal Secretariat in connection with the appeal for commutation of sentence passed on Kharg Bahadur Singh at the High Court Session. The deputation consisted of Miss Lloyd, Assistant Secretary, European Association; Mrs. Latika Bose, niece of Aurobindo Ghose, of Saroj Nalini Association; Miss Jyotirmayee Ganguly of Womens Protection League; Mrs. Latika Ghose; and Mrs. K. C. Roy Chaudhuri. Mr. Moberly, while pointing out the difficulty in reversing the High Court decision, promised to represent to His Excellency the Governor the case for reconsidering the matter.

A public meeting has also been held already under the auspices of the All-Bengal Young Men's Association to organise public opinion on the question of protection of

helpless women and to consider the duties of the young men of Bengal, in view of the putrid condition of a section of Calcutta society brought to light by the case of Khadga Bahadur Singh. The chair was fittingly taken by Srimati Sarala Devi.

Opening the proceedings Mr. Krishnakumar Mitter, the energetic septuagenarian secretary of the Women's Protection Society, said that he was so much impressed with the heroism of Kharag Bahadur Singh that his desire was that a statue should be erected in Calcutta to instil into the hearts of young men his idealism and to urge them to emulate his noble example. He knew what the punishment would be for the mission that he undertook and this had been proved by the statement he made in Court. Proceeding, Mr. Mitter said that Kharag Bahadur sacrificed his life for protecting the honour of the womanhood of Bengal. They had assembled there to worship him who was described as the hero of the struggle and whose action had been an eye-opener to goad them to action.

Rev. B. A. Nag reminded the audience that the object of the meeting was to organise public opinion against the wicked traffic in minor girls, exhorted the young men and the press to help the organisation, and appealed to people of all nationalities to exert their utmost to get the release of the noble hero Khadga Bahadur Singh.

Mr. K. Nanjundia, a classmate of Singh, paid a high tribute to his friend, characterizing him as an idealist of the highest order. He appealed to the audience to organise rescue homes for helpless girls.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal said that Kharag Bahadur was a moral and invaluable asset of society. It was for the Government now to intervene and judge between the order of the court and the conscience of the people. If this thing had happened in England, the Royal pardon would have been declared immediately. He said that this was a fit case to exercise the Royal prerogative. Rajkumari, he said, sought the protection of the police, but as she did not get redress of the wrong done to her, the present position had been brought about, and if any one was morally responsible for the murder of Hiralal, it was the police and none else. It was the clear duty of the head of the Government and the representative of the Crown to intervene in the matter, to extend the prerogative not as an act of mercy or a favour but as a tribute to the heroism and nobility of mind and character of Kharag Bahadur.

The president in conclusion made an eloquent appeal to the young men to purify their character first before they thought of combating social evils in the country. She exhorted the young men and women to organise themselves and, with united action, strive hard to eradicate the evil so common in their country.

The following resolutions were passed :—

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta places on record its high admiration and deep sense of appreciation of the heroism and the noble spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by Kharag Bahadur Singh in vindicating the honour of the trampled womanhood.

That this meeting places on record its considered opinion that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal should exercise the Royal prerogative of pardon in the case of Kharag Bahadur Singh.

That this meeting expresses its indignation and abhorrence of the social evils prominently brought to the public eye in connection with the case of Kharag Bahadur Singh and calls upon all men and women, particularly the youngmen of Bengal, to do their utmost to combat these evils :

That this meeting appoints a Sub-committee to take necessary steps for securing the pardon of Kharag Bahadur Singh.

The Eighteen Pence Rupee

The Eighteen Pence Rupee is now legally an accomplished fact. It was a well-fought battle and the opposers of the new ratio lost by a very small majority only. Still the victory of the eighteen pencers does not prove that they have been right. Those who opposed the new ratio argued that it was an unnatural arrangement and that it would only increase the trade of foreign exporters. Sir Basil has, of course, explained that the rupee having nothing to do with silver and being only a token, the question of natural and unnatural ratios did not arise at all. Formerly the rupee represented a certain quantity of gold, now it will represent a little more of that metal. And he would see that the rupee *does in fact* buy and sell for this quantity of gold. Solely on this ground Sir Basil would not have been justified in changing the value of the currency ; for when the rupee is not actually a gold coin but is merely a token (a note printed on silver) he could of course make it represent any quantity of gold at any time by manipulating its quantity and by exchanging gold for rupees at any ratio. But what was the occasion to do so ? Supposing one could increase the gold value of the rupee by effecting deflation and by sale of gold, would one be justified in so doing unless there were any expectations of social good through the procedure ? Most certainly not. The thing would be all the more unjustifiable if there were any risks of social loss involved in it.

Sir Basil has doubtless explained the gold-rupee idea very clearly and shown how we should be paying *the same quantity in gold* for the pound sterling now as before. His explanation suggests as if the most important item on the programme was the paying of a certain quantity of gold for a certain number of pence. As a matter of fact, the most important items were the (1) Contraction of the volume of the rupee currency, (2) the artificial Check to our exports and (3) stimulus to our imports, the (4) redistribution of wealth and income involved in putting up the purchasing power of the rupee and the various corollaries to the above. Had Sir Basil attempted, with his attempt to revalue the rupee in terms of pence and gold, a revaluation in terms of the *new rupee*, of all properties and incomes, we would have had less to put forward as grievance. But even then the contraction of the volume of the currency would have brought in a period of falling prices—something very bad for the economic health of society.

But as things stand now, the widely circulated and distributed rupees will assume a new power (value) all of a sudden. Holders of money bonds (Government papers, etc.) and money incomes will now be entitled to a larger share of the social wealth and income *at the cost* of those who hold actual property (not claims put down in terms of money) and live by selling goods.

Sir Basil is a great financier. With favourable monsoons to back him up, he has found it easy to hold that the *de facto* ratio now has been for some time nearer 18d. than 16d by a good margin. Quite true; but with a couple of bad years it would be just the other way about. Shall we then (may that time be far off!) have a further change?

In our opinion the time was not yet ripe for any fixing of the exchange. If the *de facto* ratio was really 18d to the rupee (was it so without tampering?) there was no hurry to fix it legally at that. The test of time is not carried out in a few months. As to the discussion about price levels changing and assuming stability at 18d to the rupee; we must say the argument has all along appeared unsupported by *proper* statistics and hence, we have nothing to say on the point.

Altogether the whole affair reminds one of the well-known saying, "Marry in a hurry, repent at leisure".

A. C.

E. B. R. Demonstration Trains

A public meeting was recently held in Calcutta at which the work done by the Eastern Bengal Railway Demonstration Train was explained by Mr. A. K. Sen, Publicity Superintendent of that Railway. He said in part :—

The primary object of the undertaking was to assist in the publicity work of the nation-building departments. Industrial schools, Government agricultural farms, co-operative institutions of different kinds, veterinary hospitals, anti-malarial organisations, all exist at different centres but their spheres of influence are altogether restricted. The Industries Department are ready to indicate half a score different ways by which any able-bodied man can easily earn from Rs. 30 upwards per month by his own unaided effort, and yet the corridors of our Traffic Manager's office are thronged daily by crowds of unemployed young men clamouring for jobs worth Rs. 25 to 30 a month. More propaganda work is required by all these nation-building departments. Having realised this, the Traffic Manager of the E. B. Ry. conceived the idea of inviting the Public Health, Agriculture, Industries, Co-operative, Veterinary and Education Departments of the Government of Bengal and the Indian Tea Cess Committee to join in arranging a train fitted up as a moving exhibition and manned by competent demonstrators and lecturers. The train started on the 22nd February and returned to Calcutta on the 23rd March. During this time it visited 30 stations at each of which it drew large crowds. A day was spent at each station, the train remaining in view from the morning till the afternoon, after which an open air meeting was held at which lectures were delivered and educative cinematograph films and lantern slides shown to the public. Much enthusiasm was created among the local population, as a result of which donations of land and money were promised by public-spirited men at several stations for establishing veterinary hospitals and similar institutions. At a conservative estimate 150,000 people have seen the train and attended the evening lectures. We believe that it is the first effort of its kind in India and in a sense, the first effort of its kind anywhere.

A pleasing feature of the work was the interest taken by ladies at all the larger stations.

The experiment has been successful. The example of the E. B. R. should be followed by the other railways, and demonstration trains should be a regular feature of all of them.

Indian Legislators and "Nishkama Karma"

During the present budget season, the Indian provincial and central legislators have inflicted many defeats on the provincial and central Governments. But these victories have been generally fruitless. The Govern-

ments continue to go on as usual as if nothing has happened to disturb the even tenor of their way. Our victorious legislators also go on with their work from year to year as if nothing has happened to ruffle their equanimity. This shows that the legislatures have enabled them thoroughly to master the doctrine of 'nishkama karma', or work without desire for fruit, which is taught in the *Gita*, which lays down: "*Karmanyeva adhikars te ma phaleshu kadachana*"; "You have only the right to work, but never to its fruits."

We have been critics of the "Reforms" all along. The time has come now to perceive our mistake and retrace our steps. The legislatures were instituted as schools of "nishkama karma," for the elect of our people. We venture, therefore, humbly to point out that Mahatma Gandhi should not have included in his programme of Non-co-operation the boycott of the Councils.

The Budget Dabates

It would of course be mathematically inaccurate to say that the cuts and amendments proposed in the provincial legislative councils and the central legislature have been *absolutely* without any result. But the provincial and central Governments have given effect to the proposals of their opponents only when these did not run counter to their policy and interests. They remain masters of the situation as before. This is very humiliating and discouraging to our elected representatives. For years have they and their electors consoled themselves with the "moral effect" of the victories gained, though no substantial results have followed. But to be satisfied with the "moral effect" for ever would be to live in a fool's paradise. Let those who can and like, go on with debating, moving amendments, carrying resolutions, inflicting defeats on the Government, and so on. But there should certainly be an organised body of capable men who are to concentrate their efforts on securing the one thing needful, which is the essence of self-government, namely, a change in the constitution which will enable the voice of the representatives of the people inevitably to prevail. If we can have a new constitution making this provision along with other improvements on the present constitution, so much the better. If not, let the present

constitution be amended in the direction desired. Without such a change, all our efforts in the legislatures practically become valueless.

Government's Reliance on the Army

The reply given by Earl Winterton to a question asked in Parliament, to the effect that the Government of India would, if necessary, increase military expenditure whatever the political consequences of such a step might be, shows the British rulers' contempt for Indian public opinion. The elected Indian legislators and Indian newspapers have been insisting year after year that military expenditure should be curtailed. The reply to this public demand is that it would be increased, if thought necessary, whatever the political consequences might be. Whether it would be necessary to do so, would, of course, be decided by the British bureaucrats who govern India; and from the statement made officially in the Legislative Assembly that the expenditure on the army had reached almost the lowest point and the almost sneering tone in which the Inchcape Committee's maximum figure of fifty crores was referred to, it is clear that there would be little hesitation felt in spending more money on the army in years to come. The meaning of the "political consequences" referred to by Earl Winterton is also plain. British bureaucrats like himself are not afraid of political discontent in India. For they know that a few Indian leaders are against armed rebellion from political, moral and spiritual considerations and all the foremost leaders consider such rebellion impracticable. These British rulers have also taken note of the Civil Disobedience Committee's conclusion that mass civil disobedience in the whole of India or any province was impracticable. Communal dissensions and riots are also secretly felt to be one of the bulwarks of British rule in India. And if the worst comes to the worst, there is the army officered by Britishers to deal drastically with all symptoms of discontent and unrest.

"The Fellowship"

A new organisation, named "the Fellowship" has been brought into existence to fight the evil of communalism and racial conflict.

It is so timely as to have come in the course of natural evolution. Its objects are :—

"Cultivation of a spirit of reverence for all religions and cultures, through sympathetic study and understanding and spiritual appreciation of their special contributions to the religious life and evolution of universal humanity; and

"Co-operation among members of different faiths and cultures in the pursuit of the universal religious ideal of love of God and service of man."

We are in full sympathy with these objects.

The new organisation counts among its adherents distinguished followers of all the historic faiths, including men like Rabindranath Tagore, J. C. Bose, Abul Kalam Azad, Hirendranath Datta, Bepin Chandra Pal, Akram Khan, S. K. Datta, Wahed Hossain, Father Shore, Professor Tarapurwala, D. P. Khaitan, Anagarika Dharmapala, etc. In addition to the inaugural meeting another has been already held, at which appropriate speeches were made by followers of different faiths. Other means will also be adopted for promoting the objects of the new society.

Joint Electorates.

If representative government is to bear full fruit in India, there should be no communal electorates, no communal representatives. The next best arrangement is to reserve a number of seats for particular religious communities who want communal representation, with the proviso that their representatives are to be elected by electorates consisting of voters belonging to all communities. This would necessitate the cultivation of the goodwill and friendship of all communities on the part of the communal candidates. Some Musalman leaders, assembled in conference at Delhi, have tentatively decided in favour of such mixed electorates on certain conditions; e.g., Sind is to be made a separate province with a legislative council, etc.; the Reforms are to be introduced in the N.-W. F. Province; in Bengal and the Punjab seats are to be given to the Musalmans and the Hindus in proportion to their population; and in the other provinces minorities, whether Hindu or Moslem, are to have equal concessions as regards the number of seats.

We would support the idea of joint

electorates, as lessening the evil of communal representation, on one of two conditions, namely: either that majorities and *all* minorities demanding the same are to have seats allotted them in *all* provinces in proportion to their numbers without any concession anywhere to any community; or that concessions are to be made to all minorities in *all* provinces including the Punjab, Bengal, Sind (if made a separate province), and N. W. F. Province (if the Reforms be introduced there and there be in consequence a legislative council created there).

As the provinces where there are legislative councils are at present constituted, Hindus are in a minority only in Bengal and the Punjab, and the Musalmans are in a minority everywhere else. Therefore, the condition that seats are to be allotted in proportion to the numerical strength of the communities in Bengal and the Punjab without any concession to minorities, and that concessions are to be made to the minorities in all the other provinces, means that where Hindus are in a minority, they are to have no concession, but where Musalmans are in a minority, they are to have concessions.

It is also to be noted that the present voting strength of the Musalmans in Bengal is not greater than that of the Hindus. If literacy were made a qualification for the franchise, the voting strength of Musalmans would be very much less than that of Hindus in Bengal. And Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee has shown in this review from census statistics, that *if universal adult suffrage were introduced in this province, Musalmans would not have a greater voting strength than the other communities combined*, the reason being the higher mortality among Moslems of certain ages. For all these reasons, it would be very unjust if in Bengal Moslems were given a majority of seats, solely on the ground that they have among them a larger number of infants, children, and boys and girls.

The N.-W. F. Province may have all the paraphernalia of the Reforms, including a legislative council, ministers, etc. if it can meet the expense involved without assistance from the Central Government, which in the long run means assistance from the other provinces, which all require more money than they can at present raise by taxation.

Sind may also be made a separate province on the same condition. But important classes

of Sindhis have already raised their voice against the proposed separation from Bombay.

One of the reasons why Moslems want the changes for the N.-W. F. Province and Sind is that in both the regions Moslems are in a decided majority.

Physically Defective Children

We read in *The Inquirer* of London :

"The Duchess of Atholl, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, stated that there are now not more than 35 areas in which the local authorities appear to have made no provision for physically defective children."

Here in India one should ask in how many areas the local authorities have made provision for physically defective children. Are there a dozen such areas in this vast country, which is equal to Europe minus Russia ?

The Shivaji Tercentenary

The celebration in the Bombay Presidency of the tercentenary of Shivaji the founder of the Maratha Empire, reminds us how not many years ago such celebrations would have been looked upon as seditious. He is no longer looked upon as a free-booter.

His genius shone not only in military and naval affairs but also in civil administration. In religious toleration and in his chivalrous treatment of women prisoners, he was far in advance of his age. For all these reasons, he is entitled to our homage.

India and Intellectual Cooperation

It is said that though India cannot derive any political advantage from her connection with the League of Nations, she may be benefited in non-political matters. She may, but we doubt if our Government would take the help of the League except for indirectly promoting British interests.

Let us state two facts, compiled from "Report of the Information Section on the Activity of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. (June, July, August, September, October 1926.)" :—

The following states have National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation, *but India has not* :—Union of South Africa, Australia,

Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Bulgaria, Cuba, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Lettonia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The last is not a member of the League of Nations and does not contribute anything towards its expenses.

The following countries have appointed National Delegates to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *India has not* :—

Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equador, Esthonia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Irish Free State, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

The British Government of India cannot and will not appoint truly "National" Indian Committees of Intellectual co-operation, nor can it or will it appoint truly "National" Indian Delegates to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

B. C. P. W. Silver Jubilee

The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutica Works Ltd., of which the Silver Jubilee is over, is a premier Indian concern which manufactures chemicals, scientific apparatus and medical requirements of many kind in India. Twenty-five years ago the Company was started in Calcutta in an unpretentious way ; but thanks to public support and efficiency of staff, the B. C. P. W. have now increased their capital to Rs. 25 lakhs and their sales during the year just over amounted to Rs. 25 lakhs. The Company makes surgical apparatus, fire-extinguishers, laboratory equipments, etc. The various departments are run entirely by Bengalee officers. We wish this purely Indian concern all success.

The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget for 1927-28 has been criticised in detail in the dailies and weeklies. It has been pointed out, for instance, that out of a total estimate

expenditure of 11,10,62,000 rupees, the police department absorbs Rs. 1,88,87,000, which is nearly one-fifth; that whereas for fighting malaria in the whole of Bengal Rs. 80,000 has been provided, Rs. 60,000 are to be spent for constructing a residence for the magistrate in Pabna; that for providing potable water in the whole of Bengal two and a half lakhs are to be spent, but four and a half lakhs are to be spent for the five divisional commissionerships, which were recommended to be abolished by the Retrenchment Committee.

What is of greater importance than these detailed criticisms is the fact that even if the wisest and most patriotic Bengali had full control over public expenditure in Bengal, he could not, with the present revenues of the province, have made decent allotments for all the nation-building departments.

This is more or less true of all the provinces, but perhaps truer of Bengal than of any of the other major provinces. This will be plain from the following statement of the population of some of the provinces and their estimated income for 1927-8 :

Province	Population in 1921	Income for 1927-8 in Rs.
Bengal	46,695,536	107339000
Madras	42,318,985	165480000
Bombay	19,348,210	150800000
U. P.	45,375,787	129450000
Panjab	20,685,024	111300000
C. P. Berar	13,912,760	56376000

Bengal has a larger population than any other province. With less than half its population, Bombay has about 50 per cent. more income. With less than half its population, the Panjab has a larger income. With less population, Madras has 50 per cent. more income. With less population, the U. P. has a larger income. With less than one-third its population, C. P. and Berar have more than half its income. The comparison is made only for the purpose of showing that Bengal, with her present income, could not under any circumstance spend per head of her population as much on the nation-building departments like sanitation, education, industries, agriculture, etc., as the other major provinces. We neither say nor suggest that any province has been grasping, or unjust to Bengal. Every province is fully entitled to more than its present income.

The comparative smallness of Bengal's public income is not due to infertility or any such similar cause. A region where agriculture and other industries and trade cannot flourish, cannot be so thickly populated as Bengal is. The reason why the public exchequer of Bengal has not got enough money for her purposes is to be found in the "main recommendations" of "the authors of the Reforms" "that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be completely provincialized; and that income-tax and general stamps should become central heads of revenue."

Now, Bengal pays a far larger amount as income-tax than any other province; it was Rs. 5,54,73,933 in 1924-25, the latest year for which figures are given in latest the Statistical Abstract, as against Rs. 4,03,77,094 paid by Bombay, Rs. 1,72,43,879 paid by Burma and Rs. 1,29,99,555 paid by Madras. But income-tax goes to the Central Government. On the other hand, the total land-revenue paid by Bengal is much less than that paid by Madras, Bombay, U. P., Punjab, and Burma; and land-revenue is a provincial head of income. As for the other sources of provincial income, there is little irrigation in Bengal compared with some other provinces, and the total excise receipts of Bengal are less than half of those of Bombay and of Madras being, for the year 1924-25, Madras Rs. 4,90,64,413, Bombay Rs. 4,26,84,826, and Bengal Rs. 2,01,17,030. As matters stand, the people of Bengal can add to the income of their Government by (i) drinking more liquor and consuming more drugs like ganja, opium, etc. and (ii) by becoming more litigious and thereby increasing the income from judicial stamps. We are not sure whether the bureaucracy want us to take these steps. Probably they do. For, income-tax, we cannot appropriate, the revenue from jute we cannot appropriate, the land-revenue we cannot increase owing to the Government's Permanent Settlement. There remains irrigation. Many districts of Bengal, such as Birbhum, Bankura, etc. people require irrigation. But, badly not having control over their Government, they cannot compel it to provide means of irrigation. So, unluckily, we can fill the Bengal public treasury to overflowing mainly by becoming drunkards, opium-eaters, opium-smokers, ganja-smokers and litigants.

According to a recent Calcutta High Court full bench (majority) judgment, agri-

cultural incomes derived by Bengal landholders can be taxed. Now, such tax can probably take the form only of income-tax. So, if levied, that will go only to swell the coffers of the Central government. Therefore, without entering into the legal merits of the High Court decision one may say that income-tax should not be levied on the agricultural incomes of the zemindars or landholders, except on the condition that the proceeds of such taxation on them must go wholly to the Bengal Government. On moral and political grounds, of course, our zemindars should be taxed. That taxation should take the form either of increased land revenue or of income-tax. In either case, the receipts should remain entirely in Bengal.

Romain Rolland's Article on Beethoven

The rights of reproduction and translation of Mr. Romain Rolland's article on Beethoven, published in the present issue of THE MODERN REVIEW, are reserved.

An Exhaustive Work on Sanskrit Conjugation

As will appear from our advertisement pages, the Panini Office of Allahabad has undertaken to publish an exhaustive work Sanskrit conjugation. It gives in order for each verb all the forms which it assumes in its several voices, moods, tenses, numbers, and persons. It is a voluminous work. From the previous Sanskrit publications of the Panini Office it may be presumed that the book will be scholarly and accurate. The complete manuscript is ready. The publishers want 500 subscribers before commencing publication. As the book will be required by all our universities, arts colleges, high schools and Sanskrit seminaries, there should be no difficulty in getting support to the extent desired.

Indo-China Radicals Demand Independence.

Recently the *New York Times* published the following telegram from Paris :—

From Saigon the Paris evening newspaper *La Liberte*, which is conducting a determined cam-

paign against Alexandre Varenne, the Governor of French Indo-China, has received to-day a cable reporting the alarming growth of the autonomist movement and some rioting.

"The native press," says this cable, "is becoming more and more violent in demands for the independence of the Annamite people."

"A new autonomist newspaper has been suppressed and the publisher and editor are in prison."

"Yesterday morning 200 natives, mostly students in technical schools and Annamite soldiers, tried to storm the Cholon hospital, and they injured the guard and three policemen. Then fifteen arrests were made."

This message, which is designed to indicate that Varenne's governorship of Indo-China is causing dissatisfaction, indicates that the unrest of the Cantonese in China has spread southward in small measure into the French possessions.

Allahabad Capital Retention Committee

We read in *The Leader* of Allahabad :—

At a meeting of the Capital Retention Committee it was decided to send a memorial to the Viceroy, protesting strongly against the treatment accorded to Allahabad by the local Government.

It was further resolved that the memorial be widely signed and copies of the same be sent to members of the British Parliament, members of the Legislative Assembly, members of the local Council and the press.

We hope the memorial has been sent to the Viceroy and to every other party to which it is considered necessary to send it. But, besides sending such memorials, two other things should be done, one of which is not quite easy, and the other not difficult.

There is no doubt that historically, politically and by virtue of past promises made, Allahabad is entitled to remain the *de facto* as well as nominal capital of the U. P. But what will lend indirect support to its claim is to show by its industrial, commercial, and cultural activities that it is worthy of remaining a provincial capital. And such activities would make and keep it an important centre of population even if it ceases to be the seat of the provincial government. We do not suggest any comparison between Calcutta and Allahabad, because the geographical position of the two cities and other circumstances are different. But still Allahabad may learn a lesson from the fact that Calcutta has managed to survive the blow struck at it in the interest of Delhi, and retains its importance. The reasons are to be found in its industrial, commercial and cultural activities. So, let the leaders of Allahabad promote

such activities to the best of their ability, with due caution and by selecting honest and capable workers. This is the first and most important thing to be done. It is difficult but not beyond the power of Allahabad.

The second thing is to give accurate and unexaggerated but adequate publicity to all Allahabad happenings and doings. It is years ago that we used to see the *Pioneer* daily. One difference which we noted between it and the Madras and Calcutta Indian-owned dailies was that it was the exception rather than the rule for the issues of the former to have a local column and to publish local news, etc. Perhaps in this respect, its practice remains unchanged. The other English daily of Allahabad is *The Leader*. It is very rarely that we see its daily edition; but we do so during our annual or six-monthly visits to that city. On a recent visit we were glad to see that the paper had got offices specially constructed for it. But its local column and its local news service and publicity arrangements for local doings appear to remain unchanged. Surely a long-standing properous concern which can build premises for itself can also keep a few news-gatherers, reporters, etc. That would be good business too. But what we are here concerned with is that Allahabad should convince the outside public by proper publicity arrangements that she is no mean city, that she is not a sleepy hollow. Ancient historic claims are good in their way. But ancient history alone cannot convince anybody that, *eg.*, the capital of the Indian Empire should be transferred to Pataliputra or that the greatest Indian Universities ought to be removed to the ancient sites of Nalanda and Taxila.

Beethoven Centenary

In our March issue we announced the centenary of the great musical hero Beethoven. We are glad to find that in Calcutta the students of the University were the first to express their sincere and enthusiastic admiration for the noble life of Beethoven and attempted to organise a fitting celebration in his honour. But they had rather a cruel surprise in store for them. While they could find a hall for holding its memorial meeting and could enlist several names of persons—Indian ladies and gentlemen of culture to take part in the

celebration, they could not discover any individual or group of Europeans, sufficiently enthusiastic about the great musical genius, to take the initiative in arranging a symbolical music ritual giving an idea of the phenomenal creations of the master composer. This brings painfully to our mind how very poorly European culture and art are represented by the colonial English with their colossal philistinism.

We learn with great pleasure that Mon. Romain Rolland is going to participate in the grand centenary celebration of his hero to be held in Vienna in the last week of March and that he has been honoured by a request from the organisers to deliver a message personally on the occasion. We hope to give details of the celebration later on. Meanwhile we print M. Rolland's tribute to "Beethoven the spiritual hero."

Canada's Chinese Policy

AN OBJECT LESSON FOR INDIA

Though the Chinese situation has changed since February, yet the following clipping from the *New York Times* will show that Canada did not think it necessary to send troops to China, though India was forced to do so.

Ottawa, Ont., Feb. 10.—Premier Mackenzie King does not think that the situation calls for the sending of Canadian forces to Shanghai, he told Parliament today. Should the situation change, he said, he will consult Parliament before taking action.

His statement follows:

"The protection of life and property in any country, whether of nationals or of aliens, is primarily the duty of the Government of that country. Of late, civil war in China, now of several years' duration, has included the difficulty of insuring that protection, and the evacuation of certain interior areas by foreign residents has been considered an advisable precaution. At the same time, it must be recognized that the loss of life by foreigners in these years of disturbance has been extraordinarily small. So far as is known only one citizen has been killed. The existence of a political motive in that case, which occurred in June, 1926, was not fully established, and the murderer was shot immediately by Chinese soldiers.

"Canada is in full sympathy with the desire of the Chinese people to secure control of their own destiny, having due regard to the safety of the life and property of foreign residents. While there are extremist elements in the situation, it is clear that as regards the responsible leaders and great majority of the Chinese people, the present nationalist movement is directed, not against the lives

or private rights of foreign residents, but against the special privileges or the measure of control over Chinese affairs exercised by foreign countries as regards extraterritoriality, customs, concessions and other matters.

"Canada has not in the past had any part in shaping or maintaining the policy of acquiring such rights or privileges in China, and has had no part in the recent negotiations for their adjustment. The Canadian Government is, however, in full sympathy with the British Foreign Secretary's announced policy of 'going as far as possible to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation,' and believes that this course is both just and best adapted to insure protection of life and of religious and business interests.

"Under these circumstances it is not considered that it would serve any useful purpose to propose dispatching Canadian forces to China. If the situation should change, the Government will take the earliest opportunity of consulting with Parliament as to the appropriate course to pursue."

It is to be noted that neither before nor after the sending of Indian troops to China was the so-called parliament of India given any opportunity to pronounce any opinion on the subject.

India's Representation in the League of Nations

We read in the new edition of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. vi, p. 571-2 :—

"The creation of the League marked an important development in the constitutional relationship of the British Empire in that the four self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, and also India, were admitted as full members of the League, *with complete liberty to act and vote if they chose in opposition to the British delegation.*" [Italics ours.]

Falsehood becomes more dangerous when it is adulterated with a little truth. It is theoretically true that India has been admitted as a full member of the League, but it is absolutely false that the delegates sent in her name by the British Government of India have complete liberty to act and vote if they choose in opposition to the British delegates. What makes the falsehood more glaring is that a British servant of the British Government is chosen to lead the "Indian" delegation and our elected representatives do not have even an indirect voice in the choice of the delegates. The main ground on which Mr. S. R. Das, the Law Member, has hitherto opposed the appointment of an Indian to lead the "Indian" delegation, is that Indians are not sufficiently conversant with the foreign policy of the British Imperial Government. This

gives the lie to the statement of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* so far as it relates to India. For, it plainly means that the "Indian" delegation must adopt such an attitude as would promote British interests abroad and that the advancement of the cause of India is not its sole or main concern. It is to be hoped, Mr. S. R. Das appreciates the compliment paid to his country by the selection of himself by the Government to make known this humiliating truth to the Legislative Assembly and the public.

Are the "Indian" delegates to the International Economic Conference and other similar League conferences appointed on the understanding that they are to consult British interests? We have heard at Geneva from a reliable source that the "Indian" delegates to the League Assembly are supplied with certain instructions by the Government of India.

'Oppressed Nations' Congress

The Searchlight of Patna has printed an account of the first session of the International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism which was held at Brussels from 10th to 15th February. It appears to have been a great success.

Amongst the important personalities who took part in the deliberation and proceedings of the Congress were Messrs. S. O. Davis (Miners' Federation); George Lansbury, M. P.; Fenner Brookway, M. P.; Becket, M. P.; Bridgeman, M. P.; Miss Wilkinson, M. P.; and many other members of the Independent Labour Party, Henri Barbusse (France); Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the International Transport Workers (Holland); Dr. Helene Stocker; Prof. Gold Schmidt; Prof. Theodor Lessing; Ledebour, M. R.; Muonzenburg, M. R.; J. Vasconcelos, ex-Minister of Public Instruction, Mexico; Miglioni, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Italy; Dr. Marteaux, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Belgium; Hsiung Kwang Suan (Official Representative, Canton Government); Liao (Kuo Min Tang Party, Canton); and several others. India was represented by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru (Delegate of I. N. Congress) and Prof. Barkatulla, V. Chattopadhyaya, T. Sinha and A. C. N. Nambiar, representing various Indian organisations in Europe and America.

Amongst prominent persons who sent their greetings to the Congress can be mentioned Prof. Einstein (Germany), Romain Rolland (France), Mahatma Gandhi and Mme. Cama (the aged leader of the Indian Freedom Movement, Paris). The telegraphic greetings of Mrs. Sun-Yat-Sen and Shrinivas Ayangar were received with tremendous

cheers and applause, as they were read out in the meeting.

Important items on the agenda of the Congress were :—

1. Opening addresses. 2. Imperialism and its consequences in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. 3. Imperialism and the dangers of wars. 4. Co-operation between the national liberation movements in the oppressed countries and the labour anti-imperialist movements in the imperialist countries. 5. Co-ordination of the national emancipation movements with the labour movements of all countries, colonial as well as imperialist. 6. Establishment of a permanent world-wide organisation linking up all forces against imperialism and colonial oppression.

So far as India is concerned, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his opening speech narrated a brief history of British rule in India and concluded with the remark :—

I do submit that the exploitation of India by the British is a barrier for other countries that are being oppressed and exploited. (Applause). It is an urgent necessity for you that we gain our freedom. The noble example of the Chinese nationalists has filled us with hope, and we earnestly want, as soon as we can, to be able to emulate them and follow in their foot-steps. (Applause). We desire the fullest freedom internally for our country, not only, of course, internally, but the freedom to develop such relations with our neighbours and other countries as we may desire. It is because we think that this International Congress affords us a chance of this co-operation that we welcome it and greet it.

Again, at the third day's sitting,

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the name of the Indian delegation, moved a resolution demanding complete freedom for and withdrawal of the British army of occupation from India as well as withdrawal of Indian troops from China, which was unanimously proposed by the Executive Committee of the Congress. In support of it he made a short and forceful speech and cited the example of Egypt, which had not got real independence as long as the British army of occupation was stationed there.

The resolution was unanimously accepted.

Mr. Becket, M. P., read out a resolution formed in a combined meeting of the Chinese, Indian and British delegates, in which fight for complete independence where national forces so desire, withdrawal of troops from China, refusal of war credits, recognition of Canton Government, direct action including strikes and the imposition of the embargo against transport of troops and munitions, have been demanded. This resolution is signed by Lansbury, Brockway, Davis, Manus, Pollit, Miss Wilkinson, Becket, Crawford, Stocks, Nehru and Liao.

Further, a combined declaration signed by Indian and Chinese delegates to renew old cultural ties between the two countries and to carry on

a common fight against English imperialism, was read out by Mr. Liao.

The formation of a "League against Imperialism and for National Independence" is said to be one of the most important achievements of the congress.

According to its constitution all organisations, parties, trade unions and persons who lead an earnest struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination, for the self-determination of all nations for the national liberty of all peoples, for the equal right of all classes and all persons, shall be allowed to be affiliated to the League. The headquarters of the League will now be situated in Paris. In the Working Committee of the League Lansbury, Eimmen, Muenzenberg, Barbusse, Nehru, Liao, Senghor (N. Africa), Hatta (Indonesia) and one delegate from Latin America, have been elected as permanent members.

We value the proceedings of this congress, but value them only so far as they may help in molding world opinion. That certainly would be no mean gain. We write in this unenthusiastic tone, because no sympathy from abroad should make us forget that, if we would be free, it is we who must honestly do the most difficult portion of the work, that we must make the utmost sacrifice, that we must make use of all the wisdom and capacity we possess and that we must never relax our efforts.

State Expenditure on Indian Education

An American authority has calculated, on the basis of figures taken from the Indian educational report for 1924-25, that the Indian Government's educational expenditure is less than ten cents, or about five annas, per head of the population per annum for all grades and sorts of education, against 16¼ dollars or about rupees fifty per capita per annum in the United States of America for public school education alone.

An Attack on Prof. J. Sarkar

In the Bengal Legislative Council there was recently a venomous attack on Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, by Mr. M. N. Ray. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, late Principal of the Presidency College and late officiating

Director of Public Instruction, who attacked the "massing of official opinion" in the Senate, said nevertheless that

he had no sympathy with Mr. Roy's attack on the Vice-Chancellor. When a distinguished gentleman of Bengal whose fame was known far beyond the limits of India was prepared to use his leisure to serve the University, he thought, he was entitled to their gratitude.

Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerjee gave a crushing reply to Mr. M. N. Ray. To be appreciated, his speech should be read as a whole. The main points of his speech, summarised in tame language, are :—Prof. Sarkar has been accused of officialising the University. But 90 percent of Calcutta University Fellows are nominated by Government ; how can anybody further "officialise" it ? The University has its present constitution according to an Act passed in the teeth of a fierce agitation led by Surendranath Banerjee, but *with the help of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee!* Mr. Roy and his party now wanted a democratic constitution, but what were they doing during the ten years of Sir Ashutosh's Vice-Chancellorship and the years following when they were in power ?

What happened was this, So long as a particular party was in power, so long as this party could get its own nominees accepted by the Government, so long we never heard the least whisper of democratic constitution for the Calcutta University Senate. But now that another party is in power and that one clique has given place to another, there is a fierce and sudden outburst of democratic zeal and fervour on the part of all and sundry.

Mr. Banerjee forgot to mention that Sir Ashutosh and his followers opposed even the partial democratisation of the University by Mr. J. N. Basu's Bill.

It has been said that the present Vice-Chancellor is not eminent at all, but I cast my glance over the length and breadth of India and I ask where else shall we find such ripe scholarship, such massive industry and erudition, such keen critical and historical insight as we find in the present Vice-Chancellor ?

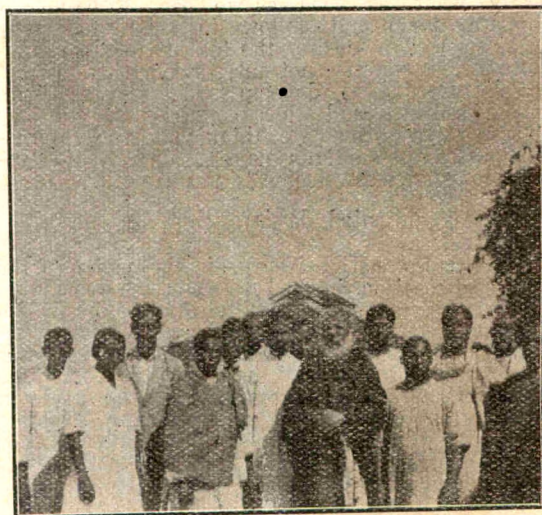
As for his being an official (he is no longer an official strictly speaking, as he has retired from Government service), Mr. Banerjee pointed out that Sir Ashutosh, Sir E. Greaves and most other Vice-Chancellors were officials. As for the charge of officialising the University, Mr. Banerjee

proved to the hilt, in detail, that "the charge was as base as it was baseless". "Mr. Sarkar has taken care to see that every retiring fellow should be replaced by another belonging to the same category". Moreover, four Europeans have been replaced by four Indians. The Syndicate now contains a smaller number of officials than before. As for Mr. Sarkar being a nominated Vice-Chancellor, so has been every previous Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Banerjee concluded by saying.

Do not let us stultify ourselves by heaping foul abuse upon one who is of us, and for us, who belongs to our very own and who is a credit and glory to this university of ours.

Rangoon Ramkrishna Mission Sevagram

During our recent visit to Rangoon we were glad to visit this excellent institution. It deserves to be helped very liberally by



Rangoon Ramkrishna Mission Sevagram workers and Editor, *The Modern Review*

all, as it is a philanthropic institution, and by us Indians in particular, as the Indian labourers in and about Rangoon, when they fall ill, are treated and taken care of *here alone* practically.



A FESTIVAL OF FLOWERS
By Mr. Ardhenduprasad Banerjee

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THE STUDY OF ZOOLOGY IN INDIA IN THE FUTURE *

BY MAJOR R. B. SEYMOUR SEWELL, I. M. S.,

Director of the Zoological Survey of India

IT is the custom in this Congress that the Presidents of the various Sections should deliver a Presidential address, dealing with some aspect of the subject, with which the Section deals, that is of interest and importance to all those who are members of the Section; and I have found the choice of a subject for my address to you to-day a matter of some difficulty. In most cases an address such as this consists of a review of the work done or of advances in our knowledge made during the past year or series of years. Some of you, however, may remember that in his Presidential address to this Section in 1921, Dr. Gravelly, of the Madras Museum, gave an admirable review of the history of zoological research in India in the past, and as recently as 1923 Dr. G. Matthai, of Lahore University, chose as the subject of his address that branch of Zoology that for many years has been my particular study, namely, Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters. It is true that he limited his summary to the period prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 and that during the last few years considerable work has been carried out, especially on board the R.I.M.S. "Investigator", that has resulted in, I think I may justly claim, a not insignificant contribution to our knowledge; but to deal in my Presidential address to you to-day with this branch of research would inevitably result in my address becoming in the main a

summary of my own work, some of the results of which have already been published and the remainder will, I hope, before long appear in print in the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." The results obtained will thus shortly be available to you all *in extenso*; and a summary and discussion of them now would be merely to anticipate what I shall hope to tell you later. Moreover, an outline or summary of any one branch of Zoological research can, of necessity, only have any very great interest for and appeal to comparatively few, namely, to those who may for one reason or other be interested in that particular branch of learning or who may be engaged in research of a cognate nature; and I feel that a Presidential address should deal with some aspect of zoological work that has a profound interest for you all. Now there is one topic that is of the very greatest importance to us, whether our interest in Zoology is confined to the research side or to the academic branch, and this is the very vital question of the study of Zoology in India, not in the past, but in the future. To-day I purpose to direct your attention to this most important problem, a problem that is so important and is so vast that it will inevitably affect, not only us trained zoologists or those who in the future may take up the study of Zoology as a profession and as their life's work; it is a subject that will eventually affect the whole of this great country from end to end, although the application of zoology to the every day needs of the population is at present in its infancy and the importance of

* The greater portion of this article formed the Presidential address to the Zoological Section of the Indian Science Congress, 1927.

a knowledge of zoology has hitherto been but little realized.

Zoology can roughly be divided, like the territory of ancient Gaul, into three parts. The first of these is Taxonomy and Morphology, and along with these goes the study of Zoological physiology, for, as you know, the physiology of an animal is often as specific in its character as is the actual structure. The second branch of Zoology is the study of Embryology and Genetics; and the third great line of study is that of Ecology and Bionomics. In my opinion it is this third branch that is the greatest of the three; but its study can only successfully follow on a correct taxonomy. The first essential then of Zoology is a study of Taxonomy; and in order to form a true estimate of the position of any species in our scheme of classification of the animal kingdom, taxonomy must be combined with the study of embryology and morphology and in certain cases, and possibly far more often than has been the case in the past, with the study of the animal's physiology and bio-chemistry. Now it is in this sphere of taxonomic research that the Zoological Survey of India both can be and is only too willing to be of assistance to every zoologist throughout the whole of India. It has been whispered to me that certain zoologists in this country, though I hope that none such are present among you to-day, hold, or at least held, the opinion that the Zoological Survey of India is jealous of other zoological institutions. I would beg you, if any of you still retain this belief, to rid your minds of it once and for all. We are, and I speak for my colleagues just as much as for myself, not only willing but desirous of doing all that we can to help the *bona fide* students of zoology in this country and to improve, as far as lies within our power, the various institutions that have grown up and, I am glad to see, are still growing up in India. The facilities that we can at the present time offer to research workers in our laboratories in Calcutta are limited; but I have room for at least six research workers, for four Zoologists and two Anthropologists, and I should like to see these places occupied the whole year round. The number of my colleagues in the Survey is but small and it is, therefore, only in certain groups of animals that we are at present able to assist research workers directly by identifying for them specimens that they may have collected; but the Zoological Survey

of India is in a position to be able to arrange with experts, not only in India but all over the world, for the identification of any animal that may be sent to us; and in this way we can honestly claim that we are both able and willing to give every material assistance. The study of taxonomy will, as the fauna of this country becomes more and more known, cease, sooner or later, to have any very great attraction for the research-worker; at the present time most of us have *willy nilly* to become taxonomists, since in almost every group of animals that we may wish to study our knowledge of the various species is still meagre; but I would impress on you that the study of this particular branch should never be considered an end in itself. It should be regarded merely as the necessary preparation for wider, more interesting and frequently more important studies.

The study of Morphology and Comparative Anatomy in this country is in its infancy. As some of you may know, there have from time to time appeared in the "Records of the Indian Museum" papers dealing with this branch of study and I am glad to see that there is in existence in India a movement for the production, by what I may term a Committee of Professors in the various colleges, of a series of monographs dealing with the detailed structure of some of the commoner and most typical animals in the various phyla, though the idea underlying the inception of this series appears to have been the necessity of having standard works for the purpose of teaching rather than any special interest that the members of this Committee took in the subject. In England and Europe, as well as in America, the study of Morphology appears to be at the present time out of fashion, and its place in zoological research has been taken to a great extent by the study of Genetics; a movement that in England can be traced very largely to the influence and enthusiasm of the late Professor Bateson. The study of Genetics is, doubtless, important and it is, apparently, regarded as of particular importance by those who are engaged in such researches; indeed, some enthusiasts go so far as to suggest, if not actually to state in so many words, that they and they only are real zoologists. But it appears to me, though I may be underrating the full importance of the subject, that this branch of research, at any rate as it is conducted at the present time, can only

serve to explain the mechanism of the inheritance of 'discontinuous variation,' and no results, however startling they may appear to be, can explain the mechanism of the inheritance of 'continuous variation,' which, as most, if not all, field naturalists are convinced, is the main line along which the evolution of the animal kingdom has taken and still is taking place.

In India, as I have already remarked, we are still in the stage in which Taxonomy must be our first line of research; but what of the future? Is there any reason why we in this country should adopt the outlook or the fashion, as regards research, of any or every other country? We have in India our own fauna and our own problems, and I would like to see Indians building up their own type of Zoology and of Zoological research-worker. My own outlook has, doubtless, been largely influenced by and is the outcome of my experience as Surgeon-Naturalist on the "Investigator" and I would put before you to-day a very strong plea for the field worker and would impress upon you the paramount importance to this country of the study of Ecology and Bionomics. When once we have succeeded in identifying the various composite factors in the fauna of any given area, the next step in our line of research should take us out of the laboratory into the open country. We must go out and study the animals in their own surroundings; and not only should we do so ourselves but we must encourage our students to do likewise. If we do this, we shall at once find that the interest our students take in their studies will be increased tenfold. Dr. Gravely recently told me of his experience when he took a party of students from the Madras University down to Krusadai Island in the Gulf of Mannar, where there is a small field-laboratory, (it cannot, as yet be said to be a Marine Biological Station, for it has no permanent equipment; but it serves an important purpose as a site where the study of marine animals in their natural surroundings can be carried out); as soon as these students found themselves able to observe the living animals in the open, in contrast to the study of preserved organisms in the laboratory, they exclaimed, "Oh, Sir, we did not know that Zoology could be so interesting." The study of the animal in its natural habitat is more than interesting, it is fascinating: and it is along these lines

that zoologists not only can and will find the most interesting work, it is on these lines that they can help to raise zoology to the ideal position to which it may in the future attain, of being the greatest philanthropic agent in the world. Zoology has up to the present time been all too rarely called upon to assist in the solution of some of the greatest problems that confront us in India, whether we are concerned with the food supply of the millions of inhabitants or with their health and disease. In other countries the absolute necessity of carrying out systematic investigations regarding the Ecology and Bionomics of the marine fauna has resulted in the establishment of numerous Marine Biological Stations and the appointment of a large staff of marine Biologists. Even in the little island of Ceylon this necessity has been recognised, and the work carried out under the Ceylon Government has resulted in the formation of a company to exploit, by means of sea-going trawlers, the fish supply of the Ceylon and of our Indian coasts. In India the maintenance and improvement of our fish supplies, whether from the coast or from inland waters, or even the improvement of our cattle, under the direction of the Veterinary Departments, are all problems in Zoology and can only be solved by the application of Zoological research and Zoological methods. The question of pisciculture is one of very considerable importance, both on the ground of the provision of food-supplies or of extra income for the agriculturists and from the additional standpoint of the question of the health of the cultivators in areas where natural waters, such as tanks and 'Jheels', exist. In areas where pisciculture is carried out or where tanks, suitable for pisciculture, are in existence or can be constructed, it is essential that the agriculturist should have the benefit of expert advice. Pisciculture demands amongst other things (a) the identification of the fish fry and a careful control of fry distribution, in order that only the best kind of fish, for instance, those belonging to the carp tribe, are introduced into the tanks; (b) the eradication from tanks of carnivorous fish, such as the "murrel" (*Ophiocephalus*) in which the flesh is inferior and which are, therefore, of less value, as the price such fish fetch on the market is comparatively small; (c) in order that fish culture in tanks may be a success, it is not sufficient merely to put in a large

number of fry and hope that a corresponding number of good-sized marketable fish will be obtained. Such tanks require careful watching and should be stocked with suitable water-plants in order to maintain a copious food-supply for the fish, the better class of which are herbivorous, and to ensure that there is a proper supply of oxygen maintained in the water. Allied to this is the question of planting round such tanks suitable shrubs or plants which can from time to time be cut and the leaves thrown into the tanks to act as a further food-supply. I understand that investigations with regard to this latter procedure are at the present time being conducted under the direction of the Director of Fisheries, Madras, and that the results obtained are extremely hopeful; and (d) the introduction into such tanks of small fish which will feed on and destroy all mosquito larvae. Mosquito destruction by means of such fish is a line that has been but little practised or attempted in India, though its possibilities were indicated as long ago as 1912. So far as I know, the only area where it has been systematically carried out is in the tea-growing districts of the Wynaad, where it was applied, along with other methods of mosquito eradication and quinine prophylaxis, and where a very considerable improvement in the health of the cultivators was effected. Far more work on these lines has been done in Egypt and the Sudan than in India. The introduction into tanks of mosquito-destroying fish will, however, be futile without corresponding attention to item (b) above, since these small fish would only act as a further food-supply for the larger carnivorous ones, if these latter were allowed to remain in the tank.

In order that pisciculture can be adequately controlled and properly supervised, it is essential that each Province should have a fishery department for research and for advisory purposes.

In Madras there is already a flourishing fishery department, there is also a second in the Punjab and I understand that there is a fishery officer in the United Provinces. Formerly there was also a fishery department attached to the Board of Agriculture in Bengal, but for some reason or other this appears to have been allowed to die and, I believe, is now no longer in existence. In the event of a problem becoming urgent or of such a wide nature that its application extends beyond the bounds of any one pro-

vince, the Zoological Survey of India is willing to assist these fishery departments as far as it lies in our power. With our present staff it is impossible for us to undertake to do anything more than this.

During the mollusc survey, that was conducted in recent years by the Zoological Survey of India in order to discover whether or not certain parasitic worms can live and be transmitted from man to man in India, it became clear that throughout this whole country there are large numbers of such worms that infest sheep, goats, cattle and other animals. In every case these parasitic Trematode worms pass through a part of their life-history in a fresh-water snail. At present in this country the life-history of only a single species, *Schistosomum spindalis*, which infests goats and cattle, has had its life-history thoroughly traced and much research is still necessary in order to trace the life-histories of others and to control and prevent their development. The full investigation of this problem requires the co-operation of a number of experts and a careful study not only of the worms themselves, but also of their mollusc hosts and the chemical composition and physical characters of the streams and other areas of water in the region in which the parasite occurs, since all these factors have a profound influence upon each other and upon the development of the parasite.

The medical research worker may, as a result of his studies in laboratories and hospitals, be able to incriminate certain animals as the carriers of disease; but from that stage on the eradication of the disease from the country becomes a problem in field zoology, and I am convinced that, though we may know that the *Anopheles* mosquito can transmit Malaria and the Sand fly Kala-Azar, it is only by the application of biological methods that we shall ever succeed in controlling and eradicating these pests and in freeing the population of India from two of the great curses under which we at present suffer and the same may be said of many of the diseases of plants that affect the food-supply.

In India research, and particularly research along lines which will be beneficial to agriculture, is in its infancy. The possibilities of such research are almost boundless, and it is only possible here to indicate certain lines along which results of the highest value might be obtained. The eradication of insect nests by means of chemical action such as

by drugs, poisonous gases, etc., is in the long run bound to be unsatisfactory, inasmuch as its effect is only temporary, the cost is very considerable and, though temporarily effective, the final result may even be worse than useless, inasmuch as one is unable to discriminate between harmful or beneficial insects. The control of plant pests in the future will, in my opinion, be by means of biological methods and the application of such methods has already been strongly advocated in New Zealand, and, I believe, also in Australia. With the exception of the work that is being carried out on economic entomology, but little research, so far as I am aware, has been done in this country, with regard to plant pests and plant diseases. Plants are not only infested by insects; they are also attacked by worms and protozoa; and cases of destruction of crops have even been brought to the notice of the Zoological Survey where the agent has been found to be a crab, as, for instance, the case of the destruction of rice crops by crabs in Konkan. Again, so far as I know, no investigation in this country has been carried out regarding, on one hand, the damage done by molluscs, such as slugs and snails, by birds or mammals on either growing crops or crops that have been stacked or stored. In certain parts of the country parrots do an enormous amount of damage to stacked grain and the havoc wrought by rats to the cocoanut crops in certain areas is well known; but no attempt has been made to control these pests by biological methods. On the other hand, the advantage to be derived from the presence of other birds, etc., who feed on insects and therefore might be useful in eradicating an insect pest, has never been investigated.

In other countries a certain amount of work has been done on the influence of the soil on the fauna, but little, if any, work has been done, at any rate in India, on the influence of the fauna on the soil; and yet it is more than probable that the fauna, both macroscopic and microscopic, of the soil has a very profound influence both on the soil itself and on the crop that is grown on it. I do not here mean the bacteriological investigation of soil, but the effect and influence of the unicellular animals (Protozoa) and the larger earth-dwelling forms, such as worms, insect larvae, termites, etc. The pioneer work of Darwin on the influence of earthworms is sufficient to indicate how

great the effect of the fauna may be, and research along similar lines might yield results of the very highest value.

For the correct application of our knowledge of zoology to economic problems it is essential that the animals concerned should be studied, firstly, from a systematic point of view, in order correctly to determine their species and, secondly, a careful study must be made of their ecology and bionomics; and it is only when these studies are completed, that one can usefully apply one's knowledge to economic purposes. There are, I admit, difficulties in the way of carrying out such field researches as I have indicated and the greatest of these is finance—or rather the lack of it. But I believe that if the matter is sufficiently strongly urged by us, one and all, the Authorities of the various Institutions, to which we belong, can and will be ready to meet our requirements in this line, as far as they are able; and here we have another line of assistance that we in the Zoological Survey of India, can render. The officers of the Survey can, and I am sure, will be willing to take with them, when they go out on tour, one or two selected students from the Colleges and Universities; in this way these students would, at a comparatively small cost, be able to study the fauna of this country in its natural surroundings and would further have the benefit of the experience of a trained field-worker.

Now the moment that we commence our studies of the Ecology and Bionomics of the fauna of this country we discover that we need a far wider knowledge than that of zoology alone. To quote from the late Dr. Annandale,

"Zoology is so closely connected with other branches of biology and so dependent in the last resort on Geology, Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics that in my own work I find it frequently necessary to apply to members of other departments for special information. My experience has been that such information is always given in a most ungrudging and generous spirit, when applied for personally."

I can most emphatically corroborate this statement; but are we zoologists justified in continually demanding from others that they should undertake on our behalf researches that we ought to be in a position to carry out for ourselves? We must remember that they have their own interests and their own studies, and that every time they so kindly undertake to assist us they have

to give up time, which they value every bit as much as we do, in order to carry out some piece of research work that for them has little or no interest. To the field-zoologist or naturalist it is of the greatest importance that he should be able to investigate, not only the fauna, but the associate flora, the chemical composition, the hydrogen-ion concentration and the amount of oxygen and carbon dioxide present in the soil or water, in which the animals that he is studying live; for every one of these factors has a most profound bearing on the animal life and, furthermore, every one of these factors is continually changing with the change of the seasons. In certain cases we do undoubtedly require a knowledge that we ourselves are not in a position to obtain. The late Dr. Annandale, in one of the last papers that he published, showed to how great an extent the character of the Mollusc inhabitants of any given area of water depends on the amount of lime-salts present; it is, therefore, of the utmost importance to us that we should know the chemical composition of the water, and here we certainly require the services of a trained chemist, for it is beyond the scope of work of a zoologist to carry out elaborate analyses of a highly technical character, and, moreover, these analyses must be conducted repeatedly throughout the different seasons of the year, for it has clearly been shown that in such large rivers as the Nile in Egypt and the Ganges in this country there is an actual chemical change in the composition of the water, following and dependent on the change from the dry to the rainy season. Dr. Hora's studies of the inhabitants of the hill streams of India has equally shown the manner in which the surroundings can mechanically influence the structure of the various animal inhabitants, whether they be Fish, Amphibia or Insects. For those of us whose researches lie in the sea the problem will, I have no doubt, prove to be just as complicated. In European and Temperate seas there is undoubtedly a very considerable seasonal variation in the chemical composition of the water, that affects the amount of Silicates and Phosphates present in solution, and this variation can be traced directly to the activity of the Fauna and Flora, and, *vice versa*, changes in the Fauna and Flora are due to the alteration in the chemical composition. Almost certainly similar changes are going on in the waters of the Indian seas and sooner or later we

must attempt to elucidate these changes. At first sight then it appears to be essential that we should, at the least, have the assistance of both a botanist and a chemist to help us; and here I may take the opportunity of impressing on you the great advantage that can be derived from team work. Such collaboration should be particularly easy to attain in your Colleges and Universities, where Zoology and Botany, as well as Chemistry, are being taught side by side. But, failing such collaboration, there is a very great deal that a zoologist can do and should be able to do for himself. The study of the hydrogen-ion concentration, the amount of dissolved gases and the salinity of the sea water require but little technical knowledge, for the methods of estimation have now-a-days been so simplified and standardised that we can with very little experience carry out our own investigations, provided that we possess the necessary apparatus. Every student should be taught in your advanced classes to estimate the hydrogen-ion concentration of both soil and water and every student of our marine fauna should be able to carry out titration with silver nitrate solution and so estimate for himself the degree of salinity of the sea; this latter process has been most carefully standardised by the "Conseil Permanent pour l'Exploration de la Mer" and the technique is one that is easily learned: every observation on our marine fauna should, therefore, be accompanied by observations on the temperature and salinity of the sea water itself.

As one gains wider experience one finds, however that our researches must be carried even further afield. Let me cite a couple of examples. During the past year I have had occasion to investigate an epidemic of mortality among the fauna of the tank in the compound of the Indian Museum. On the morning of the 17th of February last it was discovered that many of the fish in the tank were dying with all the symptoms of asphyxia, nor were the fish the only inhabitants that were affected. In varying degrees it was found that both the Molluscs and the Crustacea were also suffering from the same condition. It is probably well-known to you that at about this season of the year, that is to say from March to June, there is annually a very heavy mortality in the tank fauna throughout India. Annandale noticed the occurrence of this phenomenon, and called attention to it, particularly among the Sponges

and Polyzoa, and I have myself called attention to it in the Mollusca. Annandale put forward the view that this mortality was due to imperfect acclimatisation, the animals being unable to withstand the high temperatures that prevail during the dry season of the year. In view, however, of the wide distribution and the continued survival of the fauna in spite of this mortality, this conclusion can, I think, hardly be justified and we must look for some other cause of it. One of the problems that I had to consider when dealing with the mortality in the Museum tank was, whether this mortality was merely a part of this annual phase or was it due to a local specific cause? An examination of the water, that was carried out for me by the Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bengal, showed that no known poison had been introduced into the tank. Further examination showed that there was no reason to think that the hydrogen-ion concentration was abnormal, though it must be owned that our knowledge of the changes in this feature during the course of the year is practically *nil*. An examination of the dissolved gases revealed that the amount of oxygen in the water was, although somewhat less than that usually present in other countries, not so greatly diminished as to be actually harmful; the carbon dioxide present in solution was, however, abnormally great in amount and it seemed certain that this was the actual cause of death. I was then faced with another problem, namely, what was the cause of this great increase in the amount of the carbon dioxide? A careful study of all the known data revealed that it was almost certainly attributable to the meteorological conditions that were at the time and had been for some days previously, prevailing over Calcutta. During a short period prior to the outbreak the air temperature had been steadily rising; and not only was the maximum temperature some degrees above normal, but so also was the minimum temperature, and this condition of affairs reached its climax on the day prior to the epidemic. At the same time there had been no rain-fall; there had been a steady rise in the humidity of the atmosphere, and an almost complete absence of wind. The result of these combined meteorological conditions had been to completely inhibit the normal circulation in the tank on which the ox-

genation of the water and the removal from it of the excess carbon dioxide very largely depends; there was no "change over" between the surface and the bottom waters, since all surface currents due to wind had ceased, nor was there any change due to convection currents, since the raised temperature of the water combined with the increased humidity of the air and the consequent decrease in the rate of evaporation, had prevented the surface layer becoming more dense than the underlying stratum. There had thus been a complete stagnation of the water in the tank, and a consequent increase in the amount of carbon dioxide, especially in the lower levels, till it had reached a lethal concentration and so had poisoned the inhabitants. It is clear then that, at any rate in this instance, the ultimate cause of the mortality of the fauna of the tank must be laid at the door of the meteorological conditions and it seems not improbable that the annual mortality, to which I have referred above, is to be attributed to the same cause.

I have found that a study of the meteorological conditions is equally essential in any investigation into the conditions under which the marine fauna lives in Indian seas. As a result of several years' work regarding the conditions of the surface water throughout the whole width of Indian seas from the Maldive Islands on the West to the coast of Burma on the East I have found that continual changes are taking place, especially as regards the salinity. In addition to the seasonal changes, that are due to the alternation of the wet and dry seasons and the effects of the two monsoons, there is evidence that long period oscillations, of the nature of "seiches", the time-period depending on the size and shape of the sea basin and the salinity of the sea water, are, at any rate at certain seasons of the year present in the deeper layers of the ocean and that these are continually bringing up, from considerable depths to near the surface, masses of water that have a higher salinity than the normal surface water. These long period oscillations in the surface salinity have time periods of approximately 28 days in the Arabian Sea, 10 days in the Laccadive Sea, 15 to 16 days in the Bay of Bengal, in which the type of "seiche" appears to be a bi-nodal one, 18 to 19 days in the Andaman Sea and $2\frac{1}{2}$ days in the Gulf

of Mannar. These are almost certainly due to seiches, and in addition, there is evidence of a transverse "seiche", also binodal in character, across the Bay of Bengal, having a time period of $5\frac{1}{2}$ days. At the culminating phase of each swing there is a mixture of surface water with deeper and more saline water and this causes a rise in the salinity of the surface-water itself that has a profound effect on the fauna. Corresponding to the rise and fall of salinity we get the appearance on the surface of shoals of organisms, sometimes of the one kind and sometimes of another; in some instances the shoals consists almost entirely of Salps, in others of small crustacea, such as *Lucifer*, while in yet others we get enormous numbers of a large Rhizostomous Medusa. Superposed on these long period oscillations of salinity we get a double diurnal oscillation in the salinity, that also appears to be, brought about by an upwelling from some depth below the surface, probably from as great a depth as 50 to 100 fathoms, of water that is usually more saline than the surface water itself; and, accompanying this double oscillation in the salinity during the course of the day, I find that there is evidence pointing to very definite changes in the Plancton of the surface levels. Many of you are doubtless familiar with the so-called "vertical migration" of the Plancton, that has been shown to occur in European waters and in other Temperate seas, a migration that is usually attributed to the activity of these minute animals themselves. Personally I am profoundly sceptical regarding the possibility of these small organisms being able to make their way, in the time available, through the immense columns of water between the levels from and to which they are said to migrate, in some cases as much as 200 fathoms. In Indian waters, so far as my experience goes, this alteration of level at which the planctonic organisms occur appears to take place, not as in temperate waters at periods corresponding to day and night, but twice a day at times that correspond roughly to the changes in the barometric pressure. In the case of the small Crustacea and especially the Copepoda, small crustacean larvae, *Sagitta* and similar small animals, we get their appearance on the surface in large numbers at about 10 a.m. and again at 5 to 6 in the evening, while there is a marked diminution

in their numbers or even a complete absence at 1 to 2 p.m. This appearance and disappearance of these organisms shows little or no relationship to the rise and fall of the tide but appears to agree with the times of upwelling of the water from the deeper strata. Now, the ultimate causation of this oscillation in the sea water, in both the case of the long-period seiche and the diurnal upwelling, is to be found in the meteorological conditions that prevail over the open waters. With each succeeding monsoon there is an alteration in the direction of the wind; during the south-west monsoon the wind blows steadily towards the north-east and during the north-east monsoon it blows in exactly the opposite direction; in consequence of this alternation the surface waters are piled up first on one side of the various basins and then on the other, and as soon as the wind ceases the water tends to flow back to its proper level and thus the to-and-fro swing of the deeper stratum is set in motion. Similarly, during each twenty-four hours the rise and fall of the barometer is accompanied by a fall and rise of the strength of the wind, in consequence of which the surface water at the times of low barometric pressure is blown away and water from below wells up to the surface to take its place. We thus have large masses of water constantly in a state of movement and with each period of upwelling, planctonic organisms from below make their appearance on the surface, only to disappear again as the wind drops and the water again sinks back to its normal level. In Indian waters it seems highly probable, then, that the "migration" of the plancton is in reality at any rate in the main a "translation" and is not an active process.

I think I need go no further in emphasising the extreme importance, therefore, of carrying our researches far beyond the hard and fast limits of strict zoology; and it is clear that, in order to complete our investigations regarding the Indian Fauna, we must, each one of us, take a wide view and carry on researches simultaneously into the fauna and the general conditions under which it lives, even to the extent of taking observations on meteorology. Whether in the future such researches will be carried out, and it is only such researches that should be considered adequate, will depend

on you who are listening to me to-day. It behoves us, therefore, to pause for a moment and consider what is to come in the future; and I ask you the age-long question "Quo vadis?" for, it is to you, the Professors, Lecturers, Demonstrators and Advanced Students of Zoology in our Universities and Colleges throughout India, that we must look for an answer. The teaching of Zoology throughout this country now rests absolutely in the hands of you Indians yourselves; in most, if not in all, the numerous colleges there is a department of Zoology, more or less well-equipped and with an ever increasing number of students; and I ask you "what type of trained zoologist are you

turning out?" Are your students being trained by you in the broadest principles of Zoology such as I have indicated? As the late Dr. Annandale remarked before this session of the Indian Science Congress in 1922, "Applied Zoology should be and perhaps some day may become the great philanthropic agent of the world"; but this great ideal will never be attained in this country unless your students are learning at your hands an enthusiasm for their subject that will enable them throughout their whole life to devote themselves whole-heartedly to its study. Only by so doing can you and they hope to raise Zoology to the high level at which we all wish to see it.

SOME CELEBRITIES

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

RAMKRISHNA PARAMHANSA

IN 1881 Keshub Chandra Sen, accompanied by a fairly large party, went on board a steam yacht belonging to his son-in-law, Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup of Kuch Behar, to Dakshineswar to meet Ramkrishna Paramhansa. I had the good fortune to be included in that party. We did not land, but the Paramhansa, accompanied by his nephew Hriday, who brought a basket of parched rice (মুড়ি) and some *sandesh* for us, boarded the steamer which steamed up the river towards Somra. The Paramhansa was wearing a red bordered *dhoti* and a shirt which was not buttoned. We all stood up as he came on board and Keshub took the Paramhansa by the hand and made him sit close to him. Keshub then beckoned to me to come and sit near them and I sat down almost touching their feet. The Paramhansa was dark-complexioned, kept a beard, and his eyes never opened very wide and were introspective. He was of medium height, slender almost to leanness and very frail-looking. As a matter of fact, he had an exceptionally nervous temperament, and was extremely sensitive to the slightest physical pain. He spoke with a very slight but

charming stammer in very plain Bengali, mixing the two "yous" (আপনি and তুমি) frequently. All the talking was practically done by the Paramhansa, and the rest, including Keshub himself, were respectful and eager listeners. It is now more than forty-five years ago that this happened and yet almost everything that the Paramhansa said is indelibly impressed on my memory. I have never heard any other man speak as he did. It was an unbroken flow of profound spiritual truths and experiences welling up from the perennial spring of his own devotion and wisdom. The similes and metaphors, the apt illustrations, were as striking as they were original. At times as he spoke he would draw a little closer to Keshub until part of his body was unconsciously resting in Keshub's lap, but Keshub sat perfectly still and made no movement to withdraw himself.

After he had sat down the Paramhansa glanced round him and expressed his approval of the company sitting around by saying, "বেশ বেশ! বেশ সব পটলচেরা চোখ (Good, good: They have all good large eyes)." Then he peered at a young man wearing English clothes and sitting at a distance on

a capstan. "উনি কে? ঠেকে সাহেব সাহেব দেখছি!" (Who is that? He looks like a Saheb.) Keshub smilingly explained that it was a young Bengali who had just returned from England. The Paramhansa laughed, "তাই বল মশাই, সাহেব দেখলে ভয় করে কি না! (That's right. One feels afraid of a Saheb)." The young man was Kumar Gajendra Narayan of Kuch Behar, who shortly afterwards married Keshub's second daughter. The next moment he lost all interest in the people present and began to speak of the various ways in which he used to perform his *sadhana*. "Sometimes I would fancy myself the Brahminy duck calling for its mate (আমি ডাক্তুম চকা খার অমনি আমার ভিতর থেকে রা আস্ত চকি)!" There is a poetic tradition in Sanscrit that the male and female of a brace of Brahminy ducks spend the night on the opposite shores of a river and keep calling to each other. Again, "I would be the kitten calling for the mother cat and there would be the response of the mother (আমি বলতুম মিউ আর যেন ধাড়ি বেরাল বলত য়াও)." After speaking in this strain for some time he suddenly pulled himself up and said with the smile of a child, "জান মশাই, গোপন সাধনার সব কথা বলতে নেই! (Everything about secret *sadhana* should not be told)." He explained that it was impossible to express in language the ecstasy of divine communion when the human soul loses itself in the contemplation of the deity. Then he looked at some of the faces around him and spoke at length on the indications of character by physiognomy. Every feature of the human face was expressive of some particular trait of character. The eyes were the most important but all other features, the forehead, the ears, the nose, the lips and the teeth were helpful in the reading of character. And so the marvellous monologue went on until the Paramhansa began to speak of the Nirakara (formless) Brahman. "ওই যে নিরাকার রূপ তারই ধারণা চাই (the manifestation of the Formless has to be realised)." He repeated the word Nirakara two or three times and then quietly passed into *samadhi* as the diver slips into the fathomless deep. While the Paramhansa remained unconscious Keshub Chunder Sen explained that recently there

had been some conversation between himself and the Paramhansa about the Nirakara Brahman and the Paramhansa appeared to be profoundly moved.

We intently watched Ramkrishna Paramhansa in *samadhi*. The whole body relaxed and then became slightly rigid. There was no twitching of the muscles or nerves, no movement of any limb. Both his hands lay in his lap with the fingers lightly interlooked. The sitting posture of the body (আসন) was easy, but absolutely motionless. The face was slightly tilted up and in repose. The eyes were nearly but not wholly closed. The eyeballs were not turned up or other-wise deflected, but they were fixed and conveyed no message of outer objects to the brain. The lips were parted in a beatific and indescribable smile, disclosing the gleam of the white teeth. There was something in that wonderful smile which no photograph was ever able to reproduce.

We gazed in silence for several minutes at the motionless form of the Paramhansa and then Trailokya Nath Sanyal, the singing apostle of Keshub Chunder Sen's church, sang a hymn to the accompaniment of a drum and cymbals (খোল করতাল). As the music swelled in volume the Paramhansa opened his eyes and looked around him as if he were in a strange place. The music stopped. The Paramhansa looking at us said, "এরা সব কারা? (Who are these people)?" And then he vigorously slapped the top of his head several times, and cried out, "নেবে যা! নেবে যা! (Go down, go down)!" No one made any mention of the trance. The Paramhansa became fully conscious and sang in a pleasant voice, "শ্রীমা মা কি কল করেছে, কালী মা কি কল করেছে! (What a wonderful machine Kali the Mother has made)!" After the song the Paramhansa gave a luminous exposition as to how the voice should be trained to singing and the characteristics of a good voice.

It was fairly late in the evening when we returned to Calcutta after landing the Paramhansa at Dakshineswar. No carriages could be had at Ahiritola Ghat and Keshub had to walk all the way to Musjidbari Street to the house of Kali Charan Banerji, who had invited him to dinner.

It has to be mentioned that some time

after this incident I went to see "M", a devout disciple and follower of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and the well-known compiler of the sayings and teachings of the Paramhansa. I am related to "M" and I urged him to go and see the remarkable holy man at Dakshineswar. "M" first saw the Paramhansa in 1882, and he reminded me the other day in Calcutta how this came about at my suggestion.

The Paramhansa died in 1886. That was the third year of my stay at Karachi, but just about that time I happened to be in Calcutta. I followed the bier of the Paramhansa to the burning-ghat. All the disciples, including Vivekananda, were there and Trailokya Nath Sanyal was also present.

THE KUCH BEHAR MARRIAGE.

Keshub Chander Sen's eldest daughter was married to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar in 1878, and I well remember the ferment that the event created in Calcutta among the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Some of the leading members of the Samaj and the majority of the members of the Brahmo Samaj of India protested against the marriage on the ground that Keshub's daughter had not attained the age of fourteen, the minimum marriageable age for Brahmo girls. The Bengal Government, which had arranged the marriage, would not agree to the ceremony being deferred, and Keshub in spite of all protests, agreed to the proposal of the Government. In justification of the step he was taking Keshub declared that he had received an *adesh*, or an express commandment from God. Between the oppositionists and the remnant of the followers of Keshub there was a keen struggle for the possession of the *Mandir* on Mechuabazar Street.

Keshub's followers retained possession of the building by calling in the police to their assistance, and shortly afterwards the Sadharan Brahma Samaj house of prayer was erected on Cornwallis Street. I remember quite well the building of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir after the split in the Indian Brahmo Samaj following the Kuch Behar marriage. Nearly fifty years have gone by since the Kuch Behar Marriage, and the world may judge for itself whether the marriage with its harvest and aftermath had direct divine sanction.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

Of Keshub Chunder Sen's greatness, of his graciousness and charm of manner, all who

had the privilege of coming in contact with him had only one opinion. He was a strikingly handsome man with a fairly tall and full figure, and he could never be mistaken for an ordinary man. As an orator I have never met his peer, and I have heard many Indian, English and American orators. The characteristic feature of his oratory was that he held himself always in easy command: there was hardly any gesticulation and he would sometimes thrill his audience by lifting a finger. His voice was of such power and compass, albeit smooth and silvery in its flow, that it filled the Town Hall of Calcutta almost without an effort. He rarely gave way to emotion, but on one occasion tears streamed from his eyes while delivering one of his annual addresses at the Town Hall. The subject was "Am I an inspired Prophet?" As an orator in Bengali I have heard no one else sway his hearers as he did. In the last Bengali address that he delivered in the Beadon Garden in Calcutta I noticed a hostile element, consisting of a number of Vaishnavas, who were scoffing at him loudly before he began to speak, and yet those very men were so carried away by the orator's appeal that they shouted "Hari Bol" and rolled on the grass in an ecstasy of emotion and admiration.

Keshub had a fine sense of humour. For some time he used to hold a theological class in the Albert Hall on Saturdays, and the audience was composed of advanced college students, professors, and others, with a sprinkling of Europeans. A glass of water was usually placed before the speaker. One day a young man who had been sitting in front of Keshub close to the table and had been looking up with rapt admiration at the speaker quietly raised the glass of water and drank it off as soon as Keshub had finished his lecture and resumed his seat. Keshub quietly smiled and said in Bengali, "I thought speaking for a long time made a man rather thirsty, but I now see that listening to a speech is also thirsty work."

Whether Keshub Chunder Sen will take high and permanent rank among the religious reformers of India time alone will determine. In spite of his great powers he was considerably hampered by the cares and burden of a large family. After his death I wrote a booklet in English which attracted the favourable attention of some men of note and was considered worthy of notice by the Bengal Government. But a young

man's enthusiasm is not always worth much and time is the truest appraiser. As regards the eclectic church founded by Keshub Chunder Sen and known as the New Dispensation, it has not made much headway in the forty odd years that have passed after the death of the founder. Still the country will always cherish the memory of Keshub Chunder Sen as that of a great man endowed with high gifts and who upheld the truth as he saw it.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJI

Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who was a Deputy Magistrate and one of the first two graduates of the Calcutta University, was staying, in 1882, on leave in a house on Bowbazar Street. Afterwards, when he was appointed assistant secretary to the Government of Bengal, he lived in another house on the same street. The first time I saw him was in the company of Devendranath Sen, my brother-in-law and a well-known Bengali poet, and afterwards I used to accompany Sris Chandra Majumdar, the Bengali novelist, to Bankim's house. Rakhal Chandra Banerji, Bankim's son-in-law, was also a great friend of mine, and he used to take me some times to see his father-in-law. Among others, I saw Bankim's brother Sanjiva Chandra Chatterji, Chandra Nath Bose and Rajkrishna Mukerji. Bankim was usually a reticent and reserved man, and though we heard that he discussed literature and other important subjects with his intimate friends we heard him usually in light conversation, or chaffing one of his friends. But the earnestness of his nature was apparent even to young observers like us. Every young aspirant in Bengali literature had easy access to him and he had a kind word of encouragement for all, though during the four years that he edited the famous *Bangadarshan* he was a terror to writers of indifferent books. His face and head were of the finest Brahminical type. The head was beautifully moulded with a broad, but not high forehead, with greying hair curling uncared for on the head. The eyes were keen and light brown, the nose prominent and aquiline, the lips thin and close pressed over small teeth, while the chin and the lower jaw were firm and distinctly combative. There are few likenesses of this great writer and in these few the head

longed to a bare-headed race, but there is hardly one good portrait in Bengali costume. Jyotirindranath Tagore, who made a great hobby of phrenology for several years and who had as great skill with the pencil as with the pen, once made pencil sketches of the heads of Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and published them side by side in the *Balak* magazine, with comments on indications of character as disclosed by the heads of these two great men. I think it would be well worth while to rescue this study of Bankim's head from the files of the extinct periodical, to enlarge it and to place it in some prominent place. Quite apart from Bankim's place in Bengali literature, every Indian would like to view a likeness of the head of the man who composed the "Bande Mataram" song. When India will become a nation in her own right these words will be found blazoned on the entrance of the national Parliament.

There was a very remarkable controversy in the columns of the *Statesman* newspaper between Bankim Chandra Chatterji and the Rev. Dr. W. Hastie, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, about certain features of the Hindu religion. Bankim, who wrote under the name of "Ram Sarma", was a master of dialectics and English prose, and had the better of the argument. So impressed was Dr. Hastie by the vigour of Bankim's language and his scholarship that he offered to introduce his name to European savants if he would disclose his identity. Bankim proudly replied that Dr. Hastie had mistaken his man. "Ram Sarma" was not anxious for an honour which he did not deserve and might not prize, and that he was perfectly content with the approbation of a whole people. This was a clear clue to the writer's identity. Bankim himself made no secret of the authorship of the letters and Dr. Hastie learned very soon that he had to deal with a man who needed no introduction at his hands.

Up to the last Bankim took the keenest interest in Bengali literature and new writers, and I had my share of his generous appreciation of some of my Bengali writings, though I had no opportunity of expressing to him my gratitude. When he died, in 1894 in his house in Calcutta opposite the Medical College I was in Calcutta, but he was unconscious when I called to see him.

mercifully and swiftly. At Nimtola Ghat I saw the tranquil and serene features of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in the final peace of death. There was no change of any kind and it looked so much like natural sleep that it was difficult to realise that the Great Change had come over this gifted son of India. As I stood looking for the last time at the departed Master the reality of the lines of the poet was borne in upon me :—

"How wonderful is Death
Death and his brother Sleep!"

Three personalities of exceptional strength appeared in Bengal in the nineteenth century, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Vivekananda. The first two passed away in the closing years of the century, while Swami Vivekananda had barely crossed the threshold of the twentieth century when he was called away to his rest.

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

Dwijendranath Tagore was the eldest son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and lived to the great age of 87. I first saw him at the ancestral house in Jorasanko, Calcutta. He was just a little over forty years of age, tall, bearded, with a full habit of body, earnest, clear eyes and a wonderful charm of manner. It is rarely that we find such an intellect as his, acute, versatile and original. Omar Khayyam was a great poet as well as an astronomer, but after all stargazing is not far removed from poesy, but who would believe Euclid capable of composing the *Iliad*? And yet Dwijendranath Tagore was as much at home in the forbidding domain of abstruse mathematics as in the perplexing maze of philosophy, or in the ethereal empyrean of poesy. As if this was not sufficient to prove the lavishness of the gifts of nature, Dwijendranath had genius even in his fingers, in the intricate and artistic folding of a missive, in making note books without the help of thread or needle, in making magical boxes out of common paper! His great poetical work *Swapnaprayan* (স্বপ্নপ্রয়াণ) has never been properly appreciated, but that is the loss of the reading public. Serious students who have read the book carefully find that the memory is haunted by the melody of many verses while the grandeur of others is indisputable. His fitting metrical translation of *Meghduta* is a

work of fine art. Not less notable is his contribution to philosophical literature. He felt a simple pleasure in reading out to his visitors the latest work on which he happened to be engaged and of course many of them were flabbergasted. Once his youngest brother Rabindranath and myself were passing his room and I expressed a desire to see Dwijendranath. Rabindranath with a look of mock horror on his face said, "If Bara Dada gets hold of you now, you will be done for!" Dwijendranath was then absorbed in working out a new geometry distinct from that of Euclid, and if I had entered his room he would have at once commenced to explain his new discovery to my very unmathematic intelligence. Needless to say, I took his brother's warning at once!

Dwijendranath Tagore's nature had the transparency and simplicity of a child, and while nature had endowed him prodigally with her gifts, the world left him severely alone and gave him no share of its wisdom. On one occasion he was sent to his father's landed estate, and when the ryots approached him with tales of distress he granted remissions of revenue with both hands with the result that the rent-roll was considerably reduced that year. That experiment was not tried again. He was so generous that on one occasion when some one came to him for help he gave away the silver *pandan* (ফেঁটী) lying in front of him, saying he had nothing else to give at that time. His Homeric laughter, his heartiness, and the utter absence of self-consciousness endeared him to all who knew him. With advancing age physical frailty supervened, but his remarkable intellect remained as bright as ever and his interest in affairs never flagged. In the closing years of his life he was keenly interested in Mahatma Gandhi's movement and frequently corresponded with him. Mahatma Gandhi called him "Bara Dada" and wrote about him publicly in terms of high appreciation and regard.

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE

I had seen Satyendranath Tagore, the second son of Maharshi Devendranath, in Bombay, but I came to know him personally in Calcutta and met him frequently while he was President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was the first Indian to enter

the Indian Civil Service by the partially open door of limited competition in England, but unlike other Bengali Civilians he never took to the English costume and always put on the headdress known as the *Pirally pugree*. At the Parishad I found him always wearing the usual Bengali dress. He was very modest and unassuming. His hymns and his book on Bombay bear evidence of his literary gifts.

JYOTIRINDRANATH TAGORE

The fifth brother, Jyotirindranath Tagore, was one of the handsomest men of his time. Jyotirindranath was a man of many accomplishments. He was a linguist of a high order and was deeply versed in French literature. He was a fine musician and could play admirably upon several instruments. As a dramatist he takes high rank in Bengali literature and there was a time when his classical and historical plays attracted crowded houses in Bengali theatres in Calcutta and his songs were sung everywhere. As mentioned already, he was greatly interested in phrenology at the time when I first knew him and it was not long before I had personal experience of his skill. My cousin Jnanendranath and myself were at the Jorasanko house one morning when Jyotirindranath invited us to give him a sitting. He first made a rapid and accurate pencil sketch of our heads and then proceeded to feel our bumps, jotting down the result of his examination in a note book. His reading of the propensities of our minds by the help of the protuberances on our skulls was exceedingly gratifying to ourselves, though the philosophic vein that he detected in my cousin's cranium must have had reference to his equableness of temper and simplicity of character. Latterly, Jyotirindranath used to live at Ranchi where one of my sons interviewed him and was received with great cordiality. Jyotirindranath retained his literary activities up to the end of his life.

SWARNA KUMARI DEVI

Along with her gifted brothers Swarna Kumari Devi has achieved considerable distinction as a writer of fiction and poetry. She edited the *Bharati* magazine for a number of years and her output of literary work has been considerable. I sometimes visited her and her husband J. Ghosal at the Kashiabagan garden house and she came to

us when I was staying with my people in Calcutta in 1894. I have seen her recently, and though well advanced in years she still keeps a bright outlook on life. Her daughter Sarala Devi, who was married to the late Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhuri of Lahore, is well known both in literature and politics, and is intimately known to us and we have met frequently in Calcutta, Lahore and Bombay.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rabindranath Tagore was just twenty years old when I first met him and we have been friends ever since. It was the beautiful bond of literature that cemented our friendship. His figure and features are now familiar to the whole world. At that time he was a tall, slender young man with finely chiselled features. He wore his hair long, curled down his back and had a short beard. He had been to England and had read for some time with Henry Morley, who formed a high opinion of his English prose, but on his return to India Rabindranath occupied himself entirely with literary work in Bengali and, as he himself has said, he wrote nothing in English for many years afterwards. But his reading of English literature covered a wide range. Two of his early lyrical works, *Sandhya Sangit* and *Prabhat Sangit*, had just been published. He was doing all the editorial work of the Bengali magazine *Bharati*, though the name of his eldest brother, Dwijendranath Tagore, appeared as Editor. I met Rabindranath frequently at the house of Preo Nath Sen, at his own house in Jorasanko and at our house in Grey Street. When Surendranath Banerjea came out of jail a meeting to welcome him was held in the grounds of Free Church College as it was then called, on Nimitola Ghat Street. One of the speakers was Asutosh Mukerji, at that time a student in the Presidency College and afterwards famous as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. With the enthusiasm which is becoming in a student, Asutosh spoke of Surendranath as "our illustrious leader." Rabindranath was also present by invitation and after the speech-making was over had to sing a song in response to persistent calls. Who in that gathering of students and others could have then dreamed that the young singer of that afternoon would in

the years to come make more than a royal progress through the world and every capital in Asia and Europe would listen to his spoken word with the reverence due a prophet?

Rabindranath frequently read out his freshly composed poems to me. Once he brought one of his best known dramas, which he had just written, and we read it together. The final incident in the play did not seem to me to be in keeping with the spirit of the drama and I told him so. He said his Bara Dada was of the same opinion and he changed the concluding part before sending the book to the press. We had a sort of a friendly Literary Society which met occasionally at the houses of friends. We met once at Akrur Dutt Street in the house in which the Savitri Library was located and there was another meeting at Rabindranath's house. We used to have animated discussions on literary subjects, but the inner man was not neglected and ample refreshments were always provided.

Rabindranath was very generous, though at this time he had no independent income of his own and only received an allowance from his father. One evening while we were sitting together in his house a visitor was announced. Rabindranath was greatly put out and explained to me that the visitor was related to a collateral branch of the family. He was in the habit of pestering Rabindranath for help and had been helped with money on various occasions. The man was a wastrel and Rabindranath was unwilling to meet him. He made a movement as if to leave the room, but I told him that the best way to meet the situation was to tell the importunate visitor that he could not expect any further help. Rabindranath accepted my suggestion and the visitor was shown in. Finding a third person present in the room he did not venture to ask for money and left after a few minutes.

Men of genius have their eccentricities, but Rabindranath, brought up in an atmosphere of an admirable discipline, was free from all vagaries. His abstemiousness was almost Spartan. He has been all his life a very small eater and has never smoked. The ways of Bohemia had no attractions for him. For some months he would not wear a shirt and came several times to my house wearing only a dhuti and covering himself with a *chadar* of long cloth. He wore shoes very rarely, and mostly went

about in slippers, which he liked the better the quainter they were. I remember having sent him some Sindhi slippers from Karachi, but these proved to be so attractive that some one else deprived him of them.

Only once Bohemia tugged at him fiercely. Rabindranath conceived an idea of walking all the way from Calcutta to Peshwar by the Grand Trunk Road. He was quite excited and earnest about it. He said two or three friends would join him, they would travel very light, carry very little money with them and would march all day and take their chance for a resting place at night. The idea never actually materialised and gradually fizzled out, and the proposed great hike remained an unwritten epic.

Rabindranath's fine humour is frequently apparent in his writings, but I remember one incident which he used to relate as a young man. Rabindranath had criticised some book or some writer and shortly afterwards some one came and told him with portentous gravity that another man, who was a B. A. of the Calcutta University, was preparing a crushing rejoinder to Rabindranath. As the poet himself was neither a graduate nor even an undergraduate, this tremendous announcement was calculated to overwhelm him, and it certainly did, but not quite in the manner his informant had expected. I once took Rabindranath to the house of Babu Ramtanu Lahiri in Calcutta. Rabindranath sang a few songs and Ramtanu Babu was highly delighted and thanked the young poet earnestly.

I was present at Rabindranath's marriage. He sent me a characteristic invitation in which he wrote that his intimate relative Rabindranath Tagore was to be married—
“আমার পরম আত্মীয় শ্রীমান্ রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুরের শুভ বিবাহ হইবে।” The marriage took place in Rabindranath's own house and was a very quiet affair, only a few friends being present.

BEHARI LAL CHAKRAVARTI

Behari Lal Chakravarti, the well-known Bengali poet, never had a large circle of admirers, though his verse was mellifluous and the language was finely chiselled. When I first met him I had just passed my teens and he was well advanced in middle age. Behari Lal did not know much of English but he had read a good deal of Sanskrit

literature and poetry. His *Saradamangal* will find a permanent place in Bengali literature, and the lyrical cry and the lilt of his verse will appeal to cultured readers. We became very intimate and met frequently. With the eccentricity characteristic of genius Behari Lal would sometimes come to our house at a late hour at night and remain chatting till nearly midnight. His interests were not wide and he did not concern himself with public affairs, but he was a genial, open-hearted man, hearty and bluff of manner, and full of an old-world courtesy.

PREO NATH SEN

Preo Nath Sen was some years older than myself, but he strongly attracted young people interested in literature. I met him first in 1881 and retained his valued friendship to the end of his life. He should have become a solicitor, but he was so deeply absorbed in literature that he never passed the examination necessary to qualify him for that profession. He did not do much creative work and has left no literary works behind him, but literature was to him the very breath of life. He was a bibliophile in the best sense of the word and his literary judgment was wonderfully keen and accurate. He had one of the finest libraries I have seen and not a week passed in, which he did not add to his collection of books. And he read every book that he bought. As a linguist I have not met his equal, not because of the number of languages he knew but the ease with which he acquired a new language. A biglot dictionary, a grammar of the new language, and in a few months Preo Nath would be reading books in a new language. Of course, the correct enunciation of the words of a new language cannot be learned in this manner but this is a small detail when the object is to read books and not to speak the language. When I first saw him Preo Nath could read French and Italian in the original and subsequently learned other European languages. Persian he learned last and I borrowed from him a splendid edition of Hafiz's poems with an English translation. His books had encroached upon every available space in his house. Besides the almirahs and shelves in the inner portion of the house his sitting room, which contained no furniture, was full of books, which were stacked under the windows and over-

flowed into the verandah. With all his great love for books, he readily lent them not only to his friends but even to slight acquaintances. I must have read hundreds of books from his library and this gave him great pleasure. Among his constant visitors were Rabindranath Tagore, Behari Lal Chakravarti, Devendranath Sen and many others. It was in deference to his unfavorable opinion that Rabindranath Tagore withdrew one of his early works from circulation and it has never been reprinted. In almost every case Preo Nath's literary judgment was sound and he was invariably candid and outspoken. His favourite author was Swinburne and he carefully collected every line of prose and verse that the English poet ever wrote.

Most of the men who used to meet at the house of Preo Nath Sen to discuss literature have passed away. Rabindranath Tagore and myself are still left to cherish his memory and recall his fine character.

A SHAKESPEARE PLAY

It was some time in the early eighties that Herr Bandmann, a well-known actor, visited Calcutta, accompanied by a troupe of artists. As the name indicates, Bandmann was a German naturalised in England and spoke English without an accent. He had the reputation of being a clever Shakespeare actor and though not an interpreter of the rank of Sir Henry Irving, he drew crowded houses in Calcutta by staging some Shakespeare plays at the Corinthian Theatre on Dhurumtolah Street. I went to see *Macbeth* performed by his company. The cream of Calcutta society was there and I saw Keshub Chunder Sen and Bankim Chandra Chatterji in the audience keenly following the play. Herr Bandmann himself appeared in the role of *Macbeth*. He was a splendid looking man, big and blond as a Viking, with a finely modulated voice and a consummate power of producing stage effect. In the murder scene in which *Macbeth* appears, trembling and shrinking, holding in his shaking hand the poniard red with the life-blood of King Duncan, and Lady *Macbeth* reproaches him for his fearfulness, the whole house was thrilled by the realism of the acting and the intensity of the horror. The footlights had been turned down, leaving the stage in comparative darkness, but a

stream of light from the wings was skilfully turned upon the two figures on the stage, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, and played upon their features with a startling effect. The poniard in the hand of Macbeth had a hollow handle filled with a few metal pellets and tinkled faintly as the hand of the actor shook. The eyes, wide and wild with terror, were roving in every direction, while the hands and the whole body quivered as an aspen leaf.

Lady Macbeth stood at a little distance, cool and cynical, flashing contempt from her magnificent eyes at her husband, unmanned by the bloody deed he had done. We realised to the full the penetrative power of a stage whisper when Macbeth said:—

"Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore
Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!"

The voice was no louder than a quaking whisper, but it ran like a long-drawn sibilant hiss through the remotest parts of the theatre and every word was as distinctly heard as if it had been shouted out. Again, when the actor cried,

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather

The multitudinous seas incarnadine
Making the green one red."
and spread out his palm with utter hopelessness stamped on his face, it was a great gesture of tragic despair.

In the sleep-walking scene Lady Macbeth, lighted taper in hand, somnambulist, with her eyes wide open, glassy, and without a flicker of the eyelids, was very dramatic. As she put down the light and rubbed her hands as if washing them, she declaimed,

"Here's the smell of the blood still :
All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten
this little hand.
Oh! Oh! Oh!"

The opening words were uttered in the colourless monotone of a person talking in

sleep, but when the final exclamation was reached and repeated three times, the voice of the actress rose to a crescendo of agonised despair and brought down the house in repeated rounds of tempestuous applause.

AMATEUR THEATRICALS

A few months later some of us decided to stage the Merchant of Venice. Among the young enthusiasts who took part in the play were Karuna, the eldest son of Keshub Chunder Sen, Sarat, the youngest son of Tarak Chandra Sircar, the well-known leading partner of the firm of Messrs. Kerr Tarruck & Co., a son of Peary Charan Sircar, and several others. The double parts of Shylock and Lancelot Gobbo were assigned to me. We zealously memorised our parts and vigorously rehearsed and attitudinized at home before our astonished and scandalised young relations. One evening we were having a rehearsal at the house of Tarak Chandra Sircar in Beadon Street in Sarat's room. Some one was declaiming his part with appropriate gesticulation when the door was quietly opened and in came Bankim Chandra Chatterji accompanied by the master of the house! The actor's voice and hand were arrested abruptly at full speed, and the rest of us stood promptly at attention looking sheepish and scared. Bankim smiled and said, "তোমাদের কি হচ্ছে আমরা কি একটু শুনতে পাইনে?"

(Cannot we hear a little of what you are doing?) We stammered and became apologetic and tongue-tied. Bankim passed out of the room with a word of encouragement. We produced the play at Lily Cottage, Keshub Chunder Sen's house on the Upper Circular Road, on a stage which had been prepared for নব ব্রন্দাবন (Nava Brindavan), a play written in connection with the New Dispensation and in which Keshub himself had played a leading part. There was a fairly large audience and our presentation of the play was well received.

WHY MODERN CHRISTIANITY IS ABANDONING MIRACLES

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

WHEN Christianity came into the world, and for sixteen or seventeen hundred years thereafter, that is until the birth of modern science, there seemed nothing essentially unreasonable about a miracle, because it

was not known that the world was governed by orderly processes. With the discovery of Kepler's laws of planetary motion, however, and Newton's law of gravity, and all the other revelations of modern science which

followed, the universe came to assume to men an entirely new aspect. It was not only vastly enlarged, but into it was brought a unity which previously men had known nothing about; namely, the unity of all-pervading, all-governing law. The coming in of this new conception of necessity gave a staggering blow to miracles, although previously few had thought of doubting them.

Indeed in the ages before the scientific conception of nature came on the scene, why should men have doubted? Their fathers before them believed. They had a vast amount of evidence, which in those unscientific and uncritical ages seemed to them good, to prove that the miraculous occurred. The existence of miracles perfectly accorded with what they supposed to be God's method of governing the universe; namely, by direct, personal, arbitrary volition. Why therefore should not the men of those times have believed in miracles? For them not to have done so would itself have been a miracle.

But, with the rise of the new conception of the universe which modern science and knowledge have brought about, all has changed. When it is understood that God works everywhere according to law, miracles disappear,—there is no longer any place for them. They would be breaks, interferences with established order, the coming of discord into a great harmony. Hence the phenomenon which we see in Christian lands to-day,—namely, much distrust of miracles among intelligent minds even in the most orthodox churches; while outside such churches, especially among scientists, scholars, and men of reading and independent thinking, there is almost universal relegation of them to a place among the superstitions of the past.

But, if thoughtful men are coming more and more to look upon miracles as not credible, they are also coming to see that they are not necessary to religion.

The claim has been stoutly made in the past that the miracles of the Bible are a proof of the truth of Christianity. That claim is fast weakening: thoughtful minds are seeing that there is no necessary connection between physical miracles and moral truth. If it were demonstrated that every miracle reported in the Old Testament or the New actually happened, or a hundred times as many, that fact would not prove the truth or the untruth of any ethical or

spiritual teaching found in the Bible. If the religious teachings of Jesus are true, they are true; if we grant that he wrought miracles, that does not make them any more true; or, if we think he did not work miracles, that does not make them any less true. Suppose I should say to you that hate is better than love, and then should work a miracle,—for instance, the turning of this pencil into a serpent,—would that prove it true that hate is better than love? Or suppose I should turn a thousand pencils into serpents, or work a thousand other miracles, would they all combined have anything whatever to do with proving that hate is better than love? Jesus said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Was that true? Why? Because he wrought miracles? Suppose he had not wrought miracles, would it not have been just as true that it is more blessed to give than to receive? Do the Beatitudes rest upon miracles? Does the Lord's Prayer? Does the Golden Rule? These illustrations help us to see that moral and religious teachings, whether in the Bible or outside of it, in the very nature of the case are unaffected by any supposed miracles.

The abler and fairer minded of the theologians themselves see this absence of connection between physical marvel-working and the establishment of moral or spiritual truth, and try to bridge over the chasm in this way: They say that he who works miracles must get his power so to do from God. But God would not give a man such power unless the man were good and truthful. When therefore the men of the Bible come to us teaching certain things and at the same time working miracles, we are obliged to believe what they teach, because the miracles are, as it were, God's credentials,—God's indorsement of their truthfulness.

This reasoning might have some plausibility, were it not for the fact that it is founded altogether upon assumptions. In the first place, it is an assumption to say that he who works miracles must get his power to do so from God. Our friends who make this argument themselves believe both in a devil and in angels. How, then, do they know but that this super-human power through which the miracle-working is done comes from either the devil or else from some good or bad angel? When Moses and Aaron went before Pharaoh and performed

the miracle of turning Aaron's rod into a serpent, hoping thus to influence the monarch to let the children of Israel go; we read that Pharaoh called in his wise men and magicians, and they did exactly the same miracle: they threw down their rods as Aaron had thrown down his, and their rods, too, became every one a serpent. Our theological friends would hardly claim this to have proved that these Egyptian miracle-workers were good and truthful men, to whose religious teachings God gave sanction or indorsement by thus empowering them to work their miracles.

Balaam was not a very good or truthful person, or one on whose utterance it would be safe to put much dependence, though he is represented as uttering one of the most miraculous predictions in the Bible. Both in the Old Testament and in the New we have accounts of miracles wrought by men who are anything but good or truthful. Jesus himself says (Matt., xxiv., 24): "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and they shall show great signs and wonders" to deceive men. Again he says (Matt., vii., 22): "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work iniquity." The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation, contains many accounts of miracles, some of them very great and startling, wrought by the enemies of God on the earth (Rev., xiii., 13, 14; xvi., 13, 14; xix., 20) for the express purpose of deceiving men and making them believe falsehood. Thus you see that by the teaching of the Bible itself the power to work miracles does not prove that the one who possesses it is good or truthful, or from God, or is necessarily in any way commissioned or sent or indorsed by God. The miracles may be wrought for the express purpose of making the people believe that he is from God when he is not, and that he is speaking the truth when in fact he is speaking falsehood.

It is very suggestive to notice the attitude of Jesus toward miracles. We read again and again of his drawing the attention of the people away from the things done by him which had a miraculous look. He refuses to work miracles to convince persons of the divine character of his mission. He even

shows positive distress sometimes because the people care for these things so much instead of for the things of real importance; for we read, "Jesus groaned in his spirit, and said, why doth this generation ask for a sign (a miracle)?"

Thus it is that he chides, over and over again, the desire of his followers for miracles as a proof of his teaching, and insists that the teaching is its own proof. Truth is truth, and falsehood is falsehood, all the same, whether it be associated with miracles or not. The Old Testament books of Job, Isaiah, and the Psalms, and the New Testament Gospels and Epistles, do not owe their beauty and truth and helpfulness to the fact that they are bound in a volume that contains records of miracles. These books would be just as full of beauty and moral power and inspiration if no man on the earth had ever dreamed of a miracle. The Twenty-third Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, Paul's matchless chapter on charity, need no proof of miracles. Trying to prop them up or to prove them true by miracles is about as reasonable as trying to prop up the Rocky Mountains with sticks or to prove their existence by syllogisms.

So that I say, even if we granted the genuineness and historic character of all the miracles of the Bible or of a thousand times as many, we should not thus furnish any proof whatever of the truth of Christianity. The great life-giving moral and spiritual teachings of Jesus and Paul lie in a different continent, nay, a different world, from that of prodigies and miracles, and rely upon a wholly different kind of evidence. This our modern age is coming to see. Thus we need not be alarmed at the tendency of thinking persons to reject the miraculous. It does not necessarily mean that they are losing their belief in religion or their sense of its value, but only that they are finding their evidence of its truth and worth in a direction which seem to them more reliable than the old. The question of the miraculous presents itself to-day to scientists and men imbued with the modern spirit somewhat as follows:—

1. If miracles have ever happened, in Bible times or any other, why do they not happen to-day? But can any one point to a miracle within our generation which has been established by so carefully guarded scientific tests that there is no room for doubt about it? For example, the raising to life of a body which had been so long dead that a

commission of scientific experts examining it had found it to have entered upon the process of decomposition, or the restoring of a new sound arm to a man whose arm had been amputated? Is there any case on record as occurring within our day, of a miracle such as one of these?—or any other equally well authenticated, so that the scientific men would have no doubt about it? If not, why not? If veritable miracles—miracles which would have stood the test of the light of our modern civilization and science—actually occurred in the old times of two thousand or three thousand years ago, why do not miracles capable of standing the same test occur now?

It is true that we do have reports of miracles occurring to-day. Such reports come to us in great numbers, from Roman Catholic shrines in different parts of the world, from faith-healers, from prayer-healers, from men and women who, with one theory or another and under one name or another, claim to cure human bodies of their many infirmities by some sort of supernatural agency. But under a very little careful examination by unprejudiced men and by scientific methods, the miraculous element always takes wing.

Doubtless there are things occurring now-a-days that are not fully explained,—things which to us with our present degree of knowledge are shrouded in mystery. But mystery is not necessarily miracle. To say that anything really miraculous—that is, anything contrary to well-established laws of nature—occurs to-day is what at least our scientists and men best qualified to judge, ninety-nine in a hundred of them, deny.

And now is it any wonder if this absence of present-time miracles, or at least their doubtful character, throws doubt upon those of the past? If what is supposed to be miraculous to-day fades away in the light of scientific examination, is it strange that multitudes of minds find themselves compelled to believe that the so-called miracles of the old time continue to keep their places as miracles only because we are unable to reach and test them, but that, if we could get to them and examine them carefully and scientifically, as we do the so-called miracles of the present, we should find them, too, quickly losing their miraculous character?

II. Another thing which with many persons casts suspicion upon miracles is the fact that, as we look over the history of the world, we find them always seeming to have a sort

of affinity for superstitious ages and low states of civilization. Almost invariably in those ages in the history of any people in which civilization and popular intelligence rise highest, we find not only the fewest miracles reported, but the least belief in those which are reported. Why is this? If miracles are facts, capable of verification, why do they not flourish as much in light as in darkness, in ages of intelligence and science as in ages of credulity, and among the intelligent as among the ignorant?

III. A third thing that stands in the way of belief in miracles is the fact that the very classes of persons who contend most stoutly for their own miracles usually deny most vehemently the truth of all miracles outside of their own. Miracles are not peculiar to Christianity: nearly all religions have them in great numbers. Yet the followers of each religion deny the miracles of all religions except their own. They examine the proofs of the miracles of other faiths and pronounce them weak and inconclusive. It is only the proofs of the miracles of their own faith, in favor of which we may reasonably suppose them to be prejudiced, that they conceive to be adequate. This being the case, what wonder if men who, occupying the position simply of scientists and scholars, and not caring to bolster up any, but simply to judge impartially of all alike, conclude that the proofs of miracles of all the religions of the world are equally inadequate? In other words, what wonder if with the Christians they conclude that the proofs of the Mahomedan miracles are inconclusive, and with the Muhomedans that the proofs of the Brahman miracles are inconclusive, and with the Brahmans and Mohammedans that the proofs of the Christian miracles are equally inconclusive?

IV. Again, another objection to miracles lies in the fact that the moment we have accepted any of them there seems to be absolutely no place to stop. We have entered upon a road that has no end and leads into all sorts of superstitions and credulities. Suppose we say we will accept a few miracles, but not many. What shall these few be? And what shall be the test by which to decide what to accept and what to reject? If we determine to cast out all except those which are corroborated by strong proofs, certainly we shall have to cast out more or less of those found in the Bible. How strong proofs do you think we

have, for instance, that Eve was made out of a rib of Adam ; or that the ass of the prophet Balaam spoke in human language ; or that Jonah lived three days in the great fish, and then was cast up alive and well on the shore of the sea ; or that the sun stood still at the command of Joshua ; or that the walls of the city of Jericho fell down as the result of the blowing of the rams' horns of the children of Israel ? If, however, we do not cast out any of the Bible miracles, but accept them all, surely we ought to be consistent, and accept also the multitudes of miracles outside of the Bible, which present themselves to us based on quite as good evidence. As a result, there would seem to be no end to the miracles which we should find ourselves called upon to accept. The moment we begin to believe miraculous stories, or anything else, without good evidence,—evidence that will stand the test of the most thorough investigation,—we are lost, we are in a path that finds no stopping-place this side of the credulity, superstition, and fanaticism which have ever been the curse of all unenlightened religion.

V. It is felt by many that to admit miracles is to degrade the character of God. It makes him changeable and arbitrary. His government is no longer a perfect government, conducted according to a wise method and a regular order set in operation in the beginning ; but it is a government that requires to be interfered with, mended, supplemented from time to time. At best a miracle seems to be a patch. Does God's plan of things need perpetual patching ?

VI. Still farther, it seems impossible to reconcile the idea of miracle with belief in the goodness of God. If God's plan of governing the world admits of miracles wherever and whenever he may choose, why is it that he does not work them oftener ? We read in the Bible about God working miracles from time to time for the benefit of this person and that. But why so few ? If he was good, why did he not work them for the benefit of everybody ? And to-day, if God is at liberty to set aside his laws and work miracles at any time, why does he allow any pain or suffering in the world ? Why does he not cure all the sick instead of letting them linger on in misery ? Why does he not furnish food to all the starving ? A great steamer goes down at sea with all on board ; a great river overflows its banks and destroys millions of property and

hundreds of lives ; a fire in a great city renders thousands of persons homeless. Why does not God interfere and prevent these awful calamities ? If he is at liberty to interfere, is he kind when he does not ? Thus it seems impossible to see how we can keep any ground for belief in the goodness of God on the theory that he can work miracles when he pleases. But if he rules the world by law, and if law is good, then is God good, in spite of calamities and pains that come to men as the result of their violations of law. The science of our time has learned that "all is law." The religion of our time is beginning to learn that "all is love," because law itself is love. We had feared to admit that we are environed by law lest that might mean that God does not care for us. But we are learning that it is through his laws that he manifests his care. His laws are his encompassing arms, and in those arms of care, of love, of eternal security, he bears us as a mother her child.

VII. A difficulty in the way of believing in miracles, which is serious, is the famous objection of Hume, that miracles are a contradiction of human experience. Human experience is, that nature's laws are uniform, constant, not subject to suspensions. If we accept the miracles of the Bible or of any past time, it must be upon the testimony of others. Which is the more credible, that human testimony should sometimes err, or that nature at times should forget her uniformity and become irregular ? We have experience every day of human testimony being fallible, but none that nature's laws are fickle. When therefore the Bible, or the Vedas, or the Koran, or any other book of the past, comes to us with accounts of miracles, we are bound to test it by this principle. For example, we read in the New Testament that on a certain occasion Jesus turned water into wine. Our experience is (and so far as we can learn, the experience of the world is the same) that water cannot be changed to wine except through the slow summer-long processes of nature in the grape-vine. Therefore, we can more easily believe that those who reported this miracle were in some way mistaken than we can believe that what was said to have occurred actually did occur. Or, to take an Old Testament illustration, we read that the three Hebrews, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in Babylon, were cast into a

burning furnace, walked in the midst of the fierce flames, and at the end came out unharmed. Now we know that it is the nature of flame to consume organized bodies placed in the midst of it. When, therefore, we read that, when kindled to its very hottest, it did not burn these men, we find ourselves obliged by the very laws of our mind to conclude that there is a mistake somewhere. When it comes to the alternative either to believe that fire did not consume where it is its nature to consume, and what since the world began it always has consumed, or that somebody has erred,—observing improperly, or reporting incorrectly, or mistaking a legend for a true story, or something of the kind,—there is no room left us for choice: we are simply obliged to believe the latter, and cannot believe the former. This is a way of looking at the subject of miracles that prevails widely to-day, and that tends to prevail more and more, especially among scientists.

Such, then, are some of the modern difficulties in the way of the acceptance of miracles.

Some persons say to me: If we do not accept the miracles of the Bible as historic, what shall we say about them? Are we not compelled to declare them falsehoods, written and palmed off on a credulous humanity for the purpose of deceiving?

I answer: There seems no ground for setting up any such alternative. For one to suppose that such an alternative exists is to show either that he knows little about the origin of the Bible, or else that he only very superficially understands human nature.

The true explanation of the miracles of the Bible clearly is, that they are a natural and an inevitable product of a period in the world's history before the birth of science, and before men had found out that they lived in a universe governed by law. Given a devout people living in such an age, and you will as certainly have belief in miracles as you will have any other necessary form of activity of the human mind.

To the child everything is miracle: to the unscientific mind everything is miracle. Up to the point where the scientific conception of the uniformity of nature's operation arises, men believe in miracles as inevitably as in the rising of the sun; and because they believe in miracles and expect them to occur, and none have learned to apply accurate tests, of course, they find them; and,

when they write books, of course, the books will contain accounts of them. This is the explanation of the miracles of the Bible. Coming from the times and the people it did, it was impossible but that the Bible should have contained records of miracles, and records made in all honesty and good faith.

We all know how great is the power of the human imagination to invent,—to convince us that things are external realities which really have no existence except in the mind. We know, too, on how slight foundations stories spring up, even in our age of incredulosity and open eyes. So also we understand how stories grow by repetition, until often they can scarcely be recognized as the same things they were when they started on their rounds.

We must not forget that these so-called miraculous events of the Bible were very few, if any, of them written down at the time of their occurrence. Instead of being recorded then, as it was indispensable that they should be if accuracy were to be ensured, they were carried in men's minds for years, or handed down from father to son for generations, before being committed to writing. Even the best-authenticated of the miracles of Jesus seem not to have been written down for well-nigh a generation after his death, while some bear evidence of a much later date. Now is it credible that stories of any kind, but particularly stories supposed to involve an element of the supernatural, and above all, stories which the persons telling them were interested to make appear as marvellous as possible, could thus continue to be told orally for a quarter or a half century or more without change, without material growth and embellishment?

That the narrators and recorders of these stories were interested to make them out as marvellous as possible, becomes evident as soon as we remember that in the popular mind, at that time, the working of miracles on the part of a religious teacher was regarded as the great proof that he was from God. The legends of Elijah and Elisha were full of miracles. It was the received opinion that the Messiah, when he came, would perform many miracles. Hence, naturally, the disciples of Jesus after his death would emphasize everything in his life, which had in it any look at all of the miraculous. They would go forth telling the story of his life out of minds filled with belief in marvels, to other minds equally ready to believe in

marvels, and themselves interested in the deepest way to make the most possible out of everything in his life that had the least look of miracle or marvel about it. It would be easy to take up many of the individual miracles of both the New Testament and the Old, and trace the successive steps through which we may suppose them to have passed, from the first small germs of fact that probably in most cases lay at their beginning, up and on through growth and accretion and transformation, until at last we have the full-grown, out-and-out miracles, as they stand recorded in the Bible.

From all that I have been saying it is clear that the time has gone by when everybody can accept miracles. If a belief in miracles is essential to Christianity, then Christianity has already begun to wane; and from this time forward the best minds of the world in greater and greater numbers are certain to take their place outside of it. But is belief in miracles essential to Christianity? We have already found our answer in the teaching of Jesus himself. Miracles may be necessary to certain theological systems which have long called themselves Christianity. They are not necessary to that moral and spiritual Christianity whose soul is found in the Sermon on the Mount and the other teachings of Jesus.

The best religious thought of our time is coming to see that miracles instead of being a help are actually hindrance to religion: they are about the heaviest weight that religion in our day has to carry.

Wrote John Quincy Adams: "The miracles in the Bible furnish the most powerful of all the objections against its authenticity, both historical and doctrinal, and were it possible to take its sublime morals, its unparalleled conceptions of the nature of God, and its irresistible power over the heart, with the simple narrative of the life and death of Jesus, stripped of all the supernatural agency and all the marvellous incidents connected with it, I should receive it without any of those misgivings of unwilling incredulity as to the miracles which I find it impossible altogether to cast off."

John Quincy Adams voices the feeling and judgment of thousands of the most intelligent and devout minds of our age. Sooner or later it must come to what he suggests, the better part of the Christian world will yet take "the sublime morals of the New Testament, its unparalleled concep-

tions of the nature of God, and its irresistible power over the heart, with the simple narrative of the life and death of Jesus," these and these alone, as the essentials of Christianity, leaving all questions as to interferences with the laws of nature, and the credibility or incredibility of wonder stories found in the Bible or elsewhere, to be settled by each man for himself, as being things purely speculative and not touching at all the real heart of religion. If a man thinks he has grounds for believing these things, let him believe them: that is his affair. On the other hand, if a man cannot believe them, because the evidence seems to him to be against them, it is not for me or for anybody else to say that he must believe them, or that he is irreligious or not a Christian because he does not. If Jesus treated all such things as non-essentials, it is not for me to treat them as essentials. To love God and man, and to do to others as I would have them do to me, that is true Christianity. To reverence God and work righteousness, that is true religion. Compared with these, all questions of belief or non-belief in miracles are of weight as light as the mote that floats in the sunbeam.

It is strange and sad that the religious teachings of the past have so largely been such as to make us look for God only in events which are extraordinary and out of the usual course of nature. Our best modern religious thinkers are coming to see that this is not the direction at all in which to look for God. The place where God really reveals himself is not in a sun which stands still a little while on a particular afternoon in Palestine, but in that sun which never stands still in any land,—which moves on eternally in tireless strength and in obedience to law, carrying day and night and summer and winter for ever round the earth. The place where God really reveals himself is not in a miracle wrought through any single man or on any single occasion, to multiply loaves of bread so as to feed a company gathered on the shore of a Galilean lake. God's true revelation of himself, were our eyes only not too blind to see it, is in that ceaseless multiplying of loaves in the cornfields of a thousand valleys which gives the whole world its food.

It is a mistake, it is all wrong, to think that miracles, even granting their reality, can reveal God better than what is not a miracle,—the abnormal better than

that which is natural, the occasional better than that which is constant. The new and larger thought of God and religion which is coming to the world has a truer and deeper vision. If we would see the glory of God, we must teach ourselves to look for him not in

interferences with his own beneficent plan of things, but in law, in order, in the cosmos, in the mighty and harmonious on-goings of nature. Here, not in the trivialities of signs and wonders, God stands full-revealed, in power, in wisdom, in majesty, in goodness.

WHAT CHINA ASKS OF NATIONS OF THE WORLD

ADDRESS BY MR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE,

Chinese Minister to U. S. A.

I shall attempt to answer the often-asked question: "What China asks of the Nations of the World?"

My answer can be summed up in one word—"Justice".

The idea of justice is contained in the precept of Confucius: "Do not to others what you would not wish them to do to yourself". China wishes to live in peace with the other Powers and to maintain with them relations of friendship, goodwill and cooperation. But this desired and desirable regime cannot be secured and maintained until the Chinese people feel that their legitimate interests are being recognized and their sovereign rights respected by the other powers.

It was largely out of China's efforts to exclude the introduction of British Indian opium—that most pernicious drug—from her borders that the first war with Great Britain arose. As a result of her defeat in this war by Great Britain, onerous terms were imposed upon China, embodied in the treaty of Nanking of 1842, which marked the beginning of the inroads upon China's autonomy and territorial integrity, and which culminated seventy-three years later, in 1915, in the infamous Twenty-one Demands of Japan.

These treaty limitations upon China's freedom of action within her own territories have seriously interfered with her growth as a nation and as a sovereign united people. The most serious of these restrictions have been the denial to China of the right to hold foreigners within her borders amenable to her own laws and courts, and the requirement that China shall not levy more than

five per centum ad valorem duty upon exports and imports.

The jurisdictional immunity of foreigners from Chinese authority has been carried far beyond what was contemplated by China when she was constrained to agree to it, and indeed, far beyond what the treaty stipulations themselves provide. As this system of extraterritoriality, as it is called, actually operates, foreigners, in many cases, are able to commit offences with impunity either because of the lack of foreign courts to punish them or because of the unfairness or laxity with which the foreign laws are applied by the consular courts. In fact, however, the system itself has much inherent and ineradicable defects. It cannot operate satisfactorily or fail to impede China's effort to establish a strong and efficient public administration.

The commercial advantages derived by foreigners from their extraterritorial status are scarcely less irksome and irritating to the Chinese. Foreign business firms and business men, being freed from Chinese control or supervision, are enabled to do things which the Chinese firms and individuals are forbidden to do. For example, the foreign banks in China are at liberty, without consulting the Chinese Government, to establish branches in any of the Chinese treaty ports, and to issue their circulating notes without reference to Chinese laws. And, it may be here interjected, it is not long ago that a large foreign bank failed, leaving a large amount of notes in circulation which, of course, thus became irredeemable. Foreign insurance firms have also sprung up in China

and are exempt from Chinese supervision or examination by the local authorities as regards their operations and investments.

An economic advantage which, to a considerable extent, foreigners have claimed, according to themselves, by reason of their extraterritorial status, has been exemption from the local and excise taxes which the Chinese themselves have to pay.

The injustice to China, and the detrimental economic and financial effects upon China of the limitation upon her right to levy export and import dues, I do not need to dwell upon, for they are obvious. In fact, I have never heard this limitation defended—if indeed it can be called a defence—except upon the ground that it is advantageous to the foreigners dealing with China. No one has ever been so bold as to assert that China does not suffer seriously from the limitation thus imposed upon her. Not only is she denied the opportunity to obtain a reasonable income from her customs dues, but she is prevented from protecting her own industries from foreign competition, or discouraging by high duties the use of articles the consumption of which by her own people she may wish to discourage. Thus not only is China's treasury denied an income which it should receive, but the normal and proper development of the economic life of her people is prevented.

I have spoken of but two of the impediments imposed upon China by the foreign Powers and provided for in the unequal treaties which they have exacted of China. There are other and serious treaty restraints upon China's freedom of sovereign action which I have not time to mention. That, in the aggregate, these restraints operate powerfully to increase the difficulty of China's effort to place her new republican form of government upon a firm and unified and administratively efficient basis, there can be no doubt. Even those who may be disposed to minimize this effect must realize that when a task of great difficulty has to be performed, a small additional impediment may be the final factor which causes failure. This is the truth which is contained in the familiar statement that it is the last straw which breaks the camel's back.

In truth, however, the foreign-imposed limitations upon China's freedom of action do more than add the last straw which renders too heavy to be successfully borne the burden of the governmental task which

China is striving to accomplish. They constitute a substantially important part of that burden. As long as these limitations exist not only will the government of China be unable to secure an income adequate for its essential needs, but it will be unable to command from its own people that respect and support which is indispensable for the maintenance of any popular form of political rule. An autocratic government may do without the respect and loyalty of its subjects, but a republican government, such as that which China is endeavoring to maintain, cannot operate efficiently, if, indeed, it can maintain its very existence, without this esteem and allegiance. And how can one expect the Chinese people to have a high regard for their own government when they see it impotent to compel obedience to its laws on the part of thousands of foreigners living within the territories over which that government claims jurisdiction, and unable to exercise rights the enjoyment of which by other national states are deemed inherent in their sovereignty?

The Chinese, then, in the demands which they are now making of the other Powers, are asking for nothing more than simple justice,—for the respect due them as a sovereign and civilized people.

At the twenty-first meeting of the Second International Opium Conference held at Geneva two years ago I urged upon the delegates of the other powers the necessity of taking steps at once to execute pledges made to China and to the world with reference to the control of the abuses of opium and other drugs, etc.,—pledges solemnly made as long ago as 1912 at the International Conference at The Hague. I solemnly warned them of the serious effects that would result should they fail to do so. Unfortunately, they turned a deaf ear to my earnest appeal. What I then predicted would result in the Far East, should the Opium Conference fail in its task, has already become true.

I now urge that the powers should consider taking immediate steps to negotiate with China new treaties based on the recognised principle of equality and reciprocity, to take the place of the antiquated and unequal treaties which should be immediately terminated, thus surrendering for ever the superior position over the native Chinese they claim now for their nationals in China. To that basic principle, all the patriotic Chinese have aspired. The Chinese are a

reasonable people and will appreciate and properly treasure such reciprocity. If this action is delayed it should not cause surprise if the Chinese nation, following the recent example of Turkey, should, by their own unilateral act, declare those treaties at an end, and justify this action by referring to the inherent and inalienable right under international law, of every sovereign State to release itself from obligations which, whatever may have been their operation at the time they were assumed or imposed, have come to endanger its existence or the attainment of its essential and legitimate national interests. Should the powers anticipate this action by themselves surrendering their special and unequal treaty rights, they could be assured that it would benefit both the powers and China.

The Chinese people have that same desire and determination to establish and preserve their national existence that the other peoples of the world have, and when they deem the occasion appropriate they will take the necessary action to that end. The experience of the last eighty-five years convinces them that they cannot secure for themselves that combination of order and progress to which they are justly entitled so long as they are restrained and humiliated by the conditions which the existing unequal treaties impose.

They are farther convinced that it is entirely a futile attempt to procure for themselves the new and just order of relationship by patiently acquiescing in the old order of diplomacy—that is, the powers' insistence in the necessity of their unanimity of consent before any change in the treaties can be put into effect. To secure the unanimous consent of a dozen and more sovereign and independent nations at the same time is an extremely difficult if not entirely impossible task; some of the powers at some time are bound to feel that the best course for their own interest is the course of procrastination. The Chinese people are firmly convinced of the essential justice of the demands they are making, and they are ready to make such sacrifices as may be required in order that the satisfaction of these demands may be secured. As is well known to all, during recent years and especially during the last two years, the feelings of the Chinese in these respects have become more articulate and more emphatic in their manifestations. It is a matter of portentous moment that a nation which includes within its members nearly a

quarter of the entire human race, should be convinced with practical unanimity, that the treaties which determine its obligations as vis-a-vis the other powers, are essentially unequal in character, and offensive in their operation; and that they must be at once terminated. The handwriting is on the wall and should be read.

The world does not realize the seriousness of the limitations the foreign powers have imposed upon China's sovereignty which greatly militate against the success of the efforts of the Chinese Nation to establish a strong and united government. The experience of Turkey has proved conclusively that so long as these limitations remained, the problem of domestic reconstruction would be very difficult.

Great Britain allows full tariff autonomy to Ireland and her Dominions, but the powers deprive China of tariff autonomy; thus she has a status even inferior to that of the British Dominions.

As to extra-territoriality, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that as it now is, the Chinese in China, though in their own country, are less favoured than are the natives of an autocratically governed British Crown Colony. In the Crown Colony, though governed by an official sent by the British Colonial Office, the native has the same rights as those enjoyed by every one else in the Colony; whereas in China, the Chinese because of the possession of extra-territorial rights by the foreigners, are discriminated against.

How would the Americans feel if the foreign nations should impose upon them a fiscal regime, inferior even to Britain's Dominions, depriving them of the right of raising revenues according to their own judgment and needs? Furthermore, how would the Americans feel if the various foreign settlements in their big cities, for example say Chinatown, should claim an almost independent status, with their own laws, courts, and police? What would the Americans say if, as a result of extra-territorial rights held by foreigners in this country, the Americans in their own country were thus discriminated against?

Ramsay MacDonald has shown the way to a right solution of placing the relations of China and the other powers on a firm and friendly basis when he said recently before a British Labour Party meeting:

"We must also turn to our own government

and say 'Face the facts', treat China as you do Japan, get out of your entanglement of imposed treaties. Your Christmas Memorandum was good. Your Foreign Declaration on the 22nd of January was excellent. We admit you have the problem of the protection of life still on your hands. Whenever you decided to send that much-advertised Defence Force you began to play with fire.

"That is the position the Labour Party occupies to-day, and it is only on these lines and with those considerations that we can hope to solve the Chinese problem, and,

when the end has come, to be in a position of friendship with China so that China can help us with our trade of affairs, and we can help China with its political and moral affairs."

The world may rest assured that the Chinese Nation will not rest until her independence and territorial and administrative integrity shall become realities. She will not be satisfied with mere assurances in the form of high-sounding and pious declarations as the powers have been doing since the beginning of this century.

U. S. A., February 1927.

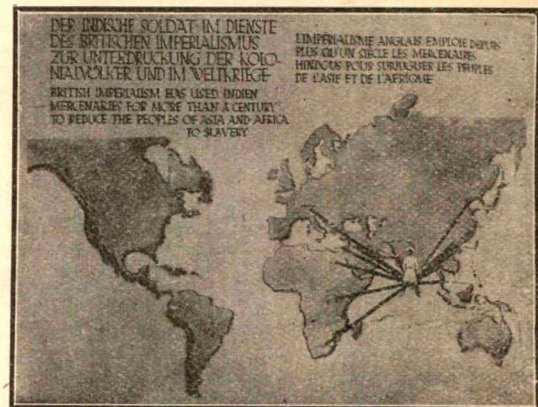
THE CONGRESS AGAINST IMPERIALISM

By BAKAR ALI MIRZA

THE first "International Congress of Oppressed peoples of the World" met in Brussels, Belgium, from the 9th to the 16th February of this year, with some 200 delegates representing over a billion subjected or enslaved peoples. The character of the Congress was unique; for it was the first time in history that the representatives of the working class and of subject peoples assembled under the same roof to express the message of the enslaved: "Brothers! Your suffering is my suffering. Let us unite, for we have nothing more to lose but our chains and a world to gain". Yet, not only was it a Congress in which the spirit of brotherhood and unity made itself felt, but it built a permanent organisation, a "League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism." And it could be called a League of Nations in a much truer sense than the one that deliberates on behalf of the Great Powers at Geneva.

Considering the short time the Congress took for its preparations and the whole-hearted response it met with from all parts of the world, we are struck by the intensity of unity that exists all the world over for the basic purpose of freedom, and we are left with no doubts about the urgent need or the future of the League. The Congress had been called with the active support and sympathy of such personalities as Bertrand Russell,

Professor Albert Einstein, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Mrs. Sun Yet Sen, and Mahatma Gandhi—to mention only a few of those whose intellectual integrity and honesty of humanitarian purpose is beyond question.



One of the many maps that hung on the walls demonstrating the effects of Imperialism. This shows India, and Indian mercenaries, as the centre for the subjection of Asia and Africa.

Because of its value to India and Indians, I shall quote only the message of Mahatma Gandhi, although it was but one of the many received.

"Dear Friends, I thank you very cordially for your invitation to the Brussels International

Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism. I regret that my work here in India prevents my taking part in the Congress. I wish you, however, from the depths of my heart, every success in your deliberations."

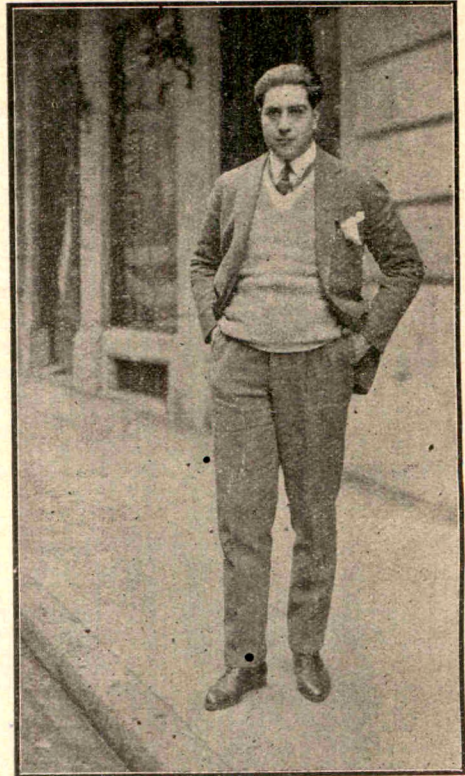
There were 174 mandated delegates, representing 31 different countries, and a number of interested guests, not mandated, present in the Congress. What this means cannot be expressed in figures alone, for most of these had come under great difficulties from vast distances. Many had come on money that had been collected from organisations and individuals. And there were still many other delegates who had informed the Congress they would be coming, but could not because of lack of funds or the refusal of passports. But despite this delegates came from Africa and Mexico, Indonesia and Indo-China, Egypt and India, Korea and the Philippines, China and Persia,

their spokesmen. Among them were many members of Parliament of the various Euro-



Lu Tsung Lin, Chinese General, representing the Canton Army

Algeria, Tunis, Morocco and Arabia. Besides, the workers' organisations of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Czecho-slovakia, Austria, the United States and Japan had



M. Baktri, the Arabic delegate from Syria.

pean countries, England alone having sent some twenty delegates—from the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the London Trade Union Council, and so on. China had sent thirty delegates, representing the Kuo Min Tang (the National People's Party), the Canton Government, the Canton Army, various labour, students', and women's organisations. India was represented by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the official delegate of the Indian National Congress, and also delegates from the Hindustan Association of Central Europe, the Oxford Majlis, the Hindustan Gadar Party of America, as well as journalists from the Association of Indian Journalists of Europe, "The Hindu" of Madras, "the Kesari" of Poona, and the Indian Bureau of the Independent Labour Party in London. The Indian Students' Union of Edinburgh, the Indian Majlis of London, the Ceylon Trade Union Council, and two or three other Indian organisations

had appointed delegates to attend also, but for one reason or another had been unable to send them. The delegate from Ceylon had been refused a passport. There were,



Jawaharlal Nehru, representative of the All-India National Congress

among the delegates, representatives from 17 different trade union organisations, representing over 7½ million organised workers. And if we should estimate the number of people represented by all the delegates, the number would amount to more than a billion souls.

The agenda of the Congress had been arranged under five different headings. Space does not permit a full survey of all of them or of the Congress proceedings. I shall confine myself to a general description, dealing with points of particular interest to India from the Indian point of view.

1. *Introductory Addresses.* In the introductory addresses, Henri Barbusse, the noted French writer and socialist, in his rhythmic French, as well as other speakers following him, dealt chiefly with the conditions under which we live, and the need

of a Congress and a League of all oppressed peoples. All stressed the fact that the nations of the world are realizing more and more that they are one people and that any system of society which has parasitism of one group of people on another group as its life principle, carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. They showed that the majority of peoples today are either living under slavish subjection at the point of the bayonet of a foreign power, or are slaves of a system whose two corollaries are unemployment and low wages. The moment these people realize the wrong of the system under which they exist, and recognize their power as a united people, that moment will be one of victory. It was for the cause of humanity and for the realisation of a common ideal, as well as the recognition of our



Mohamed Hatta,
delegate from Indonesia

ability to achieve our freedom as a united people that the Brussels Congress was held.

2. *The Consequences of Imperialist Exploitation.* We, Indians, do not need much enlightenment on this subject. The universality of

the theme was significant. Whether the voices raised were those of Negroes from Africa or



G. Ledebour, the heroic veteran labour leader of Germany, 76 years of age and still young; he says he wants to be in the forefront of the fight for the destruction of Imperialism

America, or from struggling China, whether the cry was from Mexico or the plains of Korea, it had the same bitterness, the same pain and pathos, and with modifications, had the same sad tale to tell. All had had their 1857's and their Amritsars—many times over. All had their Ordinance Laws and Penal Codes, their suppression of speech, press and assembly; their 300% dividends and forced labour, the exploitation of little children, child mortality, the 16 hour day, the subjection and exploitation of woman and famine. All had their untouchables—as Coloured Bills or as reserved subjects; their exiles, and their mercenaries. All had been forced into the "war for the emancipation of weaker nations", and afterwards all had begged for food and freedom—but had received stones labelled "Reforms". All had their opium and their "law and order." In short—symptoms and results of the same

disease—slavery enforced by Imperialism—everywhere. Had the delegates not come from the ends of the earth and met for the first time, a stranger from the outside would have really concluded that they had some way or other all met before and agreed to say the same thing; in the stories told in a dozen different languages, in the reports or facts and conditions, we saw that Imperialism is the most deadly enemy of human life. Is there any wonder, then, that at palace Egmont, peoples with different languages and culture, different shades of opinion, found themselves amongst men and women who instinctively understood, and that they could work in such harmony? And work they certainly did, unsparingly. The sessions lasted practically day and night, many of them closing only at three in the morning. The Right press had tried during the first two days to laugh at the gathering,



V. Chattopadhyaya, one of the organizers of the Congress, and representative, Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe but after that a new note crept in all reports; there was close observance, full reports, respect not unmixed with fear at times, and the Congress was called variously the

"League of the Oppressed", the "Coloured International", the "League of Asiatic Peoples", and so on. Leading Continental dailies, both left and right, gave long first page accounts of the proceedings, and some gave full pages to it.

As said before, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was the representative of the All-India National Congress. The Indian delegation was so organised that all reports, resolutions, or discussions were placed before the Congress through him. The appreciation of Nehru's work at Brussels, as well as his broad national and international vision, must be here recorded. In his speech he pointed out the significance and necessity of the freedom of India if mankind is to be emancipated. Great Britain, by keeping India in subjection, keeps the whole of the East in chains. Not only has Great Britain waged wars to keep India in subjection, but she has exploited India's men and money to subdue other countries like Egypt, Tibet, Burma, Africa, etc.,—not to speak of the recent dispatch of Indian troops to China, an action deeply resented by India. The freedom of India is a world problem. Freedom, he said, is the first essential demand of every country; nationalism, after all, is a first and a necessary step to internationalism. Extracts from his speech follow.

Having disarmed us, they tell us that we are not capable of defending our country. Having brought in a system of education which killed all our old education and substituted something which was ridiculously small and ridiculously inadequate, having taught us false history and attempted to teach us to despise our own country and to glorify England, they now tell us we are not sufficiently educated to be a free country!

You all know of the way Indian troops have been sent against China. They were sent in spite of the fact that the National Congress of India expressed its strongest opposition. I shall read to you the names of a number of countries where Indian troops have been utilised by the British for the purposes of imperialism—in China they first went in 1840; in 1927 they are still going and they have been actively engaged there innumerable times during these 87 years. They have been to Egypt, to Abyssinia, in the Persian Gulf, to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Georgia, Tibet, Afghanistan and Burma.

"We in India cannot go on, merely because freedom is good and slavery bad, but because it is a matter of life and death for us and our country. ...The exploitation of India by the British is a barrier for other countries that are being exploited and oppressed. It is an urgent necessity for you that we gain our freedom. ...We desire the fullest freedom for our country, not only internally, but the freedom to develop such relations with our neighbours and other countries as we may desire.

It is because we think that this International Congress affords us a chance of this co-operation that we welcome and greet it.

Mr. Fenner Brockway then made a speech full of noble words. He said that the Independent Labour Party of England believes in the equality of races and workers. He added :



H. Liao (left), delegate from the Kuo Min Tang Party of Canton. Chen Chuen (right), delegate from Canton Labour Federation and Canton-Hong-kong Strike Committee.

"I would tell my Indian comrades that we are at one with them in their struggle against Imperialism. The spirit of Keir Hardie is our spirit. We admit with shame that the Labour Government spoke to India as a capitalist Government, and it was responsible for the Ordinance Laws. The I. L. P. then opposed, and still opposes that policy. In the future we will do the utmost to wipe out that shame. To my Chinese comrades I would add that if hostilities ensue between England and China, our sympathies will be with the latter."

After his speech, Mr. Brockway and Mr. H. Liao (Executive Member of the Kuo Min Tang) shook hands amidst a scene of great

enthusiasm. But, as for ourselves, we can only say as regards the I. L. P.'s good will to India, we shall await *deeds* before we express the full measure of our gratitude. If we had always honoured deeds more and beautiful words, spoken by our own countrymen and by Englishmen, less, we should be nearer Swaraj than we are today.

3. *The Dangers of War.* China was repeatedly mentioned by speakers. In fact, throughout the Congress proceedings, China was the focus of all attention, for it was recognised by everyone that it is China that is today fighting the great historic fight for the freedom, not only of herself, but of all



Hansien Liao, representative of the Kuo Min Tang, and George Lansbury, M. P. of England

Asia. A Chinese General from Canton, and member of the Kuo Min Tang, spoke with great feeling, telling how the Imperialist Powers had forced several wars on an unwilling and badly armed China. Indian readers too well know the history of the opium wars against China, and we need not repeat any facts here. The General spoke with confidence, saying that the Kuo Min Tang, which stood for the "triple principles" of the people, as laid down by Dr. Sun Yat Sen,

a peasant's son, will emerge triumphant in the present struggle, and this in spite of all Imperialist interventions and designs of war. The Chinese delegates spoke in their own language; throughout they were noticeable for their earnestness, their simplicity, their few but significant words, and what may be called an unspoken passion for any kind of work to forward the cause of the Congress.

The speakers that followed the Chinese delegates showed how the rivalry for colonization and markets amongst the Imperialist Powers is the cause of War; and how the schemes of colonization and of buying up virgin lands such as those of Central and South America—to be exploited 100 years hence by American trusts—has produced a state of hostility between the different countries. The policy of Imperialism today by which a whole people may be bought up or crushed, so long as the Imperialist Power has the arms and money, cannot, in face of the opposition of the masses, continue endlessly. The masses are beginning to realize that they are human beings and not commodities. The Wars urged by Imperialist Powers leave the workers not one iota better off than they were before,—it matters not if they belong to the victorious or to the vanquished nation. The exploitation and oppression go on more vigorously than ever.

We cannot give more than this of a subject so vast as this. We recognize its great importance, but our own struggle is so urgent that we can do little else than mention it. It was the viewpoint of Central and South American and Mexican delegates that the centre of the world conflict is not in Asia. "You must remember," the Mexican delegate (Minister of Education, Mexico City) said, "that Asia is already full. Imperialist countries seek actual profit for the future. The most important efforts of Imperialism are at present directed towards South America."

Mr. George Lansbury, member of the British Parliament and Vice-President of the British Labour Party, spoke on the same subject. He said :

"...Those who say to us that British troops are going to China to defend British lives lie, and they know they lie. They are going there to defend capitalist interests, only for the purpose of safeguarding money-making, and for my part I say to those who want to raise the standard of life of the workers, the world over, there is no way of doing it but by getting rid of capitalism and substituting for it Socialism. There is no other way. We



Presidium of the Brussels Congress, Reading left to right: Jawaharlal Nehru, (India), George Lansbury, (England), Edo Fimmen, (Holland), Lu Tsung Lin, (Canton National Army) and H. Liau, (Canton, Kua Min Tang.)

think of China today because she is in the forefront of the picture, but I think also of my African comrades, the men and women in Africa who are just the same brothers and sisters as those in India and Japan—they are all exposed to the same sort of attack as those in China. Friends, we freed many people from the bonds of chattel slavery. We have now got to free them all from the bonds of economic servitude. You will win this fight, but I believe this week while you have been meeting here you have been doing one of those things that come only occasionally in the history of our race: that is, you are proclaiming the union of the black, yellow, brown and white. Therefore, comrades, I will go back to Britain and do what one man can do to carry out the resolutions we have carried here. I do not mind who stands with me or who apart. I shall still hold up the banner—the right of the Indian, the right of the Chinese, the right of every single human being to equal treatment throughout the world. If the white races have anything to give to the other races, let them give it. I am sure the other races have given much to them already.

Finally, I would like to bid my comrades from Africa and Asia to be of good cheer. Neither British, American, nor Japanese Imperialism have the power to hold the workers in thralldom forever. It is as certain as the sun shines that Imperialism is doomed: it is doomed because, with the rising of working-class intelligence, this Imperialism with all its poison gas and its disciplined armies, cannot overcome the boycott which it is within the power of the workers to enforce. The millions in China and India need not buy any British goods. A few

of them may be killed or injured in the coming struggle, but this will avail the imperialistic capitalists nothing at all. They want trade, they want markets, and these they will never obtain by the measures they are adopting at the present moment. Greater empires than any of those which rule the world today have gone down in blood and ruin because they were founded on robbery and spoliation and plunder. And the empires which boast their military and naval strength, which create their great air forces, these too will go down in a welter of confusion unless the workers of all countries unite and put an end to war. Every war is a capitalist war: we must teach the workers not to enlist in National armies, not to manufacture armaments. Teach them that wars are the means for keeping the workers in subjection, and when this is done I for one am certain that we shall establish a true International."

The subjects of the danger of war in the Pacific, and of war against Mexico, were also dealt with, and in view of this danger, especially in view of the very probable rupture between the Imperialist Power and Soviet Russia, Mr. Lansbury's speech was a timely warning. Since the Congress met, more and darker clouds have gathered, and the spectre of war is growing more and more sinister and real. At the request of Great Britain, Mussolini has sent a cruiser to China to "defend" a couple of dozen precious

Italian souls ! Great Britain is concentrating her forces in the Pacific, and has sent a warship, full of sympathy for the United States, to the Mexican waters, evidently in the hope that America will co-operate in a possible war against China. England is trying by every means to induce European nations to take active steps against China, and yet at the same time she is attempting to break off diplomatic relations with Russia because Russia sympathizes with China. For years the public has been fed on the poison of a "Russian menace". The year 1927 is blacker than the year 1914. The badly concealed warships of Mars are displaying themselves in full procession, carrying the image of their god.



Lamine Senghor, Negro delegate from Senegal, Africa. A brilliant speaker, whose address was filled with ironic humour

4. *The Need of Co-operation and Co-ordination of the Nationalist and Workers' Movements.* Mr. Edo Fimmen (Hollander, and General Secretary of the International Transport Workers) made a very valuable contribution to the Congress when, in his clear, concise speech, he showed the great necessity for co-operation among, not only the workers of

the world, but also between the nationalist and workers' movements in all countries. Nobility of sentiment alone is not sufficient, he said ; what is needed is to give that sentiment a realistic shape, and this requires organisation and the creation of a united front.

In the Imperialist countries—the so-called "Mother countries"—competition is set up among the different organisations of the working class, and this to the great disadvantage of the whole movement. A casual and temporary gain by the workers of one country is used as a handle in breaking up a struggle of the working class in another. A united working class would have produced a different result during the English coal strike. While this division amongst the workers exists, the machine of Imperialism and exploitation grinds on.

The consequences of the aloofness of the working class from the nationalist struggles of the oppressed nations are graver still. There was a time when land and cheap labour in the Colonies served to produce commodities which the "Mother Countries" did not produce. This is no longer so. Competition has set in between the Colonies and the "Mother Countries"—to the advantage of the capitalists and to the disadvantage of the workers in the "Mother Countries." Textile industries, for example, are shifting from England to India. Unemployment in the "Mother Countries" was not the only consequence, but over and above that the workers are taxed to keep a colossal army of occupation in the Colonies, and this army is able to enforce labour conditions upon the workers there, conditions that are a disgrace to civilization.

To illustrate his thesis, Mr. Fimmen took the examples of China and India, and showed the dominant nature of foreign capital and also the inhuman conditions of work. Dividends in the jute industry, for example, went as high as 365 per cent. In China, workers in some industries had to work 52 weeks a year, with hardly a holiday. In India, men, women and children were working 60 hours a week, on starvation wages. In the mines of India, women took their children with them underground, deposited them on a piece of coal, and drugged them with opium to keep them quiet while they worked. Many hardly saw the light of day. These conditions are not human. The workers of the world must realize that they must cooperate with



General view of the Brussels Congress against Imperialism. The Indian delegation is in the 2nd row left. Reading right to left they are: Jawaharlal Nehru, (Indian National Congress); J. Naidu, Hindusthan Assn. of Central Europe); M. Barkatullah (Hindusthan Gadar Party); A. C. N. Nambiar, representative of "The Hindu", of Madras, and the Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe); Bakar Ali Mirza, (representative of the Oxford Majlis, "The Bharat", and the Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe); V. Chattopadhyaya (representative, Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe-first standing figure against wall to the left.) J. N. Sinha, (from Indian Information Bureau, London), and G. Hinlekar, (from "The Kesari", Poona) are standing in the back.

all the workers of the world—whether black, white, yellow or brown.

It had been suggested that a general strike should be proclaimed in sympathy with China, he continued. The sentiment was noble, but he found it necessary to admit that the machinery for such a strike was not ready. The good-will was there, but it was necessary to create amongst the workers consciousness that united they stand, but divided they fall.

Ledebour, veteran German leader of the trade union movement in Germany, Member of the Reichstag and an Independent Socialist, made a remarkable speech urging the general strike. In part, he said:

"I support the resolution for a general strike of all working men in the imperialist countries against the suppression of movements for freedom in oppressed countries and colonies. This general strike should begin with a strike of the transport workers.....

"Comrades, when we here call upon the peoples of oppressed countries to throw off their yoke, then we, as Europeans, as guilty parties the suppression of these countries, are bound to use every power within us, and if necessary, for our lives to help them."

He then gave example after example of the use of the partial or the general strike in Germany that finally began the break-down of old monarchist Germany in 1918 and led to the establishment of the German Republic. He called upon all workers to organize for the general strike to help China and India in their struggle for freedom.

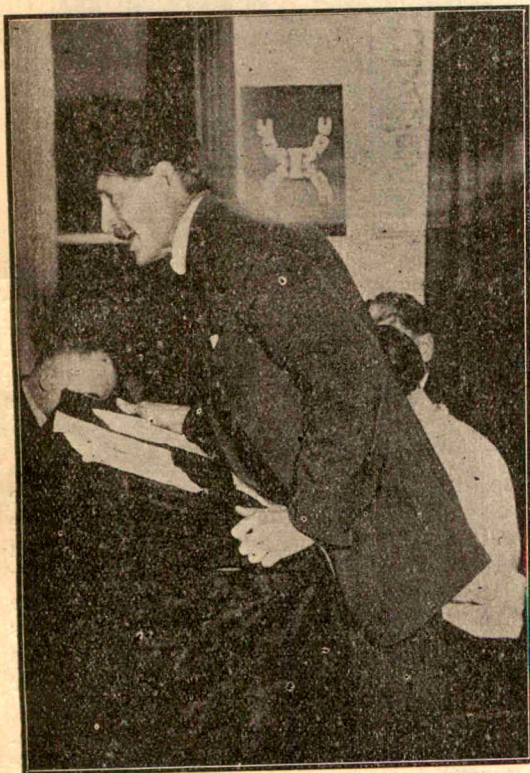
"I call upon you," he said, "if you are Europeans, Americans, Asiatics or Africans, to unite and to grasp this opportunity to carry the fight against imperialism to an end. Only if we are determined can we be victorious. I am in a hurry; I am now 76 years old, but I am going to be in the midst of that fight, I am going to be in the front and offer my life in the struggle. (Violent applause)."

Harry Pollitt, M. P. of England, leader of the revolutionary minority in the British trade unions, delivered a remarkable speech, a few words of which follow.

"In my opinion the reason why the Indian troops were sent to China was not because they were necessary there, but because it was a test to see how much India would stand at

of the strength of the Nationalist movement in India...."

5. *Establishment of the Permanent League.* For the purpose of linking up all forces against Imperialism and colonial oppression into a world-wide organisation, and to further friendship and co-operation among all workers of liberation, a permanent League was established at the Congress. The Honorary Presidents of the League are Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, Jawaharlal Nehru, George Lansbury, and Professor Albert Einstein. An executive was elected, and Nehru, representing India, was elected a member.



Henri Barbusse, the noted French writer who, despite illness, travelled to Brussels to deliver the opening address.

It was suggested that the organisation should have its head-quarters in Paris. Up to the present time the head-quarters are at Wilhelmstr. 48, Berlin, Germany.

India and the Congress. The Presidential speech in the All-India National Congress in December last indicated that the Congress had a tendency to broaden its outlook and to co-operate with other countries engaged in the fight for freedom. The unanimous

election of Jawaharlal Nehru to represent the Congress at Brussels confirmed the realistic nature of that trend toward internationalism. Jawaharlalji was a happy choice, for he is devoid of that narrow and criminal sectarianism which is an obsession with some of our leaders. He made a deep impression upon the delegates at Brussels, because he is not an eloquent speaker, but instead, an organizer and a man of action.

The Brussels Congress showed a profound sympathy with India's aspirations. As Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's cable to the Congress, conveying India's greetings and condemnation of the use of Indian troops in China, was read, a thrill and a cheer went through the hall. Happily, the cable arrived soon after Jawaharlalji had moved a similar resolution.

The Chinese, British and Indian delegations passed a common resolution by which they bound themselves to make every effort to accomplish the tasks laid down by the Congress. The Chinese, appointed to sign for the Chinese delegation, were General Lei Tsung Lin and Hansin Liau of the Kuo Min Tang, and Hsing Kwang Sen of the People's Government of Canton; for the British delegation, Mr. Lansbury, Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Mr. Beckett, M.P., S.O. Davies of the Miners Federation, R. Bridgman, M.P., and Fenner Brockway, I.L.P. Jawaharlal Nehru signed for India. The resolution in full reads:

We, the undersigned, British, Indian, and Chinese delegations, consider that the task of all working-class forces in Imperialist countries is:

(1) To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries, in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire.

(2) To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples.

(3) To vote against all credits, naval, military and air, for the maintenance of armed force to be used against oppressed nations.

(4) To expose the horrors of Imperialism to the civil and military populations.

(5) To expose imperialistic policy, in the light of the working-class struggle for freedom.

IN RELATION TO THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION IN CHINA

(1) We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters.

(2) We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India or China and from India to China.

(3) That estimates relating either to war-like preparations or to war shall be voted against.

(4) That in the event of armed intervention or open war every weapon and effort shall be made within the labour movement to use every weapon possible in the working-class struggle to be used to prevent hostilities.

(5) We demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extraterritorial rights, and the surrender of foreign concessions.

(6) Finally, in the interests of Trade Union and Labour Movements in Britain, India, and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate, close and active co-operation.

Although the above resolution was signed by the English delegates present, we as Indians must remember that only the *individual* Englishmen present signed it, and it cannot be said that their organisations are bound to approve of it. In fact, before even the individuals would sign it, there were long and heated debates with the Indians. Since the Congress ended and the delegates returned to their various homes, we learn—but it is so far an unconfirmed rumour—that there are serious quarrels within the British Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party of England about this very resolution, and that there is a likelihood that some of the signatories will either have to retract, or withdraw from their parties, or that their parties may split on the issue. In any case, we as Indians have to go our own way, taking it for granted that we will get little or no help from British labour, or if we do get any, it will be from the extreme left wing of the labour movement—and even then we should not depend upon it.

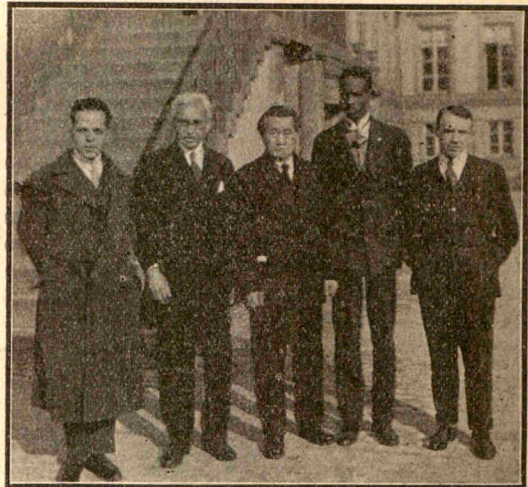
The Indian and Chinese delegations also drew up a joint resolution to renew the old ties of culture, friendship and co-operation that existed as a tradition before the British period. The resolution reads:

For more than three thousand years the people of India and China were united by the most intimate cultural ties. From the days of Buddha to the end of the Mughal period and the beginning of British domination in India this friendly intercourse continued uninterrupted.

After the East India Company had, by intrigue and force, secured its firm hold on the greater part of India, the English began looking for new sources of revenue and new markets. They not only introduced poppy cultivation into areas where food had previously been grown, but also thrust Indian opium on the unwilling Chinese people by force of arms. Since that infamous Opium War, of 1840-41, Indian mercenary troops have been sent again and again to China in support of British capitalist brigandage in that country. For 87 years Indian troops have been permanently stationed as policemen in Hongkong, Shanghai, etc. Time and again they have been used to shoot down Chinese workers and have

thus created ill will in China against the people of India. Even as we make this declaration, Indian troops are again on their way to China in an attempt to crush the Chinese revolution.

With the strengthening of British imperialism, India was cut off more and more from intercourse with China, and in their cultural and intellectual isolation the Indian people have now become completely ignorant of the condition of China.



A group of delegates : M. Yussuf, (Persia); Mohamed Barkatullah, (Hindusthan Gadar Party); Sen Katayama (Japan); L. Senghor, (Africa); Harry Pollitt, (England)

It is this extreme ignorance that makes it difficult today to organise effective means to prevent India's men and man-power from being used for the enslavement of the Chinese people. We think it urgent and essential that active propaganda should be carried on in India to educate the people regarding China and to arouse them to the necessity of immediate action. We must now resume the ancient personal, cultural and political relations between the two peoples. British imperialism, which in the past has kept us apart and done us so much injury, is now the very force that is uniting us in a common endeavour to overthrow it.

We trust that the leaders of the Indian movement will do all in their power to co-ordinate their struggle with that of the Chinese people so that by simultaneously engaging British Imperialism on two of its most vital fronts, China may receive active support in her present struggle, and the final victory of both people may be secured.

As this is being written I learn that, as the British delegation has invited the Chinese delegation to tour England and speak to the people, so has the Indian National Congress extended an invitation to the Chinese delegation to visit India, and it is to be hoped that the British Government in India will not put any impediments in the way.

CONCLUSION

Resolutions dealing with almost all the oppressed countries were passed, but space does not permit me to deal with them all. In passing I can but mention the very capable delegation of four men from Indonesia—the "Dutch East Indies"; also the very fine speech made by the Arabic delegate; the intelligence and the ironic humour of the Negro, Lamine Senghor, from Central Africa; the clear and uncompromising address of Professor Guio Miglioni, Member of the Italian Parliament and opponent of Mussolini—and consequently an exile; the untiring activity of the Korean nationalist delegation; the South African delegation, consisting among others of a delegate from the South African Trade Union Congress, and a Negro delegate (a Communist)

who did not believe in the professions of his white colleagues. There were also Negro delegates from many different sections of Africa.

The student organisations represented in the Congress submitted to the Executive a request to have a student representative in the Executive and to aim at the unification of the youth and workers' movements of the world.

It is difficult to end this review without mentioning the silent and intense work of Messrs. A. Gibati and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, whose organisational work had been responsible for the success of the Congress. Especially the latter, our own countryman, who, an exile from India for over 25 years, is untiring in his work for India and unflinching in his optimism.

DR. HELENA LANGE

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

TO do justice to the long and creative life of Dr. Helena Lange would necessitate writing a social history of Germany for the past three-quarters of a century. For not only is she a product of that period, but she is one of the forces that gave it colouring and tendency. That social history, if written, would reach down to the present and find her, a woman of 78, sitting at her desk editing "Die Frau" which she founded over thirty years ago, reading and reviewing books, receiving callers, granting interviews, and carrying on a large correspondence dealing with the woman's movement and with the education of women. In that three-quarters of a century we would find her, one of the truest representatives of the German spirit, standing in her secure, uncompromising strength, scanning the horizon for the oncoming generations of free educated women; a woman who, as she today says, stands at the sunset of her life; and yet who is filled with a surging energy and idealism, and with a marvellous, permeating humour seldom to be found in age.

Who and what she is may best be expressed in the words of the University of Tübingen when, after the War, it conferred upon her the honorary degree of Doctor of Political Economy "in honour of her services as leader and pioneer of woman's work in national economy."

She is further the woman who, as Dr. Gertrude Baumer, her biographer, has said, "stepped out fearlessly upon land that had not been trod before, and cried into the emptiness, not knowing if even an echo would answer."

The courage it took to do this cannot be conceived by us today, with higher schools of learning and all professions open to us. But in the last quarter of the last century such a step called for not only courage, but also scientific knowledge and training that could compete with and defeat men on their own grounds. All this Helena Lange possessed. Just how and why it happened we do not know, for we never know what causes one woman to break through all bonds and impediments and rise to be a power while

girls brought up by her side and with the same opportunities blend with the generality and remain mediocre. It may be that a part of her elemental energy may be traced back to her peasant ancestry. We see her in her childhood in north-eastern Germany, growing up and studying in the elementary schools with girls and boys alike, living a life somewhat freer than that of most German girls of the time. At the age of fourteen we see her reading voraciously, with the photographs of Garibaldi, Korner and Schiller over her study table. The atmosphere about her was vigorous, for she had been born in the historic year of the German Revolution, in 1848.

When she was fourteen her father sent her to Tübingen to the south to study for a year in the home of a pastor who was a Professor of Theology in the University there. In that home she learned a lesson which, she says, was the beginning of her life's work on behalf of women. She saw a home in which men had their afternoon coffee in the dining hall, the women waiting tables and then drinking their coffee in the kitchen; in which no woman was permitted to participate in the conversations of the men; in which no woman was entitled to study, converse, or make any pretension to independent thought. The wife of the pastor even warned her young girl guest against letting it be known that she had read so much or that she held independent ideas. Such girls never found a husband! That was, says Helena Lange in her "Memoirs", a picture of German home life of that period, and one that forced her, at that young age, to ask the women "but why do you permit it?"

Within a year after this experience in Tübingen she was left an orphan and forced to stand almost entirely on her own feet—no easy thing in those days, especially for a girl. We find her coaching little girls in their studies, and at the age of eighteen studying to be a teacher in an Alsacian Pension. The teachers' course lasted six months—such was the superficial training for women teachers in those days.

After teaching in southern Germany for five years Helena Lange came to Berlin and began the life that was eventually to place her at the head of the woman's movement. That was in 1871, when she was a young, energetic woman with the future before her. Academic study was impossible for a woman in those days, but she studied alone and with private teachers. Kant and Schopenhauer

were her guides in philosophy; Lotze and Wundt in psychology, and Lessing and Schiller were as friends to her mind. Goethe was for her, as for most Germans, the Bible. With an apple and a sandwich she stood for hours in a line before the Imperial Opera, waiting her turn to buy a fifty pfennig seat to hear good music. From her hard-earned money she paid for lessons in Greek, Latin and Mathematics. Self-discipline in her intellectual life, precision and fundamental thought and work were rules of life to her, and the time came later when Latin and Greek were as familiar to her as her mother-tongue, and when she was a master of mathematics.



Dr. Helena Lange

The position of women of Germany at that period is best summarized in her "Memoirs", a book which is a marvellous study of social forces from 1848 to the present day. She shows us a society in which the old home activities and industries of women were being destroyed by a new industrial civilization; girls were forced to make their own living, and yet they did not know how. She shows us, also, a large class of wealthier middle class girls, sick of the emptiness of their lives, seeking relief in dilettantism in music and art, in the conversation of the tea room or the salon; women who, by rigid social custom, were prevented from doing any work

outside the home, from seeking any creative outlet for their energies, or from earning any money. As in India today with so many women, for a woman to earn her own living was regarded as a thing of shame, although it is almost impossible to understand from what perverted psychological source such an attitude comes.

In any case, it was upon this emptiness, this distress, and this superficiality in women's lives that the woman's movement had declared relentless war. The General Association of German Women had been founded in 1865 and when Helena Lange came to Berlin she came into intimate contact with some of its leaders. By coincidence she also came into touch with a small group of liberal thinking men and women and their association was a food to a hungry soul. They not only had liberal educators and writers among themselves, but they were further fortified in their position by the appearance of John Stuart Mill's book, "The Subjection of Women", which had just been translated into German. Mill held, as is well known, that the subjection of woman was not only an injustice in itself, but a serious handicap in the development of our race. Margaret Sanger, a more modern writer, has expressed it more fundamentally in the phrase: "A woman enslaved cannot but help give a measure of bondage to her children." Mill demanded that all economic, legal, and political restrictions upon woman be removed, and that all schools, universities and professions be opened to them.

Helena Lange was deeply impressed, but she took a position that has run like a red thread through the years of her rich and varied life and without which it is impossible to think of her or of the German woman's movement. It was that not only is there certain public work that woman is quite as capable of doing as is man; but that there is much work that women and women alone are best able to do; for instance, social welfare, certain educational activities, health work, and so on. In other words, all work in which the spiritualized and sublimated mother instinct may be creatively expressed.

We can almost see her in those fresh early years of her life: tall, blonde, blue-eyed, Teutonic; restless with energy; teaching for hours to make enough money to live and study; studying ceaselessly to prepare herself for better service; questioning all things

from philosophy and religion to the social order of society—qualities that remain with her on her up-grade to a Century.

She became a teacher in a Teachers' Seminar of a girls' school in Berlin, and later she became the director of the entire school. She remained there for fifteen years, and this period of the school was marked by a lengthening of the course of study for both girls and for the teachers' seminar; to giving the instruction a sound, scientific basis, and the lives of the students a goal and a purpose.

During this same period she was active in the woman's movement, was one of its leaders, and was executive of the Berlin Association of Women Teachers. The thing that brought her directly into the open battle field, however, was a brochure known as the "Yellow Pamphlet" which she wrote and addressed to the Ministry of Education. This was in 1887, when she was 39 years of age, a woman ripe in knowledge and experience. With this pamphlet began the public fight that lasted for many years and that made her name identical with a program and a central point of struggle in the woman's movement. In this pamphlet she demanded, among a number of other important reforms, that Gymnasiums for women, the same as those existing for men, be created. And that the direction of girls' schools be placed in the hands of women teachers. Furthermore, she demanded that the teaching of German and of religion be placed in the hands of women, because men pervert the teaching of these subjects in so far as women are concerned.

Such a shock! The German men teachers especially, were horrified at such demands; Helena Lange was challenging the will of God (so many men get God and themselves confused) and was striking at the very foundations of morality, religion, the home and the purity of women; Volumes could be collected of the articles they wrote against her, and they formed an association for fighting the emancipation of women. One has to smile—for the Germans were so like so many Indian men of this year of our Lord, 1926. The Neanderthal mind is the same in all ages and under all suns.

Once having laid down a scientific program, Helena Lange, with characteristic, scientific thoroughness, began to support it by facts and figures. With the help of the German Empress Viktoria she went to England and

studied at Newnham and Girton Colleges, both of which were being conducted most successfully and under Woman management. Her book "The Education of women" appeared in the same year.

When she returned from her trip abroad she with a few other German women, addressed a petition to the Humboldt Academy in Berlin asking that women be admitted to scientific courses. The Academy, under the direction of professors sympathetic to the woman's movement, granted the request, and Helena Lange was given the responsibility of building and directing the courses for women. This she did, and for the first time scientific courses of a higher nature were opened to German women. She carried on the work for five years. But there were no examinations at the end, and women who wished to get a university training had to go to Switzerland where they studied, took their degrees, and then returned to Germany to practise their professions.

Helena Lange never rested. In 1890 she founded and was president of the German Women Teachers' Association, an organisation whose purpose was to carry the fight further. Its foundation heralded the awakening of women teachers to their duties as educators and as leaders of women. Its demands covered; reform in elementary girls' schools; the founding of Gymnasiums (high schools) for women; an increasing influence of women in girls' schools and in school management; the placing of German and of religion in the hands of women; the admission of women to the universities; the establishment of institutions for the professional or trade training of women; the establishment of teachers' training schools on a sound educational basis instead of the two years then existing.

Apart from her intense activity in placing and supporting this program before the public, her next step of importance was to found "Die Frau" (The Woman), a monthly magazine which she, in cooperation with Dr. Gertrude Baumer, still edits. It was then as now a magazine that embraces every phase of woman's activities in all lands, and is the most important source of information concerning women's activities that exists.

Although the point of attack for a large body of men, she was yet a personality who was respected by many influential professors and officials. The Ministry of Education had held a number of conferences with her and

her educational program was discussed at length. In the end she succeeded, and in the same year that she founded "Die Frau," the Ministry of Education sanctioned the founding of the first girls' gymnasium in Germany. She was made director of it, as well as the instructor of Greek. She transformed her courses in the Humboldt Academy into Gymnasium courses, and began work—with thirteen pupils. Of these few girls, six came from the Humboldt Academy and were advanced students prepared to study for the university matriculation examinations at the end of their course.

The propaganda against the Gymnasium was very great and few parents would permit their daughters to attend. Men teachers wrote that they "bent double with laughter" at the grotesque idea of the Gymnasium. But Helena Lange was clear-visioned enough to expect this, and with the full burden of the historic experiment resting upon her shoulders, spared neither her body nor her mind. It was three years later—in 1896—that the first six girls, formerly from the Humboldt Academy—appeared for the university examinations. When the results were known, each one had passed with honours, the examiners exclaiming that their work was superior to that of most of the men students. Whether the men teachers bent double with laughter again we do not know, but we do know that groups of men students from other universities telegraphed their congratulations to those first six girl pioneers. The Berlin university was opened to women, but it was not until 1899 that the medical profession was opened to them, and only in 1906 that they were permitted to appear for the State's Examinations for teaching the highest subjects.

One would think she had enough to do with her educational work. Yet in those days the education of women was a problem intimately connected with women's advancement on the whole. To really place it upon a secure foundation, meant tireless and never-ceasing work in the women's movement. The year after the first Gymnasium for girls was founded, the Council of German Woman Associations came into being, and shortly after that Helena Lange became, and for many years, remained its president. At the same time she was on the Executive Committee of the International Association of Women, attending their meetings in

Paris, The Hague, Geneva, Stockholm and Dresden. In 1904 in Berlin, and in 1914 in Rome. She headed the German delegations to the international congresses.

The German woman's movement on the whole has from the very beginning been characterized by its strong social tendency, in contrast to the strong political tendency of the woman's movement in such countries as England and America. It concerned itself chiefly with inner problems, such as social welfare, youth welfare, working mothers, unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, divorce, marriage and sexual ethics, and the education of women. Many of these problems were not even touched upon by American or English women until very recently as for example unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, marriage and sexual ethics. But even in the days when respectable women were not supposed to discuss such matters, German women had frankly and honestly faced them. It was their propaganda that spread over to the Scandinavian countries and caused the latter to pass the first legislation protecting illegitimate children and the unmarried mother.

Helena Lange's chief interest was always education, but as President of the Council of German Women's Associations her activities were broad. One of her books is entitled "The Woman and her Modern Problems," a work dealing with social problems such as mentioned above. And it was her philosophy, her Weltanschauung, that coloured the entire German woman's movement and distinguished it from the movements in other lands. It is because of this philosophy that she has become known as the theoretician of the woman's movement. This philosophy may be very briefly and incompletely summarized as follows:

There is a spiritual, as well as a physical, difference between the sexes, and although women may do many different kinds of public work as well as men, yet they are especially fitted and destined for different spheres of activity. The very essence of woman is motherhood and all that woman does in her cultural development or activities works through her as a woman and as a mother. This does not mean that every woman must be a mother, physically, to possess this quality. Instead, there is a *psychic* motherhood which in the cultured woman finds expression in all she does. A

her own child or in work for the children of other women or in both. In fact, it is often the motherless woman who is the best mother, the best teacher. This mother instinct always lies in readiness in the being of woman, and all culture means its spiritualization. It is this power which gives such tremendous driving force to the social activities of women today, and it is this force that must be awakened and used in all branches of our life if our civilization is to be more than a mere brutalized machine in which hatred and war are ruling features

FURTHER :

Woman's "place" is, therefore, not an external, but an inner and spiritual experience she says. Die Baumer, her biographer, says that "God may be worshipped not only in Jerusalem, but in all places and at all times." Or, we may say, God may be worshipped not only in Mecca or in Benares. So it is with woman—her "place" is not just in the home, not just here or there, but wherever she can do good and use her powers and abilities best. Where that is, is for the woman herself to decide. There are many women who may wish to reach the same goal as men; for such the road lies through the Gymnasium and the University. There are others who will wish to pass through the women's schools, or the trade or special professional schools and enter work that is in the external form "woman's work." But wherever woman is, the *effect* of her work is and must be different from the work of men.

FURTHER STILL :

In all this there is no place for antagonism between men and women when once women are free to choose their way of life. The bond between man and woman must not only be that existing between husband and wife; but it lies also in their broader cooperation in the building of our cultural life and our civilization upon other foundations than they stand today. This civilization, as it is developing, is going to draw woman more and more into social life for the old home activities of woman are being replaced, or have already been replaced, by modern inventions. Woman's life, as a consequence, is becoming narrower and emptier, and the only way of meeting

take part in all activities—in the professions, in social works, in education, and in politics. This new development is not evil just because it is new; on the contrary, it is a valuable addition to our human history and marks the entrance of a new force in our external life that is capable of transforming the face of society.

Writing in her "Memoirs," Dr. Lange says:

"Each spiritual movement has been called at one time a stupidity. So with the woman's movement. But whoever has known this movement that has become a force in modern life, a force that has spread over all cultured lands, cannot belittle it. Its foundations are those that will be deepened by time; they rest on the instinct that lies at the heart of woman—the instinct for the protection and care of the human race. It is this force that will make this movement endure and triumph over ambition and the hunger for power, over hate and materialism. It is this merciful mother instinct, in which lies buried the physical and spiritual being of mankind and which nourishes mankind with its blood that can build a new world. When we begin to build a new world upon this foundation—a foundation upon which all our historical development must rest—when our civilization, in other words, 'comes from God', it cannot be destroyed."

So it is that she, at the sunset of her life, works today, with this deep and unshakable conviction as the starting point from which she approaches all problems.

It is said by many today that her work is finished, that the day of feminism is passed. They say that the pre-War period in Europe was the period of the emancipation of woman, with Ibsen as its dramatic prophet; and that the woman's movement in those days coloured even the Socialist movement. They believe, however, that this problem is at an end because the chief problem since the War is the struggle of the working class for emancipation; that this is the period of the class struggle, and not the sex struggle. They further hold that the working woman has nothing in common with the middle or upper class woman, who only exploit her, and, that the problem of the higher education of woman never applied to the working woman.

All this the writer believes—in part. The philosophy of Socialism—whether Anarchism, Communism, or Socialism—recognizes class solidarity, and not sex solidarity.

This is the outstanding problem of this period and it will not be stilled until it is solved, whether it be within ten or within fifty years.

But granting all this, it cannot be forgotten that right within the revolutionary working class there is a woman's problem. All is not economics. Combined with the fundamental problem of the fight for food there are instincts, as old as the first amoeba, to be dealt with. Men, whether of the working or upper classes, have inherited the master and ownership psychology regarding woman. Working-class women do not have much better treatment at the hands of their husbands than do middle and upper class women, neither in the intellectual or sexual meaning of the term. There are working class women who also wait on their husbands and his guests and then have their coffee in the kitchen. Or generally do without coffee because there is not enough to go round. They do not share in the conversations, go to meetings, nor do they study. They, as are middle and upper class women, are regarded as convenient pieces of household furniture and they are often treated with as little respect.

Here it is that the philosophy of Helena Lange enters within the heart of the working class movement. Although not a Socialist, her philosophy is so deep and universal that it applies to all classes at all times. And even with actual practical modern day problems she is not a force to be shoved aside just because she happened to have been born 78 years ago. Through her magazine "Die Frau," she is today stepping out upon the open battle-field for a problem that touches women, it matters not what their class. She has but recently written that the sore spot of woman's freedom is not with the professional woman, but, instead, with married women and the mother, in the home. She has many women friends who are physicians, and she has documentary proof for the statement that much illness of women, nervous and otherwise, is due to the sex treatment of the wife by the husband. The married woman is a sex slave, without autonomy over her own body; her husband takes it for granted that she is there for his personal use when he and he alone wishes it. If the woman resists, violence is used. The old emotion of ownership enters, and it is not only intensified by marriage laws and by social custom, but by woman's

economic dependence upon man and by the sanctity that society gives this dependence.

Thus we find Helena Lange at her age, a woman whose life has been marked by a rigid sex morality, tearing down the curtains before a problem that many people consider "too sacred" to discuss. It is not "sacred" at all, but is a secret shame that must be exposed. Not only in Germany, be it understood. India may turn its eyes inwards.

Helena Lange says the object of her life's work has by no means been achieved. She did what was before her to do. But the direction of girl's schools today does not yet lie in women's hands, as it should. And there are many, many problems affecting the external and personal lives of women that must be solved. The woman's movement, she says, is in the beginning, not at the end. She continues to wield her pen with unrelenting clarity. This keeps her very busy, keeps her working, travelling when necessary, keeping in touch with the woman's movement. She has resigned as President of the woman's movement—and she has a touch of

that incomparable humour when she says: "Yes, I thought it best to get out early and have them say, 'Oh, isn't it too bad', instead of waiting and having them say, 'Well at last she's resigned!'"

As this is being written a fight is in progress in the Hamburg Senate because of the plan to call a girls' Gymnasium the "Helena Lange Gymnasium." Certain Neanderthal gentlemen say that the name "Helena Lange" means a program that they are opposed to. But the replies given by the defenders of the plan, and by the press show that the plan will materialize, for the Germans to-day realize, at least in part, what Dr. Helena Lange has meant in the cultural development of women. As one newspaper stated:

"She was a woman who filled the empty lives of countless women with meaning and a high professional ethics. Her work was positive and constructive in the best meaning of the word. She belongs to those Germans who have represented Germany in the deepest and most scientific meaning of the word."

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHANDERNAGORE AND THE PROBLEM OF THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL.

THE small town on the left bank of the Bhagirathi that goes by the name of Chandernagore has been known as such for the last two hundred and fifty years at the most. As regards its previous history or its possible antiquity no definite information is available. The name of the place began to be mentioned only after the advent of the French; and even then for the first fifty years or more its history is almost a blank.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PLACE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

There is no record from which we can clearly ascertain how old the name is; nor do we know of any reference to it that may carry us beyond the time of the arrival of the French. So far as it is known, the very first mention of the name occurs in a letter, dated the 21 November 1696, written by Martin, Deslande and Pellé to the then Director(1). There is also a map prepared by Brouck somewhere previous to 1664 and published in 1726 which bears a flagmark indicating

this is supposed to be a later interpolation(2). Certain old mss. and printed books speaking of the locality mention other villages such as *Boro*, *Khalsani*, *Gondolpara* and, adjoining the latter, *Paikpara*, but not Chandernagore.

Thus, *Manasa Mangal*, written about 1495 A.D. by Vipradas, speaks of *Boro* and *Paikpara* (3); and *Kavikankan Chandi*, a work now almost three hundred years old, in describing the places on either side of the Bhagirathi mentions *Gondolpara* (4). From the description it can be easily understood that *Boro* is the same place which goes by that name even today and is included within Chandernagore and which used to be called formerly Borokishanpur or Krishnapur; and that *Gondolpara* is the locality of the same name that is now on the southern side of the town. Another work, *Digvijaya Prakasa*, narrates that in very ancient times a fisherman king lived at *Khalsani* (5). This *Khalsani* also can be no other than the village which bears the same name today and lies on the western outskirts of Chandernagore; for the book mentions also in the same connexion names of other contiguous villages such as

Jagaddal, Singur and Haripal. The story of a fisherman being king may not be altogether a myth. For from prehistoric times the region covered by the modern district of Hugli has been mostly inhabited by fishermen (6). I have heard that there is an old ms. dealing with the story of Srimanta and Chandi which contains the line, "He installed Boraichandi at Boro" (7).

I enquired of Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri and also of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, but neither of them could tell me of any work, either in print or in ms., anterior to the 17th century which mentioned Chandernagore by name. From all this it is natural to conclude that at the time of the composition of the works which speak of Boro, Gondolpara and Khalisani and yet do not mention Chandernagore, those villages were not grouped together under the common name of Chandernagore and possibly there was no place at all called as such. Otherwise we would expect the poets to have included that name also in their description of the locality.

In 1676 Streynsham Master, Agent of the British East India Company, who later on became Governor of Madras, came to see the settlements in Hugli and in referring to the French settlement there he speaks of it as covering a large tract of land (8).

So we see that at the time when the locality was not yet called Chandernagore, even then there existed the villages known as *Khalisani*, *Gondolpara*, *Boro*, and such others. The name *Boro* is said to, have come from a variety of paddy, called *Boro* that used to grow there formerly. This may or may not be true. However, *Boro* was the chief station of the Pargana of the same name which formed part of Satgaon (9). The Pargana of Boro was itself a big Pargana in the Hugli district. Even now the name is used in legal transactions. Gondolpara was the property of the Nawab Khan Jehan Khan; it was given to the French Company on lease (10). Several other villages of the locality, such as, *Sabaniera*, *Chack Nasirabad*, *Ganj Sukrabad* seem also to be old enough. At least the antiquity of Khalisani is beyond doubt, since, as I have already pointed out, it is mentioned in a work a thousand years old. The few other villages that we speak of now do not figure in that book; this is because, it may justly be advanced, the book was concerned with the description of places only on either bank of the river and therefore those that were not exactly on the coast but lay somewhat in the interior did not naturally come within the poets' purview. Furthermore it is to be noted that the entire country was under one government and there was no special need to select some particular villages and group them under a common name.

From these facts we can safely conclude that the name Chandernagore was given to the group of villages consisting principally of Boro-kishanpur, Khalisani and Gondolpara when these came all together and at the same time into the possession of the French; just as modern Calcutta was formed out of the villages Sutanati, Kalikata and Gobindapur when they passed into the hands of the British. Besides those villages, Chandernagore might have included two or three other villages also, such as, Sabinara, Chaknasirabad. However there is sufficient reason to believe that the entire country covered by these villages and their neighbourhood, on the left bank of the Bhagirathi was generally called Hugli (11).

It is difficult to determine how and by whom the name Chandernagore was first given. There are three legends current on the point. Firstly many have stated that Chandernagore comes either from "chandra" (moon) or from "chandan" (sandal wood); in the previous case, the name is properly "Chandra-nagar" and in the latter case, Chandannagar (12). But as for the reasons why *chandra* or *chandan* was chosen as the designation of the place, no definite statement is found anywhere. Only a local news-paper, "Prajabandhu", says that the name *chandra* was given because of the contour of the place which is similar to the bow like crescent moon on the forehead of the Lord Shiva (13). A French work names the place as "Ville de la Lune" and, in fact, a look at the map of Chandernagore viewed from the Bhagirathi would seem to justify the epithet. But most of the writers favour the idea that Chandernagore was so named, as it was a land of Sandal-wood—"ville du bois de Santal." Indeed, a considerable trade in sandal-wood was once carried on in this place and there is evidence to show that the article was even exported to foreign lands from here (14). We also find it mentioned that in later days a certain kind of red-coloured wood used to be exported in large quantities from this place; and this may be either *Bakam* or red sandal (15). Further more, it is known that Rudra, the saintly King of Nadia, procured sandal-wood from the vicinity of Hugli (16). Sambhu Chandra De states authoritatively that once sandal-wood used to grow plentifully in this locality (17). So we see that either of the reasons adduced to explain the origin of the name of Chandernagore may be valid; but it seems more probable that the second one, that is to say, the place having in it a sandal forest or its being a trade centre in sandal was what gave the name. This view gathers confirmation from yet another source. Sir William Jones, who was often invited to the festivities held in the palace at Garuti, says in one place of his diary that the French used to decorate the town after the fashion of "Chandan so lipoe dham" and hence the name (18). If this be a fact then it agrees with the view which holds the name, Chandernagore, to come from sandal or *chandan*.

As to who first gave the name, no record expressly says anything. Some opine that the name was given by Deslande. The only proof I have been able to find in support of this opinion is that the name is mentioned by Deslande in 1696. However, if the proposition that the name Chandernagore came into existence only with the French occupation happens to be true, then on that basis it is reasonable to conclude that the name was first given by a Frenchman, be it Deslande or somebody else.

Chandernagore is otherwise called *Farashdanga*. The origin and the age of this name also is no less uncertain. The locality was bounded on the East by the Bhagirathi and on the other sides mostly by marshes and low-lands (19); so the name *danga* (upland) is quite appropriate and as the French were occupying the place, it was naturally *Farashi-danga* (the Bengali word for French is *Farashi*) which later on corrupted into *Farash-danga*. This is all that can be said in the matter. I have seen a document in Bengali of the year 1175 (B.S.) with an indistinct Persian seal on it and with the signature in Persian of Muhammad Wazid Hossain which contains the word *Farash-*

danga (20). Clive used the word *France-dongy* in a letter to the Nawab, dated the 30th. March, 1757 (21). This is also a corrupted form of *Farash-danga*, which name thus seems to be as old as the beginning of the French settlement.

WHEN AND WHY THE FACTORY WAS ESTABLISHED

AT CHANDERNAGORE

There is a difference of opinion as regards the time when the French established their first Factory in India for the purpose of commerce and also as regards the original place, whether it was Chandernagore or not. The reasons for establishing a business centre in Bengal are not less variously interpreted. It is, however, quite natural to suppose that the same reasons, that is to say, the same advantages which prompted other European nations to choose the banks of the river Hugli or places in and about the town of Hugli as trade centres made the French also establish a colony in the same locality. There can be no doubt that what tempted these foreigners to come and establish themselves here was the abundance of Bengal's natural and industrial products.

It was Caron, the first director of the French Company, who saw the possibility of exporting from this place valuable commodities and therefore sent Deslande to establish a centre (22). We know from another source that samples of various articles had already been sent, perhaps for the first time, from Bengal to Pondichery in 1685: and in the following year Martin had despatched a ship and a man, named Deltor, with 40,000 ecus (23). Another year passed and Deslande arrived with the commission to establish and organise a factory, which was first started at Hugli. (24) Historian Keplin says that Deslande in the beginning chose his place at Bandel, near the Portuguese Factory (25).

One of the reasons for locating the Factory here was without doubt, to procure the beautiful Muslin of the place which was so much prized by the luxury-loving French people. In old times Chandernagore produced Muslin in abundance and this article as well as many other varieties of cotton fabrics were exported in large quantities (26). Later records show that Chandernagore cloths could be sold at a greater profit than the cloths of other places (27).

According to English records, the establishment of a Factory in Bengal by the French East India Company was a matter of sheer accident. It is said that in 1673 a fleet despatched by de la Haye, while returning to San Thome, was overtaken by a severe storm and one ship, *Flemen*, by name, instead of heading towards the Coromandal was driven astray towards Baleswar. This vessel was then attacked and captured by three Dutch vessels and brought to Hugli. It is the crew of this ship who built a small house near the Dutch Factory at Hugli and started the first business (28).

This bit of history is not found in French record; and it does not explain the real reason for an organised effort at trade by the French Company. The story, however, may not be false on that account. For, about 15 years before the Company definitely established itself in Bengal, that is to say in 1673 or 1674, Du Plessis had secured a plot of land in Chandernagore, about 1½ leagues (29) to the South of Hugli. We also know that in 1673 the French had bought for Rs. 401 a village, with an area of 20 arpents (30) which is situated now

in Chandernagore and to the South of Chinsura (31). A different record says, however, that the plot of land was not more than 20 arpents and was a part of Boro-quichempour (Borokishanpur) (32). The Factory Records of Hugli state that the French built a small house near the Dutch Factory and that they were driven out from the place through the machinations of the Dutch who, by presents and petitions, won over the Mussalman Nawab. This was, however, the excuse the French gave in quitting the place; but the real reason was that they could not raise there any more loan. They departed with a debt of Rs. 8,000 (33).

Streysham Master who represented the British Company came to visit the Hugli Factory in 1676. On his way back he is said to have crossed a garden belonging to the Dutch (called, Dutch Garden) about 2 miles away from Hugli; a little farther on he saw a large plot of land where, he himself says, the French had formerly built a factory, the gates of which were even then existent. The land was at that time occupied by the Dutch. On the way he passed by a few thatched houses (34). C. R. Wilson says that the Dutch Garden was within what is now called Chandernagore (35).

L.S.S. O'Malley identifies the factory described by Streysham Master with the small house near the Dutch Factory at Hugli, referred to in the Hugli Factory Records. He says furthermore that this house was situated just to the South of Chinsura, along the northernmost boundary of Chandernagore (36). Mr. Bradley Birt also supports the view and thinks this to be the original place occupied by the French on the bank of the Bhagirathi (37).

Thus two of the older writers agree in stating that the French Factory or house was near the Dutch Factory or Garden. But one of them places it at a distance of two miles from Hugli while the other includes it within Hugli. It is difficult at the first view to regard both the statement as one. But there can be no doubt that the statements of the two later writers, O'Malley and Bradley are one and the same. The relation of Chandernagore to Hugli is a matter which often raises considerable amount of uncertainty in the minds of the enquirers into the early history of Chandernagore.

As a matter of fact, before they permanently settled in Chandernagore the French had a Factory for some time at Bandel (38). Also it is true they had already commenced their trading business from there. But I have gone through many historical records, both in English and in French, and I have nowhere come across anything to show that that concern, lasted long. Some old French records use, however, the name Hugli instead of Chandernagore but the place referred to is evidently what is now-a-days designated as Chandernagore when they speak of Chandernagore as a dependency of Hugli—"ce lieu de Chandernagore de la dependance d'Ougly" or "ce lieu de Chandernagore dependance de cette ville et Government d'Ougly"—they do not mean that Chandernagore was within the jurisdiction of the Factory at Hugli. Boro Kishanpur, which belongs to Chandernagore and is within the Pargana of Boro, is similarly described as being a dependency of Satgaon—"Boroquichempour, capitale du paragonate du Boro, dependant de Satgaon" (39). Paul Kaeppelin, a French historian, says on this matter that for a very long time people used to call the French

colony by the name of the neighbouring place, Hugli (40). Laurent Garcin also writes in support of this view in his journal that the entire region lying on the western bank of the Hugli and even Chinsura was called Hugli (41). H. Weber also says that in all legal documents of that time Chandernagore was mentioned as Hugli, as it was contiguous to the latter place (42).

The second time that the French came and established a Factory in Chandernagore was in 1688 A. D. Many historians assert that this was the time when the French founded their colony and town and received the grant from the Mogul Emperor (43). It is true that it was in 1688 that the French bought from Aurangzeb a plot of land measuring 942 hectares (44) for the sum of Rs 4,000 and with the permission of the Emperor began their trade in a systematic manner (45).

This book mentions only the purchase of the plot but nothing about its extent. So far as I have been able to find out, the plot had not this area. Yet there can be no doubt also as to the fact that in 1673 or 1674 a man named Du Plessis had bought a plot of land and set up a factory and that this was the earliest and the first attempt (46). The name of this Du Plessis is not however, found in any record; but that the French first came to Chandernagore in 1673 or 1674 may be gathered from many historical sources (47). Thus S. C. Hill,

Niccolas Manucci, James Grant, Charles Stuart and others fix the time of their arrival as 1676; while G. B. Maleson gives one to understand that this first batch came and did not at all return (48).

Streynsham Masters' observations, however, lend support to the view that they came in 1673 or 1674. The year 1688 is usually taken as the time when the French got the Farman from the Mogul Emperor. But in reality this was not the final Farman, but only a permit to set up a Factory. The real Farman was obtained only in January, 1693 after a good deal of struggle involving much correspondence and much expenditure extending years since 1689 (49). Cordiers note, however, puts the year as 1695 (50).

The man who came on the second occasion as the chief representative of the Company was the reputed founder of the Factory at Baleswar, Deslande, by name. Although he was not the pioneer, yet he it is who has appropriated till now all the glory of having laid the foundation of Chandernagore. The most curious thing here is that it was also the same Du Plessis who got on lease a plot of land at Baleswar from Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Bengal, and established a Factory there; none the less many historians consider Deslande as the founder of the Baleswar Factory (51). Deslande was born at Tours sometime between 1640 and 1650 as the scion of a family of nobles. He came out to India in the reign of Louis XIV as a member of the French East India Company. He married subsequently a daughter of Francis Martin, the founder of Pondicherry (52).

The story of the French settlement in Chandernagore, that is to say, in Bengal, told in brief stands thus. In 1673-1674 Du Plessis secured, with the permission of the Nawab Ibrahim Khan a plot of land lying on the northern side of what is now known as Chandernagore and about four miles to the South of Hugli and erected a Factory there, which was fortified subsequently, perhaps in 1676, for protection against enemies (53). Then

the Dutch managed to win over the Nawab by presents and petitions and drive out the French or perhaps the French left the place of their own accord for reasons of convenience. In 1687 Deslande created a small centre at Bandel and started trade business. Later on as he had dissensions with the missionaries of the Augustan sect (54) or perhaps owing to some other inconvenience (55) he left the place and tried to remove to Hugli (56) But he could not secure a suitable plot here and so petitioned to the Nawab asking permission to erect a separate Factory in the same plot in Chandernagore which Du Plessis had bought. The Dutch came to know of this and once more wrote to the Governor of Hugli and the Nawab. As a result, the Company was at first refused permission. Finally, however, through the intercession of Gregory Boulet the Company got the permission to trade, free of duty, on paying a sum of Rs 40,000 to the Mogul govt. and on the same terms as accorded to the Dutch. A merchant named Maccarah rendered great help in this matter. It was settled that of the Rs 40,000 a quarter should be paid immediately and the rest in instalments of Rs 5,000 a year on an interest of 3½ p.c. The interest, however, was subsequently reduced to 2½ p.c. The petition for the Farman was submitted in the beginning of 1689, the acknowledgement of receipt came in November 1691 and it reached the Nawab through the Dewan in Jan. 1693 (57). It was from this time that the French East India Company possessed a large proprietary right in Chandernagore; and this was, as all historians agree, how the first foundation was laid of the French rule in Chandernagore.

(To be concluded.)

(1) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(2) Diary of William Hedges Esq. Vol. III. Wilson in his "Early annals of the English in Bengal", Vol. I, gives a map of the Hugli river in the 16th century which shows Chandernagore. But it seems certain that the place was not known as such at that time.

3. "On the right was Hugli and on the left Bhatpara, to the west was Boro and to the east Kankinada. Mulajode and Garulia were also soon passed; and to the west lay now Paikpara and Bhadreswar." *Manasa-Mangal* by Vipradas.

4. "Sadhu carried fresh water on to the boat. The chief shouted, "Row on, row on." Sadhu rowed past Garifa and then Gondolpara; he rowed past Jagaddal and reached Na-para." *Kavikankanchandi* edited by Akshaya Ch. Sirkar.

5. "*Khalasani mahagrame yatra raja cha dhivarah.*" *Banglar puravritta* Part I.

6. Bengal District Gazetteer--Hoogly, Vol. XXIX.

7. I had not the opportunity to see the work myself. Sreejot Jogendra Kumar Chattopadhyaya, asst. Editor of Hitabadi, informed me of the ms. which he had seen at the house of the late Pandit Raghunath Vidyabhusan of the village, *Dhanyakheru*, near *Satgechhe*, in the district of Burdwan.

8. Diary of William Hedges Vols. II & III. The author mentions Hugli, Baranagore and other places and would certainly have mentioned Chandernagore had he come across the name.

9. *Patta* of Raja Ram Choudhuri, found among the unpublished records at Pondicherry.

10. A sketch of the Administration of Hooghly District.

11. 'Gracin's Journal' and 'La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(12) (a) The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II.

(b) Les Colonies Francaises.

(c) Statistical account of Hugli.

(d) L'Inde Francaise.

(e) Bengal District Gazetteers---Hoogly.

(f) Histoire des Missions de l'Inde. Vol. I.

(g) Carey's Tour in the Hugli and Howrah Dist.

(h) Prajabandhu, 27 Kartik, 1289 B.S.

(i) Hooghly, Past and Present.

(13) Prajabandhu, 27 Kartik, 1289 B.S.

(14) In 1700 A.D. the ship "Phelypeaux" carried from this place sandal-wood among other things.—La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(15) La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875).

16. Kshitish Granthavali.

17. Hooghly, Past and Present.

18. Basantaka. An old Periodical, published from 336 Chitpore. I have not been able to decipher the entire phrase.

19. Map of 1767-1769.

20. Deed of grant endowing Sri Sri Radhakanta, the house-hold deity of Sreejut Jogesh Chandra Bandyopadhyaya.

21. ".....to destroy the fortifications of France-dongy....."

Bengal in 1756-1757.

22. La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875).

23. The value of one ecu was at that time one English half-crown.

24. (a) Historie de la Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales.

(b) Bengal District Gazetteer—Hoogly

25. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales

26. In 1700, the ship "Phelypeaux" embarked with 150 bales of cloth and the ship "Perle de orient" with a large quantity of Muslin. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

27. The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, vol. I.

28. Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly vol XXIX.

29. One league is about 3 miles

30. A measure for land current formerly in France.

31. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, vol. I.

32. "L'Inde Francaise". This work says that the plot of land was bought by Bourean Deslande. The statement cannot be true. For, Deslande did not come to Bengal before 1687. M. Cordier's unpublished note fixes 1691 as the year of Deslande's arrival. This is also not correct. For certain

records at Pondichery show that orders were received by him in Chandernagore even in 1690 from the Nawab of Dacca.

Pundicherry Records.

33. Bengal District Gazetteer, Hoogly. vol I. XXIX.

34. Hedge's Diary, vol II.

35. The Early Annals of the English in Bengal

36. Bengal District Gazetteer—Hoogly. vol. XXIX.

37. Chandernagore—The Calcutta Review, 1918.

38. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

39. Documents relating to the sale of Boro Kishanpur—Pondicherry Records.

40. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

41. A Brief History of the Hugli District.

42. La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875.)

43. (a) Histoire des Missions de L'Inde.

(b) La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol. I.

(c) Three Frenchmen in Bengal.

(d) History of the French in India.

(e) A sketch of the Administration of the Hoogly District.

(f) Imperial Gazetteer.

(g) Early Annals of the English in Bengal.

44. One hectare equals 8 Bighas and 13 Kathas.

45. La Mission du Bengale Occidental Vol. I.

46. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales and La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Tome I.

47. (a) The Travels of a Hindoo. (b) L'Inde Francaise.

(c) La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1785)

(d) Bengal District Gazetteer Hooghly.

(e) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales;

(f) Hedges Diary Vol III.

(g) Statistical Accounts of Hugli.

(h) Calcutta Review 1918, Chandernagore.

(i) Imperial Gazetteer

These works have the year as 1672 or 1676. But in the Pondicherry records I have found no reference anterior to 1690 nor have I met there the name of Du Plessis. But that the French had a plot of land measuring atleast 61 Bighas, previous to 1690 can be known from the Parwana of Ibrahim Khan, issued in 1690.

48. History of the French in India.

49. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

50. Unpublished records of Pondicherry.

51. L'Inde Francaise "and" La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

52. Storia do Mogor, Vol. I. Introduction.

53. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol. I.

54. Storia do Mogor, Vol. I.

55. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

56. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol. I.

This work gives 1691 as the year of the quarrel.

57. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

A PRAYER FOR FREEDOM

BY SISTER NIVEDITA

Bethink thee how the world did wait,
And search for thee, through time and clime.
Some gave up home and love of friends,
And went in quest of thee self-banished,
O'er dreary oceans, through primeval forests
Each step a struggle for the life or death.
Then came the day when work bore fruit
And worship, love and sacrifice.
Fulfilled, accepted and complete.
Then Thou, propitious, rose to shed
The light of FREEDOM on mankind.

Move on, Oh Lord, in thy resistless path
Till thy high morn overspreads the world,
Till every land reflects thy light,
Till men and women, with uplifted head,
Behold their shackles broken, and
Know, in springing joy, their life renewed !

KASHINATH NARAYAN SANE (1851-1927.)

BY JADUNATH SARKAR

I

IT is said that when the old Emperor Wilhelm I and Prince Bismarck were standing bare-headed as mourners beside the unfilled grave of Von Moltke, one thought passed through the minds of both,—“Which of us will be the next ?” Similarly, when the news of Rajwade's death on the last day of 1926 followed that of Parasnis in the preceding March, the thoughts of all who care for Maratha history turned instinctively and silently to the venerable scholar whose tall taciturn and lonely figure until recently used to be seen walking the streets of Kālian every morning, though in his 76th year. The present writer made frequent inquiries about Sane's health from mutual friends in Bombay and was quite unprepared for the news that he had passed away on the 17th March last.

II

Kashinath Narayan Sane was born in a Chitpavan Brahman family in a village near Bassein in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, in 1851. After receiving his early education in that locality, he entered the Deccan College, Puna, from which he graduated in 1873. Soon afterwards he entered the Government education service, where his strenuous habits of work and love of strict discipline found favour with his superiors and led, in a few years, to his appointment as Principal of the Puna Training College, which he organised and developed with great energy and success. Then, for several years, he was Headmaster of the Government High Schools at Puna and Belgaum in succession. While he was at Belgaum the post of Educational Inspector, Southern Division, fell vacant and was given

to Raoji Balaji Karandikar. Sane felt that his claims to this high office had been unjustly superseded; but his appeal was rejected by the authorities*, and Sane showed his sense of the injustice done to him by retiring on pension before his time.

Thereafter, he devoted himself entirely to the promotion of Marathi literature, especially history. A knowledge of the Marathi language was not demanded by the Bombay University in those days, and Hari Narayan Apte (the novelist) started a scheme for encouraging the study of their mother tongue among College students by granting some scholarships as the result of an examination in Marathi prose and poetry. Sane helped Apte in this good work by acting as honorary examiner for some years. He was on the executive committee of the Historical Society (*Mandal*) of Pune from its foundation (1910) and latterly its President. Government conferred on him the title of Rao Bahadur.

III

Sane was at College with N. J. Kirtane (who was afterwards to print the *Chitnis Bakhar* of Shivaji) and Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, and imbibed a strong love of history which continued all his life. After leaving College he found that the only materials for Maratha history till then published were four or five instalments of the *Chitnis Bakhar* which had appeared in a general literary magazine named *Vividhajnana-nistar*. He then began to think of bringing out a monthly paper to be specially devoted to the publication of old historical letters. Chiplunkar heard of the idea and urged that in the projected magazine, in addition to historical letters, old unpublished Sanskrit and Marathi poems ought to be included. After some discussion, the idea materialised; a monthly magazine named *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* came out in January 1878, the editors being Sane, Chiplunkar and Janardan Balaji Modak, who took charge respectively of the three sections, Marathi historical letters, Sanskrit poems and Marathi poems. The size was super-royal octavo, 48 pages a month,—sixteen pages being devoted to each section concurrently from month to month.

* A writer in the *Kesari* suggests that Government had got an inkling of Sane's strength of character and silent but blazing patriotism, and shelved him in that atmosphere of official excitement and suspicion.

The magazine continued for eleven years. Chiplunkar retired at the end of the fourth year, but Modak carried it on to the end.

At the close of the first year the editors wrote: "Our undertaking has been greatly liked by those who read Marathi from Goa to Karachi and from Hubli-Dharwar to Gwalior and the Nizam's Dominions. We have received unexpected support from men of all classes,—from school masters on Rs. 10 a month to Rao Sahibs and Rao Bahadurs and rich merchants. True, the support has not been sufficiently liberal to enable us to conduct this work regularly and without anxiety. But it has filled us with the hope that it would increase."

Among the important helpers were 26 gentlemen at different centres, who secured old materials or carried on local investigations, sent old manuscripts or copied and annotated them for publication in the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha*. But delay in the payment of subscriptions led to delay in publication, till the number for December 1888 came out exactly twelve months later. Then the paper ceased.

But the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* could be proud of its achievement. In eleven years it had given to the world 6300 pages, consisting of 22 historical works (great and small), 501 historical letters, petitions etc., 19 large Sanskrit books and 10 collections of Marathi poems. As the editor rightly boasts, "This work marked the revival of the national spirit in Maharashtra after the set back and despair following the disaster of 1817.... A feeling of national pride was kindled. Everywhere there was awakened the desire to publish old historical works and letters".

Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, a very sober and fastidious critic, gave it high praise, saying that this magazine had been a revelation to him of how vast an amount of historical material lay unknown in Maharashtra. So also Dadoba. "The *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* has died, but its spirit liveth. As Ramdas said—True my body is gone away but I still exist in the world!" Its best title to fame was the long array of its children, e.g., the *Kavya-mala* series of Bombay (which printed Sanskrit mss. only), the *Bharatvarasha* magazine of Parasnisi (two years 1896-1897), Khare's *Atihasik Lekh Sangraha* (1896-1926, 13 vols) Rajwade's *Marathanchya Itihasanchin Sadhanen* (1898-1926, 22 vols.), Vad's *Peshwa's Diaries* (11 vols.), Parasnisi's *Itihas Sangraha* (6 years.), *Ramdas ani Ramdasi*, and

Itihas ani Aitihasik, besides the publications of the Puna Mandal. *

IV

Besides the collection of Marathi historical letters (*Patren Yadi waghaire*) which he published by instalments in the *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, Sane separately printed the *Sabhasad Bakhar* of Shivaji (which went into six editions in his life time), the *Chitnis Bakhar* (of which the volumes dealing with Shivaji's successors were issued by him for the first time, while of the Shivaji volume he brought out a richly annotated second edition in 1924), *Bhan Sahib's Bakhar* (three editions), the *Panipat Bakhar*, and Ramchandra Pant Amatya's *Rajniti*. While his editions of the *Sabhasad* and *Chitnis bakhars* are marked by minute accuracy in giving variations of reading and scrupulous fidelity to the original he spoiled the *Bhan Sahib's Bakhar* by modernising and simplifying the text for the benefit of schoolboy readers! This is opposed to the canons of scholarship. A diary which kept in his service days, describing the topography and remains of many old places all over Maharashtra, has been published anonymously in the *Vividha-jnan-vistar*.

V

In his character, he was an example of the best type of Chitpavan Brahmins,—as G. K. Gokhale was. A stern disciplinarian, with a strong and independent nature, he was very tidy and punctual in his habits, and gave in his own life a fine illustration

* Pancham Sammelan Britta, pp. 113 et seq.

of that orderliness, method and minute accuracy which he insisted on in others. In reading his works, as in conversation with him, one was impressed not by the depth of his scholarship, but by his admirable precision, methodical habit and strength of mind. Indeed, Sane's sanity was a pleasing surprise among modern Marathi writers on history.

His private life was what one would expect from such a character. His grown up and distinguished son, a vakil of the Bombay High Court, died of the terrible influenza epidemic which swept over the world just after the Great War. Sane's heart was made desolate, but his back was unbent. He kept up his regular habit of taking daily exercise by a morning walk. When, in 1924, I paid a visit to Kalian solely for the purpose of seeing him again I found the old man returning on foot from the Durgadi side, a slim, vigorous, perfectly erect figure, who struck even a stranger as a commanding personality. Indeed, he reminded one most of the late Justice Sir Chandra Madhav Ghosh, whose aged thin but stiff and dignified form could be seen taking his customary walk on the *maidan* of Calcutta every morning almost to the day of his death.

The end was worthy of the man. Sane retained his mental powers to the last. In extreme age, he began to languish, but his brain remained as fresh as ever, and he was ready to examine and accept any new idea. When doctors forbade him to leave his room he took his customary exercise on its floor. For the last fifteen days he gradually grew weaker and weaker, and at last sank peacefully to rest in full consciousness, without pain and without repining, like a ripe fruit dropping from its stem.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor *The Modern Review*.]

Portrait of Guru Gobind Singh

I.

The Frontis-piece of your "Modern Review" for March 1927 representing the portrait of Guru

Gobind Singh is the most unbefitting of its kind. It shows him with a shaved head and a trimmed beard. This is quite the reverse of what the Guru actually observed. He was never dressed like a Brahmin (naked-bodied), nor did he look

like a Mughal Emperor. On the other hand, he was always dressed as a hero and a saint, both combined.

SHAMSHER SINGH.

II

Please permit me to make a few observations on the portrait of Guru Gobind Singh published in the Modern Review March, 1927.

I admit the artist drew this picture all in good spirit and never dreamt of injuring the feelings of the Sikhs. For all his honest efforts I cannot help saying that it was a great failure. It betrays total ignorance of the artist about the Sikh Gurus and their religion. It is very sad that the artist is ignorant of even the fundamental principles of the Sikhs. (1) You can see no Sikh without hair and beard except under special circumstances. He prefers death to the removal of hair. When Banda Bahadur, a Sikh hero, was asked by the Mughals in his prison to cut the hair of his son with his own hands, the former could not bear such an idea and he preferred to see the head of his son cut off along with hair.

I, therefore, need not write that the Sikh

feelings have been greatly injured to see their great Guru represented without hair. It is quite apparent from the picture that his hair has been cut short.

(2) Secondly, the great master always used to wear a crest on his head. And in Sikh history he is always represented with a hawk and indeed he is called the Lord of the white hawk.

(3) He never wore any ear-ring and he preached against this custom of the Punjabis. Again the mechanical use of a thing has no place in Sikhism. The turning of the rosary is not a form of worship of the Sikhs and yet this master has been represented with a rosary round his neck.

He is shown here as wearing a type of moustache generally worn by the Mahamadans. One is sure to take this picture for one of a Musalman.

A person outside the Punjab can hardly distinguish a Sikh from a Mahamadan although a Sikh has quite a distinct look.

I wonder why the Bengalees, otherwise so widely read, are ignorant of the Sikhs. Is it not indeed sad that they know all about England, Europe and America and very little about their own countrymen?

• PHULA SINGH, B.A.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND CHRISTIANITY: By Puthenveetil O. Philip, B. A. Published by the Christian Literature Society, Madras. Pp. 52. Price four annas.

The author has described in this book-let the condition of the depressed classes and also what Christianity has done and can do for them.

The author frankly admits that the admission of the depressed classes in large numbers acts as a downward pull on the Christian community and prevents Indian Christianity from coming to its own is a serious objection urged against mass movements (p. 49).

The booklet is worth reading.

THE HIDDEN POWER IN MAN: By M. N. Ganesa Iyer. Published by P. K. Vinayag Mudalliar & Co. Sowcarpet, Madras. Pp. 482. Price Rs. 2-8.

Crude, uncritical and irrational.

THE VISHNU PURANA: A SUMMARY WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES: By J. M. Macfie. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 258.

It is a good and readable summary of the whole book. Some of the points discussed in the introduction are Pantheism plus Polytheism. The Hindu Triad, the development of Vishnu, Vishnu's incarnations, the story of Krishna's life, Heaven and Hell, Sins and Sorrows, Transmigration and Karma, Hindu Chronology, etc.

It is a different book from the Vishnu Purana published in the series called the "Sacred Books of the East described and examined"

WORSHIP IN ISLAM: By Rev E. E. Calver bay, Ph. D. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp 241. Price Rs. 2-8.

It is a translation of Al-Ghazzali's book of the Ihya on the worship with commentary and introduction.

In the introduction the author deals with the following subjects :—

- (1) The word sala and its meanings.
- (2) The performance of the worship.
- (3) The parts of the worship.
- (4) The kinds of the worship.
- (5) Other expressions of the divine life.

A useful publication.

SELF-REALISATION : By *Syamananda Brahmachary*. Published by *Govinda Chandra Mukherjee*, Benares Cantt. Pp. 288+2. Price Rs. 2. Paper bound. Rs. 2-8 (cloth).

In this book the author discusses the following points—condition of deluded people ; Deception of Maya, Maya-Theory propounded, the theory of opposites.

How to get rid of Jivatwa : Worship of Maya and Truth (Symbolization, Kali and Siva etc.), The Researcher, Karma and Bhramti, Rebirth, Responsibility, the Self, the Realiser, the Realisation.

Written from the standpoint of Absolute Vedantism.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSE

INSURANCE VADE MECUM, 1926. A Companion Book for the Agent and Manager: Insurer and Insurant. Published by the Insurance Publicity Company, Lahore. Price with Accounts Supplement Rs. 2-12.

FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT TO INSURANCE VADE MECUM, 1926. Statistical Analysis of the WORKING OF LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES IN INDIA together with summary of Accounts. Price As. 8 or 10 d. net : In cloth As. 12.

Useful publications. We recommend them to all interested in insurance. The get-up might be improved.

THE SHADOW OF THE DEAD : A PLAY IN FOUR ACTS : By *J. N. Mitra, M.A.*, printed at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1.

A drama, we are told, and a tragedy in its ostentatious display of thunderstorms and wrecks, the book has for its hero an orphan, brought up in luxury by rich foster-parents and married to their only beautiful daughter. Love, death, piety, devotion are sufficient materials for a tragic dramatist ; but this one, a menagerie of all these is only a tangle of confused scenes of a highly got-up pictorial effect. The characters are shadowy, and the purpose is evidently absent,—the whole thing being shot with the proverbial frenzy of authorship.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA : By *P. Ramanathan, M. A.* Published by *C. Subbiah chetty & Co.* Book-sellers, Triplicane, Madras.

The greatest mystery (though Mysteries there are in this book) is how it could run into a second edition. Written in the language of text-book annotations it is a confused heap of informations, necessary and even otherwise. Crammed in a dry uninteresting and mechanical way, the study on Shakespeare is based upon that of Dowden. Although frequent references have been made to critics such weighty names as Bradley and Moulton seem to be almost unknown to the author. The last chapter on Restoration and XVIII century drama

is an unmeaning tail. A rigmarole of scrappy and diffused treatment of loose and disjointed thoughts, the book can hardly be of any use to those for whom it is intended.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC FINANCE : By *Kesari Singh Pancholy, B. A., LL. B.*, Lately Indian Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa. Price Rs. 5 Pp. 106. To be had of the manager, "For Young Princes" series. Rewa C. I.

After expounding the general principles of his subject in a brief introductory chapter, the author proceeds to examine and explain their working in the four following ones on 'Public Expenditure,' 'Public Income,' 'Public Debt' and 'Budget.' Only the scantiest elements of the subject are given but the exposition is lucid and systematic. Even the fact that it belongs to the "For Young Princes" series does not justify, though perhaps it explains, the high price of the book, which is prohibitive for those who are not princes.

H. S.

GANDHI AND AUROBINDO : By *B. C. Chatterjee*. Published by the Calcutta Publishers, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.

The book under review appeared, so far as we can remember, by instalments in some noted daily in Calcutta, and excited admiration from the public for its masterly handling of the two great figures of the present-day India. Gandhi and Aurobindo stand as two apostles of faith and of action, in whom the consciousness of re-generation of a fallen race has taken a definite shape. The author summarises that the non-violent non-co-operation movement of Gandhi is not entirely a new theory, and that a similar agitation of the form of passive resistance was inaugurated by Aurobindo in the Bengal Partition days, which was soon followed by a revolutionary movement. And from behind the non-co-operation movement also are already visible the flames of revolutionary fire. The way to get rid of "the calamity is to accept the almost prophetic doctrine of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, viz., the use of partial *Swaraj* as a step and means towards complete *Swaraj*." In recounting the lives of the two patriots, the author has given us a nice, vivid and genuine history of the renaissance of modern India. His style is charming and vigorous. The Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri has added to the value of this brief history of Indian Nationalism by affixing to it a pithy and wise foreword.

STORIES FROM VETALA PANCHAVINSATI : By *Ramchandra Acharya, B. A.* The Students' Store, Berhampore (Ganjam). Price As. 2½. 1926.

SEETA : By *Godavarish Misra, M. A., B. T.* The Students' Store, Berhampore (Ganjam). Price As. 4. 1926.

Two little books intended for children. The stories have been told in clear and simple English. The books will please those for whom they are written.

UPANISHADS (THE KATHA, THE KENA AND THE ISHA) : By *Surendranath Basu, B. A.* Published by *Atmasakti Library, Book-sellers and Publishers, College Square, Calcutta.*

The book contains translations of some notable extracts from the *Isha*, *Kena* and *Katha* Upanishads. The translations are not bad.

LEADERS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ : *Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.*

It is a record of the lives and achievements of the pioneers of the Brahmo movement, namely, Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen, Pratapchandra Mazumdar, Sasipada Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose and Sivanath Sastri. Messrs. Natesan & Co., never lag behind the progress of the time. They are always up-to-date. The present volume like many others on different subjects bears testimony to the publishers' sagacity in bringing to the easy reach of the public, world of informations in a nutshell with a price admirably suiting the pockets of the poor Indian readers. The book is valuable.

RAMANAND TO RAM TIRATH. *Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The book contains the lives of the saints of Northern India and of the Sikh Gurus. They are Kabir, Guru Nanak, Vallabhacharya, Tulsi Das, Guru Govind, Swami Virajanand, Swami Dayanand and Swami Ram Tirath. Several illustrations have made the book more interesting. It is a nice book on the evolution of religious thought in India.

INDIA AND HER PEOPLE : *By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, "Basumaty" Office, 166 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

The book is a compilation of a series of lectures delivered by the Swami before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences during the season of 1905-1906. It is divided into seven chapters comprising seven lectures on the philosophy, religion, education, society, political institutions, etc., of India. To sum up, the volume is an exposition of India ancient and modern. It covers the Indian life not only in its religious aspects but also in its practical ways. So it is an all-round account of India and her people. Those, foreigners or Indians, who will feel an interest to know about India proper, will be highly helped by this work of supreme importance. The book is completely devoid of exaggerations, which, the writers of such accounts, are prone to make. Every library and every educated man of India should possess a copy of this volume—it is so helpful, informative and instructive.

P. SENGUPTA

KENYA *By Norman Leys, M. B., D. P. H. Third Edition (1926) 4s. 6d. The Hoggarth Press, London.*

In the some four hundred pages of this book, Dr. Leys has chosen to give us a picture of the life in Kenya. The author is eminently fitted for such a task for he has an intimate knowledge of the life and conditions in Kenya, having spent years in medical service in various parts of Africa. We do not know of any earlier effort to record Kenya life on a scale like that attempted here and we therefore welcome this present effort.

The book may be roughly divided into two portions—one historical and the other topical or current. The historical survey begins from very early times and recording how Kenya came under British influence proceeds to modern times coming

down to practically 1923. The author next gives us a description of the industrial activities of the British people there; their economic and social conditions. There is also a chapter on Christian missions, one on the Masai and one on Black and White. The book has a note on the future of Kenya.

There is however one striking defect in the book. It is strong that in a book having the name of the whole extent of a country as its caption there is not much reference—barring of course, casual—of the indigenous people and of those Indians who decades ago settled and still live in Kenya. As noted above there is a chapter on the African tribe known as Masai and some explanation is attempted there for the absence of description of other local tribes. But no explanation as to the omission of a chapter on those Indians who have largely helped to make Kenya an inviting country!

Nevertheless we feel constrained to say that the author has largely succeeded in his aim in this book which he has throughout written sympathetically and he deserves our congratulations. The book has an index, an appendix and an introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray and is bound to serve politicians and historians well.

R. C. G.

HINDI

GRAHA KA PHER : *Translated by Syamsundar Dwivedi 'Suhrid', M.B., B.A. [?]. Published by the "Chand" Office, Allahabad, 1925. Pp. 109.*

An unknown Bengali novel by one Mr. Jogendra Nath Chaudhuri, M.A. is translated into Hindi.

ISVARIA NYAYA : *By Mr. Ramdas Gaur. Published by the Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. 1925. Pp. 87.*

Mr. Gaur presents this drama which is, as he says, based on actual facts. The prologue in the form of old Sanskrit Nandi, and the long poetical quotations are too much for the modern readers.

HINDI BAIKYUT SABDAVALI : *By Pundit Kesav-prasad Misra and Mr. Ramnath Singh. Published by R. N. Singh, 232, Bhadaini, Benares. 1925. Pp. 60.*

The attempt of the authors to coin this Hindi Electrical Glossary will be found useful. Prof. B. C. Chatterjee, the well-known Electrical Engineer, recommends it in his Prologue.

SURYA-SIDDHANTA, PARTS I. II : *By Mahabirprasad Srivastava, B.Sc., L.T. Published by the Vijnana Parisat. Pp. 321.*

The two chapters of the Sanskrit Surya Siddhanta called 'madhyamadhikara' and 'sp:stadhikara' are ably edited with a good commentary which is named 'Vijnana-bhasya'. The maps, charts, diagrams and mathematical calculations will be found useful to the students of Indian Astronomy. The appendix gives a list of the technical terms.

SWADHINATA KE PUJARI : *By Bhudev Vidyalandkara. Published by the "Pratap" Office, Cawnpur. 1925. Pp. 226.*

Short life-sketches of the patriots of Russia who

stood against Czarism and suffered for their political convictions, are given in this work. It may be noted that these facts of history are often stranger than fiction. There are several portraits.

KRANTIKARI RAJKUMAR: *Pyremohan Chaturvedi*. Published by the "Pratap" Office, Cawnpur, 1925. Pp. 267.

The autobiography of Prince Kroeptkin who was exiled in Siberia is charming as a work of fiction. There is a portrait of the Prince on the cover.

MANOVIJANA: By Prof. Sudhakar, M. A. The Indian Printing Works, Gwalmandi, Lahore. Pp. 272.

A very useful and popular treatise on Psychology. The author lightly touches upon the interesting topics of Educational Psychology, Experimental Psychology, Psycho-therapy, Sexology, Race Psychology and Industrial Psychology.

RAMES BASU.

BENGALI

VISVA-BHARATI PUBLICATIONS:

GHARE BAIRE. 4th Edition. Price Rs. 2. 8.

GALPA GUCHCHA. 1st., 2nd., and 3rd Part. Price Re. 1-8 each.

SAMAJ. 4th Edition. Price 14 As.

RAKTA KARABI. First Edition. Price Re. 1 12 As.

GITIMALYA. 4th Impression. Price not mentioned.

GITAMALIKA. First Part. First Edition. Price Re. 1. 8 As.

KATHA O KAHINI. 9th Edition. Price Re. 1. 4 As.

With the exception of *Gitamaliika* and *Rakta-karabi* all the above publications of the Visva Bharati are either new editions or reprints of some of Rabindranath Tagore's already published works.

The opening paragraph of Ghare Baire as it appeared in serial form in the Bengali monthly *Sabuj-Patra* has been restored in this edition and it is a delight to read those splendid lines with which the heroine *Bimala* begins her story. We may mention also that an English translation of it appeared in the *Modern Review* under the title of "At Home and Abroad."

If we leave aside the quadruplet, *Chaturanga*, which is more a novel than a collection of stories, with the short stories of Rabindranath are now presented, for the first time within the compass of a single series, in the *Galpa-Guchcha*. Previous editions of *Galpa-Guchcha*, were complete in five parts and even then they did not include all the stories some of which were published in separate volumes. In the present edition, the stories have been arranged chronologically, with the year and month of writing mentioned at the bottom of each.

Gitimalya and *Katha O Kahini* mark no departure either in size or arrangement from previous editions.

Rakta Karabi a symbolic drama which first appeared in *Prabasi* over three years ago and

which has since been translated into English under the title of *Red Oleanders* is now offered to the public for the first time in book-form as also is *Gitamaliika*, which contains some of the poet's latest songs (with music appended to each). We congratulate the Visva-Bharati publication department on the decent get-up of these volumes but we regret to note that there are occasional misprints which may puzzle the unfamiliar reader who may be deceived into ascribing to the author those vagaries of the text which are due to the pranks of the printer's devil.

H. S.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS VOL. I.—By Professor Basantarajan Ray Vidrovalabbh. and Mr. Basantakumar Chatterjee, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926. pp. XXXVII+252+2.

This volume of the Catalogue deals with 418 Ramayana MSS. preserved in the Bengali MSS. Library and the University of Calcutta, of which specimens are given from 286. The descriptions are fairly complete and the peculiarities are noted. Professor Ray who is responsible for the text is the best authority on old Bengali. Besides the well-known Krittivasa we have here a number of Bengali writers on the various episodes of the Ramayana. The MSS. are mostly modern rescensions, the oldest is dated 1580 A.D. and several others belong to the 17th century. The *Raybara* poems which are composed in the so-called *Bhat* dialect are a class by themselves owing to their diction and metre. Mr. Chatterjee in his long Introduction has dealt with various topics, such as, the Ramayana poets, non-Valmikian elements in the Bengali Ramayanas, etc. There is however, no attempt at the filiation of the texts, which is so important a preliminary to scientific study.

RAMES BASU,

GUJARATI

SWATANTRA NO DAVO: By Pranshankar Someshwar Joshi of Johannesburg. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, paper cover. Pp. 56. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1926).

A spirited translation of Rev. C. F. Andrews' "Claim for Independence." We trust it will be read widely.

DAMPATI VARTALAP: By Jivanlal Karsanji Thakkar. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press Ahmedabad, paper cover. Pp. 168. Price Re. 0-14-0 (1926)

In the shape of forty nightly dialogues between a rising young husband and his equally young bride, the writer has elaborated principles of social and domestic uplift, interspersing them with humorous interludes.

VIHARINI: By Janardan Prabhaskar, printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover Pp. 71. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1926).

Mr. Janardan is not a tyro in the field of versification. Many of the verses collected and printed in this little book have appeared in various monthlies, but the one feature of it that attracts attention is

the foreword written by Mr. Khabardar, which is of a practical nature and appraises the work at its proper value. He rightly says that the writer is not "an epoch-maker".

KANNAD DE PRABANDH: by *Dahyabhai Pitambar Das Derasari, Bar-at-law. Printed at the Vasant Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound. Pp. 24+24+253. Price. Rs. 3-8 (1926).*

This is the second edition of an old Gujarati historical poem, the text of which was edited by Mr. Derasari some years ago. We then acknowledged the great service done to our literature by him by the publication.

This second edition has added to its value by the further furnishing of many useful features: a scholarly and interesting observation as the poem by Mr. Narsinh Rao Divatia, a thorough revision of the notes, an outline map of the places mentioned in the poem, are some of them. Mr. Derasari has been so very saturated with the spirit of the old language as actually to be able to compose a poem in it!

BAL CHANDRA: By *Giridhar Sharma, of Jhalra Patan, printed at the Aditya Press, Ahmedabad, cover. (illustrated) Pp. 80. Price Re. 1-0 (1926).*

Kavi Giridhara Sharma is well-known for his Hindi scholarship. He is equally at home in Gujarati, in which he takes great interest, which is testified to by this small book of verses, which is a (verse) translation of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's *The Crescent Moon*.

It gives pretty good idea of the original.

INDIA IN THE TIMES OF AURANGZEB: By *Nadi. Printed at the Islam Press, Bombay. Paper Cover, Pp. 183. (1926).*

The history of this book is as follows: Mr. J. R. Roy wrote an article called "India in the times of the Moguls". To the Chief Justice of H.E.H. the Nizam's High Court, Mirza Yarjang Samiullah Beg it appeared to be unfair, and he replied to it in Urdu, under the above name, and the present author has translated it from Urdu into Gujarati, with a view to show that the last of the great Mogul Emperors has been thus judged and the adverse opinions passed on his administration and religious ideas are unfair. By means of quotations from the works of European writers of the times, the other side of the shield is tried to be presented. The quotations are full of information and naturally provoke thought. We want the book to secure many readers.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

MARATHI LITERATURE AND WRITERS OF BARODA: By *G. R. Dandawate. Publisher—The Educational Dept. of the Baroda State. Price As. eleven.*

This book gives an interesting account of Marathi writers, past and present, in Baroda and the service rendered by them to the Marathi Literature

DESABANDHU C. R. DAS: Published by *Gojate Company. Price As 8.*

A biographical sketch of the late C. R. Das with extracts from obituary notices in the Press.

THE HOME ENGLISH GUIDE. By *G. S. Sardesai. Price As. 8.*

The author has sufficiently long experience of teaching English to Indian boys and girls and has close acquaintance with the difficulties that Indian students have to face in acquiring a fair knowledge of a foreign language. This ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the usefulness of the new method he has devised for facilitating the teaching of English to Indian beginners. The method deserves a fair trial and from what I have seen of the book I feel no hesitation in saying that it will prove successful.

HINDU-DHARMA-SHIKSHNA, BOOK II: By *Mahadeo Shastri Diwekar. Publisher—Tilak Vidyapith, Poona.*

This is an outcome of the resolution passed two years ago at the Teachers' Conference held under the auspices of the Tilak National University with regard to the preparation of suitable text-books for religious instruction to be used in Primary and lower Secondary schools. The tone of the instruction conveyed is liberal and suited to the present times.

RAJ KUMARANCHEN SANGOPANA: 'A disciple of Madhav.' Pages 200. Price Rs. Two.

The author who belongs to an aristocratic family in Gwalior seems to be alive to the entirely wrong way in which Indian Princes are being brought up and educated under the influence of a foreign Government. These evils are vividly set forth in the book and the right lines on which their training must go are laid down. The author has freely drawn upon the 'General Policy'—a monumental work by the late Maharaja Madhavarao Scindia—in the preparation of the book, and has gratefully acknowledged the inspiration and the light received from His late Highness. The book ought to be read, thought over, and digested not only by Indian Princes but also their nobility who have the interests of their sons at heart.

V. G. APTE.

SANSKRIT

RASAGRANTHAMALA Edited by *Rajavaidya Jivarama Kalkidas Shastri Ayurvedacharya, Rasashala-Granthabhandara, Gondal, Kathiawar.*

This is a series the object of which is to publish *rasa-sastras* or works dealing with chemistry or alchemy as developed in India. The editor has in his library a good collection of very rare and valuable Mss. of such works, of which the following four have been published and sent to us:

1. **RASENDRAMANGALA** (Pp. 68, Price Annas 12.)

Its authorship is attributed to Nagarjuna, who is said to have been the author, among others, of the *Rudrayamala*, a work on dhatuvada, of which the first two parts, *Dhatukalpa* and *Paradakalpa*, have been secured by the editor. It has a few other parts, not yet found. The present edition of the *Raserdramangala* is based on three Mss., all of

them being very incorrect and incomplete. Consequently we could not have the entire work in the edition, there being only the first four chapters out of eight, as the author himself says in the beginning of his book.

2. *RASAKAMADHENU of Cudamani*. Pp. 417. Price. Rs. 4.

It is divided in four *padas* or parts, of which the present volume contains only the fourth, *Chikitsa* or treatment of diseases, prescribing various medicines according to the kind of disease. The first three parts, viz., *Upakarana*, *Dhatu-sangraha*, and *Rasakarma*, may have come out by this time under the editorship of Vaidyaraaja Yadavaji Trikamji Acharya, Holichakla, Bombay.

3. *Mantrakhanda* of Nityanatha (Pp. 144. Price Rs 2.)

It forms the fifth part of a work called *Rasaratnakara*, of which the first two parts, *Rasakhanda* and *Rasendrakhand*, have already been published in Calcutta and Bombay and the fourth in Bombay edited by Vaidyaraaja Yadavaji Trikamji, while the third part *Riadhikhand* is being published by the present editor in his monthly in Gujarati, *Parada*. The *Mantrakhanda* contains various kinds of *mantras* or formulas for charm, spell, or magic. Those who want to get rid of troubles from bugs, mosquitoes, rats, snakes, flies or other such insects, may try some of the remedies given in the book (Pp. 63-64)!

4. *Rasaprakasasudhakara* of Yosadhara (Pp. 183, Price Rs. 2.)

It deals with alchemy, besides the purification etc. of such metals as quick-silver, gold, silver, copper and so forth.

We welcome the series. Though the books are not so critically edited as could be desired, yet they have much value which cannot be denied.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

FRENCH

REACTIONS DE LE MATIERE VIVANTE ET NON VIVANTE. PHYSIOLOGIE DE L'ASCENSION DE LA SEVE. PHYSIOLOGIE DE LA PHOTOSYNTHESE Par Sir J. C. Bose—published by Gauthier-Villars, Paris.

The series of standard works on diverse activities of the life of plant by Sir J. C. Bose have roused keen and universal interest. The most important advances in physiology have hitherto been to a great extent the contributions made by German and French savants. The methods originated by them have been followed in other countries with success: it is only third-hand knowledge, often antiquated, that reached India.

It is a matter of much gratification that the tide has now turned, and the original contributions made by Sir J. C. Bose by the initiation of perfectly novel methods have not only opened out new fields of exploration, but also established a wider synthesis in the phenomena of life. His works have already been translated and published by some leading German publishers. There was still a large demand for them in the Latin Countries, and Messrs. Gauthier-Villars, the

eminent scientific publisher of Paris, are bringing out French editions of Sir J. C. Bose's works, of which the three books under review have just been published.

The scope of these works will be understood from the Preface written by M. Mangin, Member of the Institute and Director of Natural History Museum of Paris, whose unique contributions in plant-physiology are universally regarded as classical. We give below a free translation of the greater part of the preface.

"Sir Jagadis Bose has for a long time been devoted to the detection and measurement of the most delicate phenomena of plant life such as gaseous interchanges, growth, movements of the sap etc. As an inventor of rare ingenuity he has devised a whole series of apparatus which by their sensitiveness surpass all those known hitherto and which inscribe automatically the most delicate manifestations of the vegetable life thus avoiding errors which are inevitable in personal observations.

"His work on the Physiology of Photosynthesis is most suggestive in this respect. The measurement of chlorophyllous gaseous exchanges, sources of stored energy on which depend the life of all beings etc., were attempted until now by tedious methods of analysis of too long a duration to secure the constancy of the numerous factors on which the accuracy of measurement of photosynthesis depends. Photosynthesis can be measured from the volume of carbonic acid gas absorbed or from the oxygen disengaged or from the increase of weight of the organs due to assimilation of carbon.

"Sir Jagadis Bose has utilized the well-known characteristic of aquatic plants, which disengage series of bubbles of oxygen when subjected to insolation, these increasing or decreasing according to the intensity of illumination.

"He has invented an apparatus "The Bubbler" for measurement of pure oxygen bubbles of constant volume emitted at regular intervals in proportion to the intensity of chlorophyll activity.

"To this apparatus he has added an automatic recorder for the record of successive oxygen bubbles, the automatic method being free from the errors of personal observation.

"For a source of artificial light the author employs a special lamp the Pointolite consisting of a luminous point making it possible to obtain variations of rigorously defined intensity of light.

"With the aid of these instruments it is possible to complete experiments within a short time and thus avoid the fatigue of the plant which vitiate the results. The action of diverse factors which intervene in the photosynthesis can also be easily isolated, these factors being temperature, luminous intensity and composition of the atmosphere.

"The study of the assimilation in the natural conditions of illumination is difficult, because the intensity of sunlight, direct or diffuse undergoes variations which is not perceived by the human eye. The difficulty has been overcome by Sir J. C. Bose's invention of the electric photometer by which the most feeble variations of intensity can be measured with precision.

"Numerous are the problems elucidated by the author which could not be solved by the existing methods. As it is impossible to give an account of all of them. I shall content myself only with a short summary of the results obtained of the

action of formic aldehyde. It is known that this body is considered as the initial product of the synthesis of carbohydrates. This hypothesis seemed to be in contradiction to the well-established fact of the toxicity of formic aldehyde on plants. Sir Jagadis has shown that an extremely small dose of this aldehyde far from being poisonous, increases the activity of assimilation. This substance is immediately polymerised after formation, so that there is no toxic dose accumulated in the cells.

"It is already a magnificent achievement to be able to analyse with his instruments, with a precision hitherto unknown, the different factors which intervene in photosynthesis.

"The clarity of the method of exposition adds further to the originality of the work and reveals Sir Jagadis Bose not only as an impeccable experimenter but also an incomparable professor."

X

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

VIII.

The city of Geneva is the capital of the Swiss canton of the same name. It is situated at the south-western extremity of the beautiful lake of the same name, which is also called Lake Lemman, and is the largest in central Europe. It is formed by the river Rhone, which enters it at its east end near Villeneuve and quits it at its west end, flowing through the city of Geneva. The lake is crescent-shaped, the east end being broad and rounded and the west end tapering towards the city of Geneva, where consequently one recalls Byron's phrase, "the blue rushing of the arrowy Rhone" (*Childe Harold*, canto iii, stanza 71). The waters of this lake are as clear as glass and unusually blue. An idea of their transparency may be formed from the fact that the limit of visibility of a white disk is 33 feet in winter and 21¼ feet in summer. A number of lake dwellings, of varying dates, have been found on the shores of the lake. Mont Blanc is visible from it, and, although sixty miles distant, is often reflected in its waters. Mirages are sometimes observed on the lake.

Geneva is an old city, its history being traceable to the second century B. C. It was formerly surrounded by walls, and consisted of clusters of narrow and ill-drained streets; but since the accession of the radical party to power in 1847 the town has been almost entirely rebuilt in modern style. The old walls have been removed, the streets widened and well-paved, and new and commodious quays built along the

shores of the lake* and river. The Rhone forms two islands in its course through the town. On one of these, laid out as a public pleasure-ground, is a statue of Rousseau in a sitting posture. I visited this spot several times in the company of friends.

The population of Geneva was 135,059 in 1920. Besides this it has a considerable floating population during the League Assembly meetings and the sessions of various international conferences. Geneva is famous as a theological, literary and scientific centre. It has given birth to the Casaubons; to Rousseau; to the physicist De Saussure; to the naturalists De Candolle, Charles Bonnet, and the Pictets; to Necker; to Amiel; etc. Other names connected with Geneva, either as natives or as residents, are Calvin, Bonivard, Scaliger, Sismondi, Alphonse Favre, etc. The principal edifices are the cathedral of St. Peter (1124); the town-hall, where the *Alabama* arbitrators met in 1872; the academy, founded in 1559 by Calvin, and converted in 1873 into a university with a great library; the International Reformation Monument (1917) facing the University; the magnificent theatre, opened in 1879; the Salle de la Reformation, where the League Assembly meetings are held; the Russian Church; the new post office; and the Hotel des Nations (seat of the League of Nations). The principal museums are the Rath Museum; the Fol Museum, with collections of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan antiquities; the Athenaeum, devoted to the fine arts; and

the museum of natural history, containing De Saussure's geological collection, admirable collections of fossil plants, etc. The Rousseau Museum, though not large, is also worth a visit. I found there portraits of Rousseau of various kinds and sizes, and all the different editions of his works hitherto published, besides some of his manuscripts.

Geneva boasts of a fine observatory, and of a number of technical schools where watch-making, chemistry, medicine, commerce, fine arts, etc., are taught. It is well-supplied with charitable institutions, hospitals, etc.

Fairs have been held periodically in the vicinity of Geneva since the thirteenth century, frequented by Italian, French, and Swiss merchants.

The city is divided into two portions by the lake, and by the river Rhone, which flows westwards under the seven bridges by which the two halves of the town communicate with each other.

Many of the fashionable hotels of Geneva are situated on a road running parallel to the quay on the northern shore of the lake. These hotels command a view of the lake and mountain scenery. In the evenings the quay is frequented by large numbers of people of all ages and both sexes. On Sundays and other holidays, the steamers, motor launches, motor boats, and other water-craft of various descriptions are so overcrowded with men and women and children of all ranks and classes that it appears as if the whole of Geneva were out on pleasure bent. Such outings conduce to the health and efficiency of the population. Both shores of the lake are dotted with cafes and restaurants at convenient points, where the water-craft touch. Chairs and tables are to be found placed under shady trees, and one can sit there with one's family or friends and order any kinds of refreshments, and have a game of cards, etc., if one likes. After spending almost the whole day in the open air, the excursionists return home late in the afternoon or in the evening. Besides water-craft, some use the railway, too; and those who have their own automobiles use them for these excursions.

The soil of the canton of Geneva is not naturally fertile, but has been rendered so by the industry of the inhabitants. Consequently gardening and vine and fruit growing are pursued as industries very profitably. One afternoon, after taking tea and some refreshment's at a cafe on the southern shore

of the lake, I strolled along a rather narrow road bordered by orchards. I noted with admiration how by means of intensive cultivation a considerable number of pear, apple and peach trees had been grown on small plots of land measuring only a few square yards each, and how the branches of very small trees were almost overweighed with fruit. I also noticed with admiration how the branches of some fruit-trees which are not creepers had been trained to run along the wires of fences and bear an abundant crop of fruit. Wherever one might go in Switzerland, one would find the mountain slopes covered with vineyards, fruit trees, etc.

Besides being engaged in agricultural industries, the people manufacture watches, articles of *bijouterie*, musical boxes, chronometers, mathematical instruments, pottery, etc.,

Geneva appeared to me on the whole free from dirt and dust. The buildings were also fine, though, as in many other towns of Europe, the architecture was rather monotonous and devoid of art. There are some well-kept public gardens. Considering the size of the town, the number of hotels is rather large. That is no doubt due to Switzerland being a tourists' country and Geneva being a city of various international gatherings.

It was vacation time when I visited the University. So I saw only the buildings and some of the rooms. In a hall I saw the busts of professors, mostly dead and some, I presume, still alive. As was to be expected, the faces were all intelligent-looking. But what at the time I was impressed with was the calm, passionless expression of self-control in them. Most of the Europeans in India are Britishers. As I have not seen all or most of them, I cannot say how all or most of them look. But from the Britishers and their real or would-be relatives the Anglo-Indians whom I have seen, the general impression left on my mind is that they have an aggressive, overbearing, and somewhat fierce look, as if they wanted to frighten, browbeat and cow down somebody and consequently always had their war-paint on. During my brief stay in England, Switzerland and other European countries, I did not find many examples of this type of expression. If my observation has been correct, the explanation is quite simple. Here in India, the Britisher feels that he can maintain his unnatural position

only by being always in a state of war as it were ; whereas, in England and other European countries, the natives live among their own people, whom it is neither necessary nor easy to terrorise and cow down.

The International Reformation Monument which faces the University is an impressive structure. It takes the form of a long and high stone wall on the surface of which are the statues in relief of Protestant reformers of many European countries, like Calvin, John Knox, Huss, etc., with appropriate texts from the Bible carved underneath. All along the foot of the wall there is a reservoir of limpid flowing water with some aquatic flowers in full bloom. They seemed to symbolise the never-drying waters of life



Monument Filibert Berthelier

eternal, bearing on their surface the flowers of spirituality. I should mention in this connection another monument in a different part of Geneva. It is the Monument Filibert Berthelier, erected to the memory of a man of that name who was executed in the year 1519 for adhering firmly to the right of freedom of opinion and freedom of conscience. The statue is in relief on the walls of a building. Every year, on the anniversary of the day of his execution, the citizens of Geneva decorate the statue with floral wreaths and do him honour in other ways.

A large plot of land has been acquired for the League of Nations Secretariat buildings, which are still to be erected. At present the Secretariat occupies buildings originally constructed for a different purpose. The International Labour Office occupies a building of its own, which is large but has no pretensions to architectural beauty or grandeur. The stained glass window on the wall of a stair-case did not appear to me as admirable a piece of work as I had seen even on the windows of many college chapels in Oxford and Cambridge.

I do not know how many clerks and other officials are employed in the International Labour Office. Not having paid it many long visits and gone the round of the different rooms several times, I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my impression ; but from what little I have seen of this office, it seemed to me that, whilst some persons are overworked, many others have an easy time of it, not having sufficient work to do. To compare great things with small, it was in this respect somewhat like our Calcutta University.

By appointment one day I met M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, and Mr. Butler, Deputy Director, in their rooms. M. Thomas is a Frenchman and is a socialist, I was told. Mr. Butler is an Englishman. M. Thomas received me courteously in his room. We had only a very brief talk. As after a few minutes of general conversation he seemed to make a movement or a gesture of resuming his office work, I bade him goodbye, observing that he was a busy man, to which he assented ! He did not speak English with ease.

With Mr. Butler, who also was polite, I had a longer conversation. In the course of it, I observed that so far as India's desire and efforts for political emancipation were con-

cerned, the League of Nations would be of as much help to her as a college debating society. He did not say either yes or no. I went on to add that, on the other hand, the International Labour Office might be able to do some good to the labouring population of India, if it did its work properly. As there were in India many women among factory labourers, I suggested that there should be an educated Indian lady to represent these women at the International Labour Conferences held under the auspices of the International Labour Office. For men are not always able or eager or willing to represent women's grievances. I said that an Indian woman like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu would be able to speak up as eloquently and courageously and with as much information for women workers, as any male representative of male workers has hitherto spoken or may hereafter speak for both male and female labour. But, I added, that it was not likely that the Government of India would nominate a woman like Mrs. Naidu. Thereupon Mr. Butler interposed the remark that the International Labour Office could independently and directly invite a woman delegate. But I see that this year at any rate no Indian lady has been invited. Whether any such person would be invited in any future year, is more than I can say. And Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is not the only woman whose name could be suggested. There is, for instance, Behen Anasuya Bai of Ahmedabad, whose active sympathy with and intimate knowledge of the conditions of work of female labourers in mills are unsurpassed by those of any other Indian woman. Our conversation drifted to the topic of the efficiency of labour in India. I suggested illiteracy and ignorance as among the principal causes of the comparative inefficiency of labour in India. I added that, far from the Government of India doing anything in the direction of free and compulsory elementary education, it adopted a worse attitude than that of mere indifference to the late Mr. Gokhale's free primary education bill, which was thrown out. Other bills of a similar nature, dealing piecemeal with rural and urban areas in some province or other, have sometimes been passed, but Government has not yet evinced any particularly unusual enthusiasm in this direction. I also said that during the last great world war, if not earlier, it has been proved that

the more educated the privates of an army are, the more efficient is the army. That being the case, it goes without saying that in industrial pursuits, the more educated the workers are the greater would be their efficiency and the better the quality of the manufactures. Mr. Butler spoke little. But on this topic he put the question, "Is there a demand for universal free and compulsory education in India?" I replied, "Yes, there is." I did not say anything more on this subject. But the question has not ceased to haunt my mind. I have often asked myself: "Must there always be a demand for a good thing on the part of the people before it is supplied?" Take the case of Japan. When the Emperor Mutsuhito proclaimed that it was his desire that there should be no village in Japan without a school and no family with any illiterate member, did he do so in response to any popular demand? No. When elementary education was made free and compulsory in Japan in 1871, was that again due to any popular demand? No. Or, take the case of England herself. When after the passing of a Reform Act, the number of voters greatly increased, and in consequence Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, said words to the effect, "We must educate our masters," and subsequently the first steps were taken towards providing national education in England was that done because of any universal demand?

Mr. Butler courteously offered to give me some reports and other literature published by the International Labour Office, for which I thanked him. These have been received. M. Albert Thomas having agreed to an exchange between *The International Labour Review* published by his office and *The Modern Review* and *Welfare*, the latter are regularly sent to him.

The Library of the International Labour Office is very valuable. It is a sort of depository of all sorts of information relating to labour and industries of all descriptions and allied subjects, gathered from all quarters of the globe. Scholars who want to do research work about these subjects are likely to receive more facilities here easily than in any other single library.

This leads me to speak of the League of Nations Library. This also contains a good but not very large collection of books. It is growing, however, and is likely in course of time to assume respectable proportions. I do

not know on what principles books are purchased for it, or kept in it when presented. I sent the following historical and other works to it as presents by registered post on the 9th March, 1926, but when I visited the library in September, 1926, I did not find them there :—*Rise of the Christian Power in India*, complete set of five volumes ; *Story of Satara* ; *History of Education in India Under the Rule of the East India Company* ; *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* ; and, *Colonization in India* :—all by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired). Is the League library bound to discriminate according to some British *Index librorum prohibitorum* ?

On the Library table I did not find a single Indian periodical conducted under purely Indian control. *The Modern Review* may or may not find favour with and be purchased by any organisation in which British bureaucratic influence predominates. But *The Hindustan Review* and *The Indian Review*, too, were conspicuous by their absence. The only monthly published in India which I found on the League Library table is *The Young Men of India*, the organ of the Y.M.C.A. The only Indian weekly which was on the table is *The Servant of India*, which is undoubtedly an ably conducted journal and has the right to be there. I told Mr. Cummings of the Information Section that the Indian press was very poorly represented in the League library. The most widely circulated periodicals of India were not there, and most shades of public opinion were entirely unrepresented. He said he got *Forward* (though it was not kept on the table), and that the League kept only those journals which were sent free by their publishers. I took the hint, and have been sending to the League library *The Modern Review* and *Welfare*. But I do not know whether they are kept on the table.

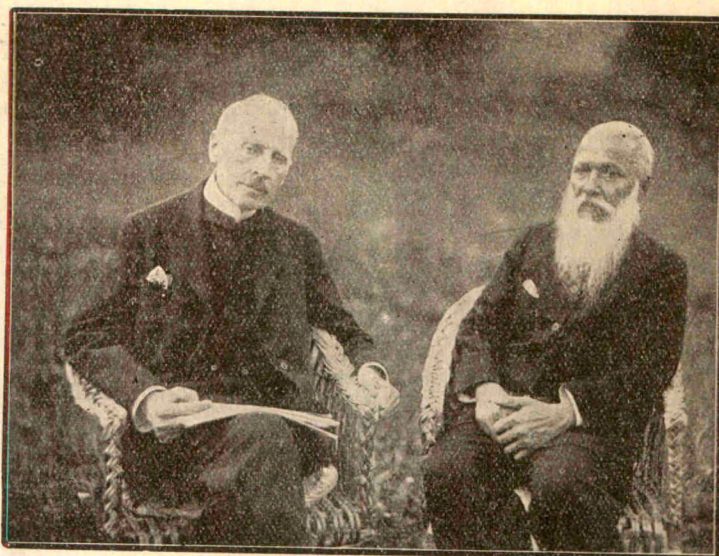
I went to Villeneuve one day with some friends to pay a visit to M. Romain Rolland, the famous French author and intellectual leader, who lives there with his father and sister. Villeneuve is some 56 miles by rail from Geneva and is some two hours' journey. Journey by steamer is more pleasant but takes more time. We had to change at Lausanne. We travelled third class. There were no cushions on the benches. Perhaps that was better, as it is difficult to keep cushions scrupulously clean. The benches were free from the least speck

of dust or stain. Otherwise, too, there was no inconvenience or trouble involved in travelling third class. It may be added here that there can be no comparison between third class carriages in India and in Europe. Travelling in third class, and some times in intermediate class, carriages in India gives one a foretaste of hell, or at least of purgatory. For this state of things our passengers are no doubt to blame to some extent. But if the railway management provided the public with clean carriages with plenty of water in the lavatories and insisted on their being kept clean, much improvement could at once be effected. Nowhere in Europe did I see such dirty and dusty third class carriages as in India. The smokers' carriages were no doubt not so clean as the non-smokers'.

After getting down from the railway train at Villeneuve station, we had to walk a little distance to reach Villa Olga, where M. Rolland lives. That part of the road which leads immediately to the Villa is shaded by an avenue of trees with broad large leaves growing thick on the branches. M. Rolland and his sister Mlle. Rolland, received us very courteously. Romain Rolland is past sixty and has the scholar's stoop. He did not appear to be in the best of health, having just recovered from an attack of influenza. His clear blue eyes beamed with intelligence and love of man was writ on his looks. He does not speak English, his sister does. I was very glad to learn that she has some knowledge of Bengali also. I may be permitted to say here that I had the privilege of being known to the Rollands by name through my son-in-law Professor Kalidas Nag, who, while in Europe, helped M. Romain Rolland in writing his book on Mahatma Gandhi. I found the portraits of Kalidas and my daughter Santa on M. Rolland's study table and expressed pleasure at finding them there. Mlle. Rolland observed with a smile "The portraits have not been placed there because you have come to see us ; they are always there." I had the honour of shaking hands with M. Rolland's venerable father who is now past ninety. Considering his great age, the old gentleman appeared remarkably erect and healthy. I told him in English that I considered it a great honour and pleasure to shake hands with him. This was translated into French by his daughter. He, on his part, expressed pleasure at seeing visitors from India.

I was the only person in our party who was entirely ignorant of French. So what M. Rolland said in French was translated into English for me by his sister, and what I said in English was translated by her for her brother into French. For this and other reasons there was no sustained conversation between us. Only a few points that came up may be mentioned here. The question arose as to how far M. Rolland's works were read in India. As only a small number of people in India know French, some of his books are largely read in English translations. The English translation of his book on Gandhi has gone through several editions.

Similarly, his "John Christopher" is largely read in English translation. It was perhaps I who said that it was appearing serially in Bengali also. Mmle. Rolland observed, "Yes, it is appearing in *Kallol*", whereupon some one of our party asked whether she knew Bengali and, if so, how did she learn it. She replied, "Kalidas gave me some lessons." When the conversation turned on Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Italy, we learned some details of the attempt that was made there to prevent the Poet's meeting with the famous Italian philosopher Croce. Mmle. Rolland showed us photographs of Rabindranath and his party, taken when they were at Villeneuve. We learnt that M. Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation, made from the English translation of that novel. The great French author remarked that Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them. When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet. Thereupon one of our party, Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, if I remember aright, dwelt briefly on the synthetic genius of India. M. Rolland wanted to know whether any Indian had written any work giving a synthetic view of the universe from the Indian point of view. I replied that I did not know that anyone had done so yet.



Mon. Romain Rolland and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee
Photo by S. C. Guha, M. sc.

He asked whether there was no one capable of doing so. I mentioned the name of Dr. Brajendranath Seal. Then M. Rolland wanted to know why he had not done it yet. That was a question which Dr. Seal alone could have answered. But I ventured to suggest that perhaps he was diffident, perhaps according to his ideal of preparation for so great a task he was not yet ready, perhaps he was always learning or thinking out new things, leading him to revise his previous ideas, etc., etc.

I am sorry some inconvenience might have been caused to M. Romain Rolland's venerable father in getting him photographed. All of us, the hosts and the visitors, were also photographed together. Previous to that, Mrs. R. K. Das put in order Mmle. Rolland's hair which had been slightly disarranged by the wind. Thereupon M. Romain Rolland complained with a smile, "you have not done *my* hair," which was done immediately. I add this slight touch just to prevent my readers from drawing an ever frightfully serious-looking mental picture of the great French intellectual.

The Rollands kindly asked me to see them again. I regret I was not able to do so.

The day before the meetings of the Seventh Annual Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations came to a close, the Indian Delegation gave a lunch, to which, along with some other Indians,



Standing (from the left)—S. C. Guha, Mrs. Rajani K. Das, Dr. Das. *Sitting* (from the left)—Miss Rolland, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Mon. Romain Rolland
Photo by S. C. Guha, m. sc.

I was invited. It was to begin at 1-15 P.M., but it was I believe nearer three than two o'clock when the guests began to be served. Before, during and after lunch there was much desultory talk on matters grave and gay, which need not be recorded. Three items may, however, be noted without any names being mentioned. A certain person (not Indian) was "awfully afraid of snakes" and was, perhaps, partly for that reason prevented from visiting India though invited to do so! It seems, therefore, that some foreigners have the idea that India is so infested with snakes that even in cities snakes these creatures are to be found wriggling in all our drawing-rooms, bed-rooms, etc. With reference to some of the speakers at the League Assembly Meetings, who were evidently bores in the opinion of the speaker, a guest (not Indian) suggested with quiet humour that they should be taken in a boat to the middle of Lake Geneva and just dropped down there! A certain person (Indian) asked me what places I had seen in Switzerland. I said that I had gone to Villeneuve to see M. Romain Rolland. I was asked, "Who is Romain Rolland?" I said in reply that he was a great French author and intellectual who had won the Nobel Prize in

literature, had become unpopular with his countrymen because he had opposed the last world war against Germany, and so on and so forth. Finding that all these pieces of information left him cold, I added that M. Rolland had written a book on Mahatma Gandhi in which the viewpoint and ideal of Rabindranath Tagore had also been discussed. I was asked "Is the book in English or in French?" I said, in French, but translations had appeared in English both in America and in India and gone through many editions. The last question was: "Has the book been published after you came to Geneva, and have you heard of it only since coming here?" I replied, "The book and its translations were published long before I left India." Evidently if India must send her so-called representatives abroad, they should have greater knowledge of things in general and of contemporary culture than this gentleman appeared to possess!

P. S. I have forgotten to mention in its proper place one little, but perhaps significant, incident. On the 9th September, 1926, I despatched from the League post office at Geneva some Notes and photographs for this *Review* by registered packet. It was meant to reach Calcutta just in time for our October issue. The man in charge of receiving registered articles asked what the packet contained, and was told in reply, absolutely truthfully, that it contained MSS. for the press and photographs. Apparently satisfied, he accepted it and gave a receipt. Subsequently, however, it was opened at that post office (or, elsewhere, I do not know) and returned to me as containing a letter, which it did not. If the registration clerk had any doubt, he ought to have opened it before giving a receipt when he was told that

it contained only MSS. and photographs. But his or someone else's peculiarly honorable conduct delayed the despatch of the packet by one full week, so that it

reached Calcutta in time only for the November issue, in which some of my Notes on the League were published as the first article.

GLEANINGS

Cruise in Motorcycle Boat Around World Planned

Plans for a tour around the world from London, in a small motorcycle boat he has designed, are being made by an English inventor. The craft has a sidecar float and is equipped to withstand



Designed for World Cruise ; the Motorcycle Boat

rough weather and give protection to the occupant. According to reports, he tested the boat with good results on a small body of water at Hampstead heath.

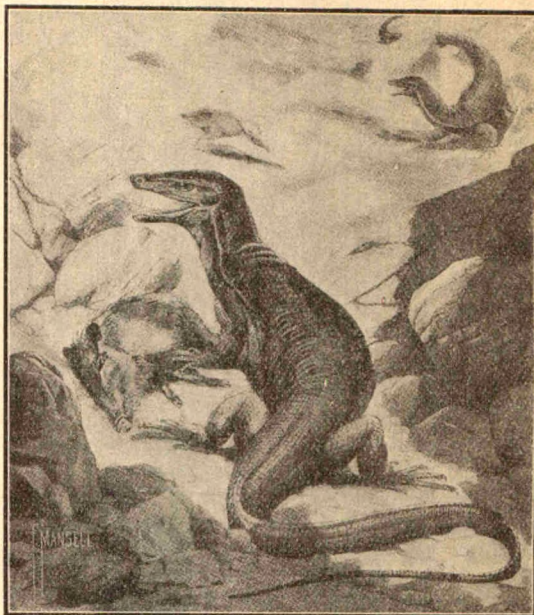
—*Popular Mechanics.*

Monster Lizards

Sir Alan Cobham, the world's greatest sky-taxi-man in his last world-flight saw on the little island of Komodo three live dragons—gigantic lizards which, from all appearance, were direct descendants of the prehistoric monsters of mythology. They were ten to twenty feet long, and armed with great claws which enabled them to kill and devour animals as large as horses.

They used their powerful tails as lashing weapons, one blow from which could break a man. In movements they were exceedingly swift. From natives, who lived in mortal terror of the monsters, Cobham learned that the creatures had been known to run down and kill halfwild island ponies, and that they had been seen fighting one another over the carcasses of wild boars.

Two of the dragons, the only ones in captivity, were brought recently to America. One of them died soon after its arrival. Scientists say their discovery and capture constitute one of the most



One Lash of Its Tail Will Kill a Man

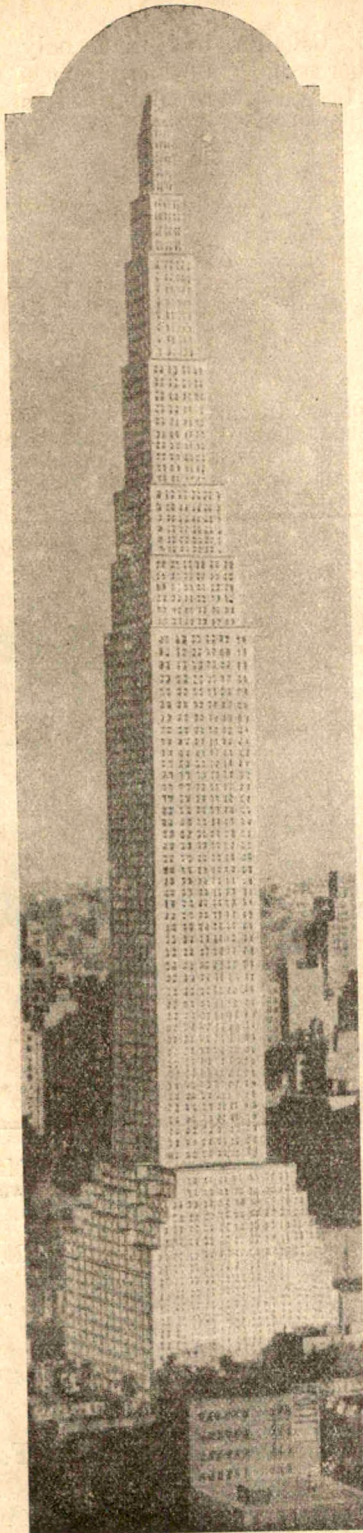
The days of romance are not past in a world that still holds gigantic dragons for its young heroes to slay. Above is a type of monster Cobham met with on the island of Komodo

important additions ever made to zoological collections. Lardest of all reptiles, their ancestry dates back 4,000 years to the time of the pyramids
—*Popular Science.*

Forty Thousand People within Four Walls !

When Thomas A. Edison speaks, everybody listens.

So it was that when the famous inventor a few weeks ago sounded the warning that "disaster



must overtake us" unless overcrowded American cities call a halt to the building of mighty skyscrapers, he startled city dwellers and aroused a storm of controversy throughout the nation.

Almost simultaneously with Edison's warning came the amazing announcement that plans had been completed for a dizzy office spire of 110 stories, to rise from the heart of New York City and to tower far above the world's tallest buildings. This colossal structure, to be known as the Larkin Tower, will climb 1208 feet above the street level—416 feet above the sixty-story Woolworth Building.

From the rocks on which the feet of the new giant will rest to the tip of its flagpole the distance will be a quarter of a mile. Eight million bricks will go into the walls of its enormous body, while the steel required for its backbone and ribs will amount to 40,000 tons—enough to load a train twenty-two miles long. Including the value of the 50,000 square feet of land on which it will rest, this superskyscraper will cost in the neighbourhood of \$12,500,000!

—*Popular Science.*

Camera for Parachute Jumping

Dropping 2500 feet after a parachute jump, Jimmy Clark, takes pictures of the advancing earth



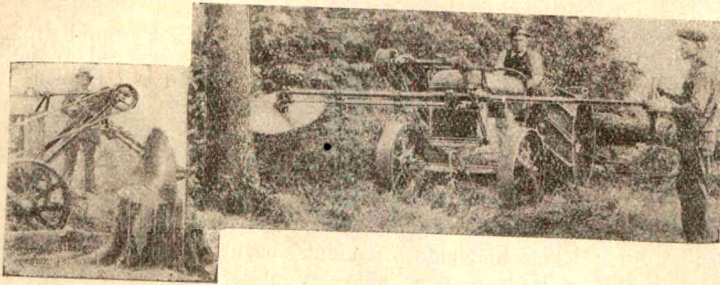
Camera for Parachute Jumping

with an automatic movie camera. The photo shows the lens protruding from its canvas protector

Tractor Saws Logs and Fells Trees with New attachment

Making a sawmill out of a Fordson tractor is the feat accomplished by an ingenious new attachment, a circular saw swung from the front of the tractor. The device moves in the hands of the operator to cut in a horizontal, vertical, or slanting position. This is by virtue of its universal suspension; a further refinement enables the saw to be pushed forward along its shaft or drawn back, without moving the tractor.

Power supplied through a belt to a series of geared shafts drives the saw at a high rate, with a "tooth speed" or lineal velocity at the outer edge of 10,000 feet a minute, twice the speed of an express train. The fast cutting of this



The new saw attachment for tractors felling a tree and left sawing up a stump. It will cut up, down, sidewise or endwise, and will whittle up a log of wood as quickly as a man could whittle up a willow limb with a jackknife. With it the tractor can now be made to swing a saw in any direction

saw is easy to understand when it is recalled that the old style drag-saw moves at about the same velocity as your foot in walking.

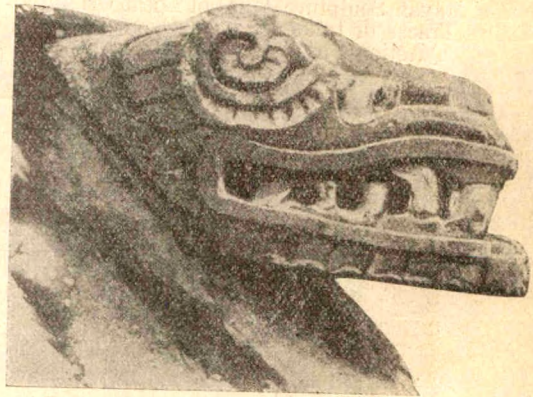
The saw attachment fells trees, slashes brush and saws up limbs, poles, logs and stumps. It does not appear necessary to use a big saw to fell a large tree, says the inventor, V. L. Holt, of Portland, Ore., as the saw can be used as a woodman uses his axe. By taking advantage of its slanting adjustments, the device can be employed to remove stumps to a depth of one foot below ground. A brush patch can be mowed with it, it is said, as easily as grass with an old-fashioned scythe. According to its inventor, the attachment will fell and saw up twenty cords of oak a day, at a great saving over usual costs. If logs are too large for this saw, they would have to be split in making cord wood any way, so no time will be lost

mathematics and astronomy than any ancient people, and their builders, stone carvers and artisans in precious metals and other craftsmen turned out work the equal of any produced under the Pharaohs.

Yet they died and their cities and marvelous temples fell into ruins. Their civilization was lost mainly because they could not cope with the high cost of living, and their towns fell down largely for the reason that they had never learned to build an arch to hold up the roofs. The high cost of living for the Mayas was due to the fact that they possessed no draft animals to plow their fields, and the agricultural methods they used eventually produced a turf so thick and heavy that their plants could not pierce it.

All the first Spaniards found were the decaying ruins of great stone cities, wonderful temples and enormous pyramids. For four hundred years or more, the ruins have been pawed over by soldiers, priests, adventurers, and, later trained and amateur archaeologists. Now, however, they are not only to give up their last secrets, but one of them, which was once the Mecca of the Maya world, is to be reconstructed as early as may be to what it was in its prime.

At Chichen-Itza, the holy city of the Mayas a party of American archaeologists, representing the Carnegie institution of Washington, has embarked on a ten-year reconstruction program, under agreement with



Head of the Snake God, One of the Most Used Decorations in the Ancient Mayan City of Chichen-Itza

Rebuilding America's sacred City

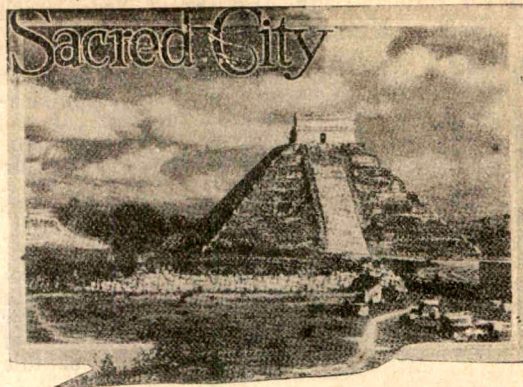
Down in the southernmost part of Mexico, in the state of Yucatan, which raises the sisal for American-made harvester twine, a great race of people lived and died nearly a thousand years before Columbus discovered the new world. At their height, they boasted a civilization as great as the ancient Egyptians; they knew more about

the Mexican government that all the art treasures found shall be preserved at the site as part of a Maya museum.

Chichen-Itza won its fame because it was the possessor of the sacred well in which Maya maidens were sacrificed to Kukulcan, the god of



Whether Mayan Sculpture Was of Local Origin or Shows Traces of Influence from Overseas, is a Question Puzzling to Scientists



El Castillo, the Great Temple atop a Pyramid, from Which the Religious Processions Advanced to the Sacred Well, to Throw Maidens In as Sacrifices to the Rain God

rain. Not only were the living sacrifices hurled into the sacred well as mates for the god, but gold and jade ornaments, beautiful pottery, carved wood, in fact, every kind of possession that its owner held precious; were cast to the waters, as well as an occasional enemy warrior whose valor was considered sufficient to make him an attractive present.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

PESTALOZZI CENTENARY (1827-1927)

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D. LITT., (Paris)

I

THAT schoolmasters might occupy a permanent place in the Pantheon of Immortals was brought back to my mind by one of my friends of Switzerland—the Mecca of Pedagogues. It was Dr. Martin Hurlimann of Zurich who kindly looked me up in the course of his pilgrimage through India in the company of Dr. Wehrli, the famous Swiss Anthropologist, who is building the Indian

the Zurich University. It was such a joy to meet and talk with a true idealist like Dr. Hurlimann. He easily scented my chronic enthusiasm for heroic souls, and, catching the infection, he confessed that he was then full of a man—a Schoolmaster Hero—Heinrich Pestalozzi, born in Zurich in 1746, a contemporary of Rousseau and Goethe and like them, although in a humbler sphere, a real pioneer. Dr. Hurlimann has written a pro-

Reformer (vide Pestalozzi Ideen, published by Rascher & Co., Zurich-Leipzig). Moreover, he belongs to the latest continental school of historians who consider history not simply as a chronological apparatus for catching the so-called "events" of nations but as a faithful recorder of the development of civilisation and of the march of Humanity along the path of deathless creations. Hence his passion for art and his attempt to interpret life in and through the art of a people.

But the most invaluable discipline ensuring the capacity of a people to create permanent things, is a sound system of Education. By discovering this basic principle and proving himself a martyr to it, Pestalozzi became immortal. The facts of his life which I gathered from Dr. Hurlimann, I am bringing before my Indian friends, who would join me in my sentiment of gratitude to Dr. Hurlimann. It was also due to him that I am able to present to the public a document of rare value—Pestalozzi's meditations on Education, which I publish at the end of this tribute to the memory of this Educational Columbus of Switzerland.

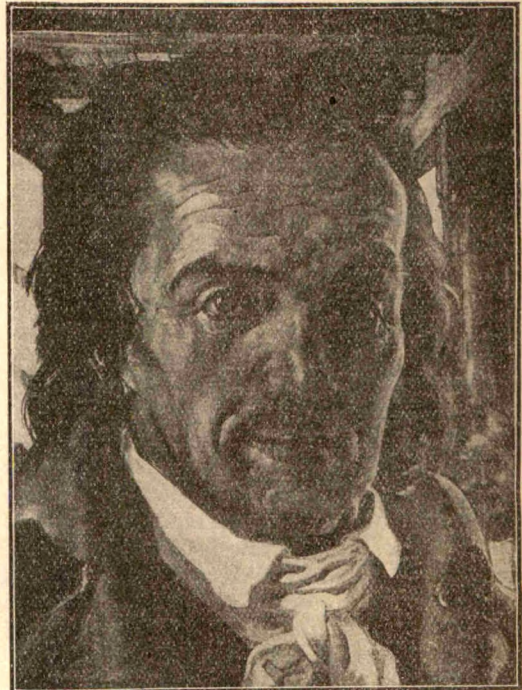
II

Pestalozzi came of a high family of Zurich. His father died early and the whole education of the boy was in the hands of the mother—a remarkable woman. Having the mother as a *Guru*, Pestalozzi imbibed a very high regard for womanhood as the maker of nations. Hence we find in Pestalozzi's masterly romance *Leonard and Gertrude*, the mother Gertrude to be the heroine who by her lofty womanly virtues and abilities purifies her family, then the village and ultimately leaves a mark on the history of her country. The other education romance of the age, the *Emile* of Rousseau, also centres round the life of a woman. Love and Nature came henceforth to be the guardian angels of Education when it was revolutionised by master spirits like Pestalozzi and Rousseau.

SYMPATHY, THE KEY NOTE OF PESTALOZZI SYSTEM

Sympathy was the very keynote of the life and system of Pestalozzi. While in the University of Zurich he breathed the noble atmosphere of creative idealism, which made Zurich a force not simply in Swiss educational life but also in German literature. This

was admitted by a German poet like Wieland. A spirit of *adoration of Nature* and a love of Shakespeare were symptoms of the age. The *back to Nature* cry of another Swiss prophet, Rousseau, was already in the air, and a group of vigorous thinkers and critics like Bodmer and Breitinger were



Pestalozzi the initiator of Sympathy-method

inaugurating a political revolution along with the literary and spiritual renovations. The preachings of the great Swiss pastor Lavatar engendered a spirit of national awakening and Pestalozzi wanted to devote his life to political reform with a view to ameliorating the condition of the common people.

But Destiny smiled obliquely. He would be a great reformer but not in politics. He was hopelessly unpractical; so he left the difficult world of politics and attempted to build an agricultural settlement in Neuhof after his marriage (1769). From the economic point of view the experiment was a failure. But the desire to help the poor and the helpless was insistent and the *back to the soil* idea was equally deep-rooted in him. So we find Pestalozzi establishing another farm which was more an educational laboratory than a financial venture. For we find its author

more busy thinking how to make the *soul* and not the hand alone, free from the shackles of conventions. The work of the hand was considered as the *means* and not the end, which was to Pestalozzi the emancipation of the spirit. Thus he anticipated Tolstoy and Gandhi by insisting on manual work as a great corrective of purely intellectual education, as well as the most effective method of instilling true democracy, dignity of labour and sympathy for the majority of mankind, who are labourers. It is noteworthy that he had weaving and spinning as a part of his curriculum. He was busy with another, this great experiment for six years (1774-1780), during which he built his *Home-school* for orphans who would never know what home is. He used to live and work with his pupils (and his wife was a great helper here) and kept a regular diary for each of his children. This silent and sublime service to the helpless and the deserted, this intensive study of the children from day to day, gave solidarity to his system and a universality to his outlook that would ever keep the memory of Pestalozzi sacred. This *tapasya* produced fruits in the form of two of his famous works: the *Evening Hours of a Hermit* (1780), a book of meditations and the epoch-making novel *Leonard and Gertrude* (1881), a sister portrait to Rousseau's *Emile*. Pestalozzi was undoubtedly influenced by the works of Rousseau: *New Heloise* (1760), *Social Contract* (1762) and *Emile* (1762), which convulsed the whole of Europe. If the nineteenth century was a century of educational reforms, it was due to the works of the two great Swiss masters, Rousseau and Pestalozzi, who had "the honour of conceiving a method which is the corner-stone of all sound theories of primary education."

With the French Revolution, Switzerland was invaded by the French in 1798 and Pestalozzi opened a school at Stanz for the orphans of war. Himself homeless and penniless, he could not help gathering the helpless children around him! What a pathos in the noble struggle in which he warred desperately against the demon of war and even when failing to make his work successful, starting another educational work at Burgdorf. Here he joined a school but was driven out from the position of a subordinate teacher by the jealous and bigoted senior master. This was his reward at the ripe age of 55!

INFLUENCE OF PESTALOZZI

However, he was able to start and run a school of his own, aided by the Swiss government, at Burgdorf (1799-1804). Here he published his second social novel: *How Gertrude educates her Children* (1801), in which he set forth that "the development of human nature should be in dependence upon *natural laws* with which it is the business of every good educationist to comply; in order to establish a good teaching method, learn first to understand nature, its general processes in man and its particular processes in each individual; observation, the result of which is a spontaneous perception of things, is the method by which all objects of knowledge are brought home to us." This is the outline of the *Intuition Education* (*Anschauung*) of Pestalozzi which is the corner-stone of the German *Folk-school*. It led to a veritable revolution in the science of pedagogy and the reputation of Pestalozzi spread far and wide. In 1802 he was sent to Paris on deputation and he tried to convert Napoleon to his theory! The latter sympathised but with characteristic cynicism replied that he was a little too busy to think of the alphabet! Pestalozzi however was made an honorary citizen of France like Schiller and Washington.

In 1805 he moved his school to Yverdon and it attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. It was visited by Talleyrand, Madam de Stael and others, while Humboldt and Fichte praised the method followed in the institution. Amongst his pupils Pestalozzi claimed Delbruck, Carl Ritter, Zeller and last, though not the least, Frobel, the founder of the *Kindergarten* method. The Prussian government sent boys to be trained in Yverdon. When the Czar granted him an audience, Pestalozzi naively sermonised the emperor of Russia on his duty to educate the Russian mass! With each argument Pestalozzi, with his awkward yet vigorous gesture, stepped forward and the Czar was obliged to walk backwards, till at last the Emperor was not only cornered but actually pitched on the wall of the reception hall, and he burst out laughing while he embraced the divine fanatic of education.

A SAD END

Yet the last days of his life were very sad. His colleagues of the school rebelled against him and Pestalozzi, sick of perpetual

of Yverdon in 1825. He was as lofty in his ideals as he was hopeless in his practical sense. Hence his actual work came to nothing, although his vision of the true principles of education continues to inspire us down to this day. He wrote his educational prayer—the *Swan Song*, and died in retirement at Brugg (17 Feb. 1827). His own words now would speak for the greatness of the man :

III

A VISION OF TRUE EDUCATION

"We are warned, as humanity has seldom been warned. Thousands of bleeding wounds are calling out to us in a manner as they have not for centuries called out to the world. It is urgently necessary that we should consider once the source of the errors of the Citizen and the Society, giving rise to this mass of corruptions of civilisation. Once more we should find in the improvement of our nature itself, the means of escape from all the sufferings and all the miseries which we, the higher and lower, the rich and the poor, should equally come forward to face, not as frightened weaklings, but as men, who can face their posterity, their children and their race with stern dignity.

Let us become *men* (*menschen*), so that we may become citizens and statesmen again.

NATURE THE SOURCE OF REAL EDUCATION

The art of being man (*Mensch*), of becoming man, of remaining man, the art of making man human (*den Menschen menschlich*), as well as that of maintaining his human character,—this art which thou deniest, O! foolish absurd race, and ridiculest, as something undiscoverable, is, God be praised, not yet discovered. It is ours, it has been ours and it will ever be ours. Its principles lie inextin-



The Great helper of the helpless

guishable and unshakable in the human nature itself.

CULTURE AND ANARCHY.

But the world as it is, seems every day to become more detrimental to this pure basis of the happiness and culture "*Bildung*" of man; every day it is advancing towards the destruction of the life of the home "*Wohnstube*". This is against God and human nature; it hardens the pure human spirit and renders it sensible only to its bestial and voluptuous existence and activity without manliness, (*Menschlichkeit*) love or grace, in the private and public relations of life.

EDUCATION TO HUMANIZE MANKIND

Even in minor children we find the feeling of animal arrogance and animal violence; fraud and cunning as they develop in a fox, are found in ill trained boys, apish vanity

and the pride of a peacock get possession of the nature of the girl before the tenderness of her developed maidenly character can expose to her this vanity and this pride as contemptible as compared with the innocence and simplicity of human feelings which are the products of human training.



The Unflinching Friend of Orphans

PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY

Fatherland! the problem of our day is not yet solved, it still stands before you and awaits solution. The spirit of the time is not favorable to its permanent solution. Thousands of our men, who are living only for the day (*Zeitmenschen*), are active in tying and tightening all sorts of bonds, shackles and knots. But few fingers are refined and tender enough, bold and powerful enough to loosen these bonds, shackles and knots. If the ordinary man of the day is entrusted with the untying of such knots he would always (and, how unhappily!) rush to seize the sword (in order to cut the Gordian knots!)

Fatherland! teach your children not to consider this means (of the sword) to be the highest. Highly estimated, the sword easily degenerates into a means of paralysing in you the old and essential things which you need today, and leave you a cripple. No, Fatherland, not the sword, no, no, but Light more Light upon yourself,—deep knowledge of the evils which lie within you, against your own self, knowledge of the real condition of yourself, that is what you want.

FROM VIOLENCE TO NON-VIOLENCE

The elevation of our race to true manhood (*Menschlichkeit*), to real culture—is in its essence a *transformation of the bestial and lawless violence into a human non-violence* (*Gewaltlosigkeit*), brought about by law and justice and protected by the same,—a subordination of the demands of our sensuous nature to the demands of the human spirit and the human heart.

THE DISEASE OF CIVILISATION

Look at the whole society of man, sunk deep in the corruption of civilisation; look at those whom you should consider to be the noblest and the purest. Look at the *mother*! No, I don't call her mother—look at the woman of the day who is sunk in the corruption of civilisation. She cannot give her children what she herself has not and does not know. Her life, her maternal life as it is today, is, for her child, an actual death. She does not know what maternal anxiety is, she does not know what maternal strength is, she does not know what maternal faith is. She has no anxiety, no strength, no faith for her child. Her anxiety, her energy, her faith is all for worldly dalliance, of which she does not wish to put one single card out of her hand—not even for a moment—for the sake of her child!

Imagine now also a father of today—I cannot call him father, imagine a man of the world, sunk deep in the corruption of civilization. You will find in him the same effect of the corruption of civilization, you will find in him regarding his son the same error of mind, the same desolation of heart as we found in the woman of the day. He is nothing but a business-man and he treats the education of his children just as any other business.

WORLD REPLACING GOD

Without regard for the will of God, the parents want to educate their children for the world only and to represent to them the *world as their God*. The talents of human nature are for them nothing but means to get as much power and honour and enjoyment of life as possible, for themselves only against all others. The intellect, which has been wedded by God, in their children, to innocence, is separated by them from their heart and made entirely the means of selfishness.

And almost all creatures, sunk into the corruption of civilization, think and act and feel just as the man of the world and the woman of the world.

BANKRUPTCY OF POLITICS

The faults of the official people—"Behörden-menschen", who are more bloodless forms than living people,—are fundamentally the same as those of the woman of the day and of the business-man. The civilized, corrupt magistracy are found as wanting as the home—(Wohnstube), of the common people: Fundamental knowledge and fundamental strength for what they should do and what they would do are lacking. In the magistracy, just as in the homes, dreams are dreamt about things which are unknown, and sleepless nights are spent in researches for something, which if it would be known it would not be worth wishing. This state of complete hardening of mind, which I would call the wickedness of statesmen, changes the *Vatersinn* (the feeling of a father) of the government into mere economic principles of property.

THE SILENT HIDDEN VIRTUE OF THE
LIFE IN THE HUT

O my fellowmen ! who have attained to a rare height in the cultureless arts of civilization and its blind, delusive strength, O my fellowmen, come for a moment out of this dazzling delusion of yourself, and look at the lofty strength of *silent, hidden virtue, which is still alive in the hidden, lowly good huts of the country*. Look at the residuum of morals and good habits, which still express in your rural areas the national strength and the national character of your ancestors.

FREEDOM AND NON-FREEDOM

The idle and deceptive talk of the time about human and social freedom and equality and about non-freedom and non-equality of men would be carried away with the noise of its savagery and its social delusiveness. The diffusion of divine freedom and equality, which has been given us from eternity is only apparent for it has been seldom acknowledged with sincerity and love ; freedom and equality in the nature of human virtues, and the equally necessary non-freedom and non-equality would resist the wild waves of barbarism as an eternal rock resists the waves of a violent torrent.

TENDERNESS THE HIGHEST HUMAN STRENGTH

Friends of humanity ! The sublime claim of holy *tenderness for the weak* of our race, this tenderness which is really the highest human strength,—this is the exalted external sign of the inner sanctity of a sovereign power.

Fatherland ! beneath the thousand voices that have, through the terrors of the past years, come up to the wisdom of a mature self help, there is only one supreme voice : We must educate our children better and with more strength and earnestness than they have been educated until now.

If we are able to enliven humanity in its better individuals for the recovery of themselves and to strengthen the pure enthusiasm of the human nature for this purpose,—then our race would raise itself to the hardest, to the highest and to the most sublime of what human nature is capable of. The powerful arm of the nation will then be unchained. From single action to a common action Life will be stirred up. Each single action of wisdom and virtue will act upon the common strength, common wisdom and common virtue. These acts, may then be done by the highest and the greatest as well as by the poorest of men, they will disappear as single actions. They will be actions of and for the *whole humanity*, actions of the higher human nature, noble exploits of our race, dedicated to humanity and to the fatherland and to the most urgent needs of our time.

PESTALOZZI THE PROPHET OF OPTIMISM

It must, it will, become better ! There will be a common power for the creation of a general improvement of things.

There will be a cry in the world : Up ! Arise to the arms of wisdom and virtue ! Up ! Arise to the arms of innocence and love.

Down, down with false honour which, puffs up human nature and thus destroys its Morale and its Spirit.

Down, down with false honour, which going out from the barbaric weakness of our corrupt civilization, proud of its stupidity and arrogance and unkindness, wants to usurp the holy heights of civilisation. Down, down with the first source of the evils of the world—down, down with false honour, but only *by means of wisdom and love*. No evil force, no weapon of barbarism. The developed Understanding and the burning Love of a better race—may it smile upon all !

INDIAN PERIODICALS

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—In this section we try to give extracts from the Indian periodicals we receive. But as our space is limited, those periodicals which are published regularly and punctually have the first claim on our attention.]

Bengal's New Governor

The editor of *Welfare* observes :

Sir Stanley Jackson is very fond of cricket and has already talked once or twice in terms of cricket about his plans with regard to his governorship. Once he reminded us that if we played cricket (i.e., played fair), he too would reciprocate by playing fair with us. We, no doubt, believe in playing fair ; but Sir Stanley was not quite doing justice to the spirit of cricket when he thus made fair play a conditional thing. Moreover, Sir Stanley forgot his captain, the Government of India. How can it be cricket at all when we are fielding eternally with shackles on our feet and they are hitting and scoring as they like ? Whenever we talk about declaring the innings and taking up the bat ourselves, we are told that our bats will be only 2 x 6 and that we must play with leaden leg-guards and with bandaged eyes. And to crown all, our stumps must be a mile wide and a mile high, while the ball will be fired at us from a field gun ! We own up our defeat right at the beginning.

Our Faults

We read in the same monthly :—

Our up-bringing is steadily playing havoc with our social and other institutions. The order of the

day is weakness, lack of energy, disunion and neglect of duty. We need ten men where other nations put up only one man to do something. Our energy oozes out three times as fast as that of others, our labour is wasted because we pull, not together, but against one another and we always devote far more attention to the subtle art of shirking duties than to learn to do things better. Take, for example, any industry and study conditions in it. Our brick layers lay 150 bricks per hour or less, where the Americans lay 800 and the amount of *Ca' Canny* encountered by our employers makes normal business a dangerous speculation. In any other society where people are better brought up and disciplined one man turns a thief where a thousand work wholeheartedly. But here eighty per cent of the men would directly or indirectly attempt to acquire what they have not earned and consider the whole procedure perfectly legitimate. The law of distribution makes every man poor where few work and far too many steal (i.e., acquire the product of others' labour) and the poverty of India is largely explainable by this. By a lucrative job in India we mean a job in which there is much unearned income coming one's way and not one in which one can do a lot and earn accordingly.

One of the main causes why Indian business does not expand is the lack of persons who can be trusted fully to carry out orders and not to abuse power. The picture of the Western business man running his vast organisation from a sort of observation station fitted up with a hundred telephones and a hundred thousand charts and abstracts, has remained so far an unreality in India ; for the available human element cannot fit into such a picture. It may be different hereafter but that will depend entirely on whether we can better bring up and train the future generations of Indians. In law, in the services and elsewhere progressive improvement is obstructed by corrupt practices, jobbery and a total disregard for truth

and real merit and their claims. What one hears of the disgusting morale of the Moghul Court, one can see now in practice everywhere; the unfortunate part being that even the so-called Nationalists are ardent wallowers in the filth. If we are hoping for a new and better state of affairs in India, we must give up all self-deception, acknowledge the truth about ourselves and then proceed to build right from the bottom with a clear conscience; for build we must from the bottom in order to achieve any real and lasting good.

Ancient Centres of Indian Emigration

According to Mr. C. F. Andrews, in ancient times,

There were three centres of Indian emigration. First of all, the kingdom of Kalinga, which is now Orissa and Andhra Desa, sent its ships over the sea as far as the coast of China and the furthest islands of the Malay Archipelago.

At the South-West of India, along the Malabar Sea-border, another great and adventurous people sent its ships far abroad, especially towards the shores of Africa, Madagascar, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian ports.

A third centre of emigration was the Gujarat coast, including Cutch, Kathiawar, and Sind.

As Mr. Andrews is not a specialist in this and many other subjects on which he writes, he would do well to read up the latest literature on them. On the subject under notice, he might, for instance, read Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi's article on India and China in the *Modern Review*.

Cultural Unity of India

Pandit Chamupati writes in the *Vedic Magazine*—

The Temple of India's culture knows no distinction of sect, of creed, of colour. It stands on the bed-rock of unity. The religious movements that take their birth in this temple have an inclusive, instead of exclusive, outlook. Ram Mohan Roy saw oneness in all religions. Vivekananda raised the cry of the Vedanta in materialistic West. Ram Tirtha of the Punjab joined his voice to the voice of his predecessor and his conception of mystic religion was clearer though not so rich. And Dayananda who spoke in the voice of thunder and storm recognised all religions to be the offshoots of the Veda. He unified all cultures at the root.

Strange, as it may seem, even in the struggles of to-day that are being waged between different sects and communities of India, bloody and barbarous as some of these conflicts are, I see a vision of unity—of oneness passing through the throes of a new birth. India is rising. She is already awake. Through the mist of the morn the first rays of the

rising sun, of a new day, are visible. Blessed are they who recognise the rising sun, and set their house in order to welcome him!

The temporary decay to which Bharat was subject, in the course of which instead of assimilation, disintegration was the rule of its life, instead of association and absorption, isolation was its motto, appears to be coming to an end. As in past ages, unity will once again prevail over forces of disunion. It has already prevailed. For the heart of India is sound. Only the externals had degenerated. For through the songs of Tagore and the paintings of Avanindra, in the scientific researches of Bose and the humanitarian messages of Gandhi, the same old vision of "one in many" is manifesting itself. The religions of the world are rehashing themselves in accordance with the latest religious voice of India, the voice of Dayananda. Thus, while politically we lie low, we are making again a spiritual conquest of the world.

Rescue Homes

Stri Dharma observes :—

The appeal by Lord Lytton for liberal public support to the Rescue Home, at Cossipore, is touching in its earnestness for the suppression of the social evil in our midst. Speaking of Calcutta, he said that 2,000 minor girls (who can say what numbers have yet evaded the vigilance of the police?) were kept for immoral purposes, whereas the present Home could accommodate only 32. Lord Lytton has suggested various means by which public sympathy could be secured for enlarging the institution, the most significant of which is "for every father and mother in Calcutta to subscribe a rupee for each of their own daughters to the central fund to save other children from a life of shame." He highly commended the labours of the Bengal Vigilance Society and also referred to the success of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1923.

Education of Girls in Bengal

In Lady Abala Bose's paper on girls' education in Bengal, published in the same magazine, it is stated that

Of the total number of girls in the different educational institutions of Bengal, nearly 95 per cent., are in the primary grade the remaining 5 per cent. being distributed in the Middle and High schools and the colleges for general or professional studies. So the problem of female education in Bengal is mainly the problem of primary education.

The combined effect of these and allied causes is that, although Bengal can boast of about 12,000 primary schools for girls with about two lakhs and seventy-eight thousand of pupils—these being, by the way, the highest figures of all the provinces in India—it is only the fringe of the vast problem

of primary education that has been touched; because among the girls of school-going age, only 7½ per cent., ever join any school at all, the rest of them remaining beyond the reach of all educational influence.

I venture to lay great stress on the point that primary education should be left to the initiative of non-official organisations, national in character, subject, of course, to Government supervision. Official organisation must necessarily be rigid, inelastic and unable to adjust itself to varying circumstances.

The Telegraph Services for Indians

What just and generous treatment Indian employees receive in the Indian Telegraph Department will appear from the following sentences taken from *The Telegraph Review* :

The main grievance is that this General Scale service has been an exclusive monopoly of one section of the Indian population, and that is the Anglo-Indian community. We feel that this is a gross injustice, and that *this anomalous and invidious distinction should be forthwith removed, and that openings be offered to all, irrespective of caste, colour or community, and that merit should be the only basis which alone can increase greater service with better efficiency to the public, such as is demanded of them.*

Alas! there is yet another class to mention—the so-called menials. These Telegraph peons, who are no less important from the point of view of essential imperativeness, are paid wages, or subsistence allowance, as it is called, of a varying degree from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 a month, and the rest are to be made up from the mileage pies by the delivery of telegrams. The breathless hurry with which deliveries are made at the risk of health and even life, can better be imagined than described. In about 10 to 15 years of their ceaseless activities, they become mercilessly spent-up, and yet they continue till the fag end of their officially recognised period when they are doled out a magnificent pension of Rs. 4 a month! It is said that this magnanimous dole is not sufficient enough today to feed even a country dog for a month.

The Prospects of Prohibition in India

Prohibition notes that

The Imperial Government has not materially changed the policy enunciated in the Legislative Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett, in 1925. This policy had no sympathy whatever for either local option or prohibition. Anxious to prevent in every way any excess of drinking or drug taking it sees no evil in the traffic, and considers the moderate drinker and drug taker has the right to demand facilities for purchase of these articles. Revenue considerations do not control excise policy, although the State benefits considerably from such

revenue. Provincial Governments with the exception of Bombay and the C. Provinces accept the Government of India's policy. The spirit of antagonism to prohibition has markedly grown in official circles. The steady annual rise in Revenue receipts in Provincial and the Imperial Government is a disheartening factor in present conditions. In this respect Excise Departments are making the drink and drug traffics a necessary part of the fiscal arrangements of the country. Meanwhile discussions in Legislative Councils continue to show that the large majority of the representatives of the people of India repudiate this policy of regulation and control of consumption. A demand is made and reiterated for more sympathetic compliance with the expressed convictions of the great majority of the Indian people, asking for eventual prohibition.

The "Friendly Handshake"

According to the *Oriental Watchman*,

"The 'friendly handshake' is now charged with being very unfriendly. According to Dr. John Sundwall, University of Michigan, this age-old custom spreads diseases, especially respiratory infections, such as influenza. The infectious organisms of this group of diseases, he says, are present in the discharges from the mouth and nose and the average person's hands are always contaminated with these secretions. A man who has the infection and whose hands are contaminated, meets and shakes hands with his friend. The friend's hands are contaminated by this contact, and when his fingers go to his mouth shortly after the meeting, the route of transmission of the disease is completed. Persons suffering from respiratory infections frequently use their hand to check a cough or violent sneeze, and almost immediately extend the same hand for a friendly shake with an old acquaintance. In many cases the result of such 'shakes' is that the friend is made to suffer. Dr. Sundwall blames this form of greeting for influenza epidemics.

Preaching Buddhism in Europe

Dr. George Grimm gives in *The Mahabodhi* a draft of rules for a Buddhist Order Colony in Europe with the following prefatory observations :—

Christianity considers it the highest merit in its adherents if they contribute towards the spreading of their religion. And, as a matter of fact, every year untold sums of money are given by Christians in order to bring the teachings of the Nazarene more especially to the peoples of Eastern Asia—to the peoples of Eastern Asia who themselves possess the noblest of all religions, the absolute religion, the religion of the Buddha.

Hence the followers and friends of the Buddha can give them no better answer than by, on their side, bringing to the peoples of Europe this highest

religion of the Buddha, in the light of which all Christianity pales like moonlight in the glow of the sun.

This also is the duty of every friend of the Buddha in Asia. For the Fully Awakened One has expressly enjoined that his disciples should carry his Teaching to all men. For, whoever helps to spread the Buddha's teaching, brings to his fellowmen the highest of bestowals: "The Gift of the Teaching excels all other Gifts." Can it be that to-day there no longer are any disciples of the Buddha who obey this his command? Can it be that especially in Eastern Asia, there are no longer any friends of the Buddha's Teaching who are blessed with this world's goods, and are willing to place at disposal the means necessary for the spreading of the Buddha's Teaching in Europe? Are the rich friends of the Buddha in Asia going to let themselves be put to shame by the rich Christians of Europe? No, that cannot be! that shall not be! All the less shall that be, in that no very extraordinary amount is required. Five thousand pounds sterling would suffice to carry out a plan which indicates the most promising method for the spreading of the Buddha's Teaching in Europe.

Leadership without Apprenticeship

India abounds with leaders of all descriptions, political, religious, social, educational etc. They will find the following portion of Swami Turiyananda's talks, published in *Prabuddha Bharata*, interesting:—

"A man went to a Sadhu to become his disciple. The Sadhu, before accepting him, informed him of all the hardships of a disciple's life. The man replied: 'Sire, make me a Guru directly.' For then he will be saved from the hard austerities. If you always spare yourself, you cannot hope to accomplish anything."

The South African Settlement

The National Christian Council Review observes:

We have had in the reception that India has given to the news of the South African settlement, a distressing revelation of her present mood of scepticism. It seems as if in this matter a miracle had happened, but 'miracles do not happen.' The 'change of heart' that we speak so much of has come to be reckoned a phrase to which no meaning can ever be attached. India needs in the region of political expectation to be begotten again to a living hope. Perhaps the gradual persuasion that a change has indeed come about in South Africa may be the beginning of a return to faith. The exposition of the whole India-South African contention that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri gave in Poona, an exposition as candid as it was luminous and masterly, made it plain that through this agreement things have been attained that may be of very far-

reaching consequence in India's forward march among the peoples. The agreement restores India's self-respect, freeing even her 'coolies' from humiliation. If they leave Africa, they leave it as emigrants, seeking of their own will a better place of settlement and free, if they choose, to return. If they remain in Africa, they remain as fellow-citizens and not as aliens and interlopers. And further, as Mr. Sastri pointed out, these notable achievements were obtained by the direct negotiation of an Indian Commission, under Indian leadership, speaking face to face with the representatives of their sister nation and unencumbered by the tutelage of foreign guides or governments. There is ground for profound satisfaction in all this, and we trust that it may help to cast out the spirit of suspicion and distrust that have of late ruled so lamentably in this land.

Humour in Sikhism

Mr. Teja Singh contributes to *The Calcutta Review* a readable article on humour in Sikhism, in the course of which he says:

The most striking example of Humour playing a prominent part in Sikhism is the fact that there exists a regular order of Humourists called *Suthras*, who have carried on religious propaganda in the name of Guru Nanak mainly through Humour.

Guru Govind Singh also realized the value of humour and made full use of it in his religious work. Once he dressed up a donkey like a lion and set it roaming about the fields. The Sikhs began to laugh when they heard it braying, in spite of the lion's coat, and asked their leader what it meant. The Guru told them that they too would look as foolish as the donkey, if, with the Singh's (lion's) name and uniform, they still remained as ignorant and cowardly as before. The same love of the dramatic is exhibited by the way he exposed the futility of the belief in Durga, the goddess of power. When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt and Pandit Kesho had tired himself out by mumbling *mantras* by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and flashing it before the assembly declared: "This is the Goddess of power." The same grim humour was shown to him, when one spring morning, in the midst of hymns and recitations, he appeared before his Sikhs and demanded a man who would sacrifice himself then and there for his faith. He wanted to see whether the people dared to do anything beyond mere singing of hymns and reading of texts.

Veterinary Education in India

Mr. C. J. Fernandes, G. B. V. C., writes in *The Indian Veterinary Journal*:

Veterinary education has been the Cinderella of Government educational departments in India. After forty years of existence, it is still in its infancy and its growth and progress has been retarded by a parsimonious policy. It originated as a half-hearted attempt at imitating the veterinary arrangements of civilized European countries but

has remained in its original conception, through lack of encouragement and neglect of the persons responsible for the progress of agricultural welfare in India.

Indeed much elaboration is not needed to prove the immense benefits that accrue to a country through veterinary science. The veterinarian does not merely relieve the sufferings and prolong the existence of our dumb servitors but he helps materially to conserve the vast wealth of the nation, invested in its flocks and herds. Moreover, the benefit to the general public by the State control through its veterinarians, of the chief infectious diseases of animals, some of them communicable to man, cannot be overestimated. Reports from towns and cities, where meat and milk inspection are carried out, show what service is rendered by the veterinarian in safeguarding the health of the population. Veterinary research has also proved of great benefit to its sister science medicine and the help rendered to medicine by experiments conducted on animals by both medical men and veterinarians is too well-known to need more than passing mention.

India is an enormous country, chiefly agricultural. Agriculture in the main may be said to mean the art of raising plants and animals that are best suited for the supply of food for man. If this is so, then the importance to India of maintaining the health of the live-stock in the country, which is chiefly in the hands of veterinarians, may be appreciated when we consider that the total live-stock in 1924-25 in India was 213 millions.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs

In *Labour* Srijut Tarapada Mukherjee gives the following comparative statements of expenses of the Indian Postal and Telegraph Departments:

1. Postal Expenses :
 - (a) Expenditure for—
192-425 ... Rs. 5,56,95903
 - (b) Do Estimated for—
1927-28 ... Rs. 6,00,31,000
 - An increase of ... Rs. 43,35,097
or a little over 9 percent
2. Telegraph Traffic Expenses :
 - (a) Expenditure for—
1924-25 ... Rs. 1,22,56,030
 - (b) Do Estimated—
1927-28 ... Rs. 1,48,42,000
 - An increase of ... Rs. 25,85,970
or over 20 percent

The expenditure of the Telegraph Traffic Department, has increased by over 20 percent while the expenditure of the Post office has increased by only 9 percent during the same period. The Telegraph Department is working at a loss and in the year 1927-28 the loss estimated is Rs. 27,00,000 on the Telegraph side and Rs. 4,74,000 on the telephone side. On the other hand a net surplus of Rs. 24,57,000 is estimated in the Post office department.

The Hon'ble Member is probably aware that since 1924-25 the telegraph traffic has not increased in the same rates as the post office work. It was naturally to be expected that there should be a higher percentage of increase of expenditure

in the Post office department than in the Telegraph, department specially when Post office services in the subordinate ranks are so much underpaid. But quite the reverse is the case. The Telegraph service has received increases at rates more than double that of the Post office service. We do not grudge our brother workers in the Telegraph department. We congratulate them on their good luck. But what we lament is that the poor hard worked Post office men should not receive at least equal consideration from such a sympathetic officer as Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. There is a surplus shown in the Post office Budget and money is therefore not wanting to do justice to the subordinate staff in the Post office. If the Hon'ble Member could manage to secure for the Telegraph service an increase of over 20 percent in the expenditure when the department is working at a loss, why could he not do likewise with the Post office service when, the Post office department is showing surplus year after year?

Mr. D. N. Dikshit observes in the same issue of the same magazine:—

My contention is that Government have no moral right to annex for general financial purposes any surplus of Postal revenue. Indeed, the Government of India, since the days of the East India Company, are committed to the principle that the Postal Department is to be administered without any consideration for the general revenue interests. In 1866, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Massey, the then Finance Member of the Government of India, went so far as to declare that "the Post Office was so potent an engine of civilisation that no Government would be justified in allowing fiscal considerations to stand in the way of any improvement." The only consideration that seemed to weigh with him whether or not the postal rates did act as a check on correspondence, and if they did, they must be made liberal no matter what the financial effect was. And Sir Malcolm Halley was out to demolish the generous principles established by this broad-minded predecessor of his. I maintain that the Post office need not always be even self-supporting. The Post Office is a public utility department, and any check on its usefulness must be condemned. The recent increase in Postal rates has already resulted in a great shrinkage in the volume of correspondence. A similar circumstance was considered sufficient to justify a reduction in the rates in the British Isles in Sir Robert Horne's budget, though it involves the imposition of the financial burden on the general tax payer. The rates for carrying a letter to London is two annas while that of London to India is 1½ annas. Does any body look to this anomaly?

The Age of Consent

In the opinion of Mr. N. Sri Ram, as expressed in *The Bharata Dharma*,

The Madras public deserves to be most heartily congratulated for the meeting held in Gokhale Hall on March 23, at which the following resolution was passed with but one dissident: "This meeting is in favour of marriages taking place only after sixteen years for girls and eighteen for

boys; it is in favour of the Age of Consent being raised to fourteen years as an immediate step towards the prevention of child motherhood, and wholeheartedly supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill to raise the Age of Consent for married girls from thirteen to fourteen." It will be noticed that Sir Hari Singh's modest proposal, which he is bringing up for the second time before the Assembly, has not only the very strong support of public spirited citizens, who have emphatically voiced their opinion in other places also, besides Madras, but falls considerably short of the proper age acceptable to them. There can be no reasonable doubt whatever that if the women of the country were allowed to settle the question, it would be decided at once in accordance with the demand of the Reformers. It is because they have not yet come to their own and are still in many ways like dumb driven cattle, that man-made law continues to exercise its blightful ascendancy.

Ancient Tamluk

We read in *The Beagal-Nagpur Railway Magazine* :

Ten miles to the south-west of Kolaghat station and 16 miles from Panchkura station on the main line to Bombay on the banks of the Rupnarayan river, is the ancient port of Tamralipti, now modernized to Tamluk.

The date of this port is lost in the mists of centuries but the fact that coins have been unearthed near its vicinity proves it to have existed during the days of the Roman Empire, for the coins bear the face of the Emperor Justinian. It is obvious from this fact that the port was one of call for the Phoenicians in their journeys to the east. As far as we are concerned, besides being one of the most ancient ports in India, Tamluk was the only inlet of merchandise into the "country of Bengalla." To ascertain approximately the date of this seaport, a reference to the Sanskrit works of the Jains, Buddhists and Brahmins, is necessary and they show frequent mention of the name "Tamralipta, a name which was given to the port as well as to the kingdom of which it was the capital, as also to the people. In fact, from these works it is surmised that the seaport was in existence long before the birth of Christ.

Ptolemy notices it in his geography, giving the place the name of Tamalites, and this was in the year 150 A. D. The situation of the town in his maps places it on the banks of the Ganges.

It really first merges into history by being several times referred to by mediaeval Buddhists as a port at which merchants and others embarked for Ceylon and the Far East. Fa-Hien (*saka* 405-11 A. D.) describes it as being on the sea-front, and the earliest Hindu tradition places the sea 8 miles off, to-day the town is 60 miles inland.

Fa-Hien took up his abode for two years in one of the Buddhist monasteries. It was again visited by another Chinese pilgrim, Hsien-Tsiang (in the 7th century A.D.), whose description of the place shows it to be near an inlet of the sea, 10 *li* (about 2 miles in circuit) with ten Buddhist monasteries and 1,000 monks, and near by was a pillar erected by King Asoka, 200 feet high. Indigo, silk and copper (*tamra*) were the trading

articles of export and he concludes by thinking that the port got its name from the copper exports. Still another Chinese pilgrim—I-tsing, landed at the port from China at the close of the same century, and Hwui-Lun, the Corean, remarked—"This is the place for embarking for China from the East India and close to the sea."

The town also finds mention in the "Story of the ten princes" written by Mitrugupta in which it is said to be close to the sea and not far from the Ganges and frequented by sea-going boats of the Yavannas and others, and on the whole prosperous.

Again on the Dudhpani rock, inscription, which is not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D., there is a reference to Tamralipta, but after this period no mention of the port can be found in any subsequent works.

Fault-finding

In the *Calcutta Presidency College Magazine*, Mr. J. C. Ghosh humorously lays down the definition :

Faults are what one finds in others; that is why fault-finding has ever been a highly fascinating pursuit. As a characteristic intellectual attitude it is the recognised privilege of all civilised men and women, and can be engaged in with considerable impunity. Laughter, which according to its most modern and brilliant analyst is purely critical, corrective and devoid of feeling, is the gesture of highly sophisticated societies. The wit, the humourist, the satirist and the caricaturist find their natural quarry in the follies and foibles of men and women, and we unloosen our purse-strings in order to view ourselves in the distorting mirror of their art. We enjoy being guyed and bullied by them, and call those great who really pull our ears while apparently pulling our legs. Even personal jealousy, malice and spleen may run into many editions, and in the hands of a master achieve immortality.

The sun and the moon would not be what they are if they did not have spots. It is at least some fun to discover that votive offerings are too often poured at feet that are of clay, and that the ample mantle hides shoulders that are too narrow. Men are, of course, great not because of their failings, but in spite of them. But no picture is complete without the necessary shade. The dark spots are not only so many foils setting off by contrast the general brilliance; they also supply the requisite human touch, for it is the way of all flesh to err. Frailty is a necessary human quality, and nothing would be more faulty than faultlessness even if it were possible—vapid, drab and inhuman.

Hindu-Moslem Quarrels

Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta writes in *The Indian Review* :

The many and regrettable Hindu Mahomedan riots that have recently taken place in India, have set people thinking as to what should be done to prevent their recurrence in future. Religion has been a source of bitter quarrels in most if not all

countries of the world at some time or other in history Europe was torn to pieces by the religious wars of the Reformation. But as time passed, the followers of the different sects understood each other's point of view better, and so their wars became less and less frequent, and finally disappeared. In the same way, the Hindu-Mahomedan quarrels in India will disappear when the two communities understand each other's point of view better.

The situation is not hopeless. The different communities can be brought together again and made to work harmoniously as in the past. This can be done by one method,—and that is by giving the right kind of education. Whether the different communities have separate schools or common schools, the education imparted in these schools should be of a national and not of a communal character. All Indian children should be taught to take pride in their country and her history, and work for her improvement—as is being done in Turkish and Persian schools.

That a certain amount of friction for position and power between different Indian communities will always remain, cannot be denied; that kind of rivalry exists between different groups all over the world. But if the right kind of national education were given, Indians will certainly be able to unite and work for the improvement of their country,—and not waste their energies in irritating each other and flying at each other's throats as they are doing at present.

The Caves of India

Roughly speaking, says Dr. K. N. Sitaram in *Shama'a*,

The cave districts in India comprise about fifty different and distinct groups though the majority of them are to be found within the limits of the Presidency of Bombay. All told, the caves, both those which were only natural formation, ones, and those specially hewed from out of the sides of the living mountains or detached rocks big enough for the same purpose, number easily more than a thousand, although some of these are no bigger than mere manholes, which house some of the slum population in the least sanitary parts of the City of Bombay, while others, like those of the chaitya Halls that lend dignity and charm to Karla, Kanheri, Ajanta, Bedsa and Bhaja, are structural excavations of whose 'Tour d'force' any nation in the world might be proud of.

There are others which were Viharas once, and housed either a college or only a community of meditating monks, which though secondarily for architecture, but still primarily are now invaluable for the students as well as connoisseurs of art, throughout the world, because of the precious fragments of frescoes which still adhere to their walls, ceilings and pillars, in some of which the colours are still as fresh as when they left the hands of their masters nearly two thousand years ago.

If the caves in the Ramgarh Hills can claim priority because of their antiquity, and as the earliest to delineate in colour the joy in life which

the ancient Indian felt, then the caves of Sittanavasal, twelve miles from Pudukottah, near Trichinopoly, contain some of the loveliest cave paintings which the hands of the Jain masters of the brush has as yet given to us. Ajanta contains the largest number of paintings executed in glorification of the Mahayana form of the Buddhist Faith, though some of the paintings are far from being either religious or Buddhist. One may say that the paintings of Bagh (Gwalior) are more or less contemporary with the latest of the wall paintings at Ajanta, even though from the point of technical achievement and the colour scheme, some of them may be said to be superior and gayer even to those at Ajanta, especially the scenes in the Rangmahal which depict Indian dancing.

Value of Historical Training

Mr. G. A. Naidu observes in *Morris College Magazine* :

A historical training teaches one to be critical in his study of the various aspects of human affairs. "The student is to read history actively and not passively," says Emerson, "to esteem his own life, the text, and books, the commentary. Thus compelled, the Muse of History will utter oracles." "A sound historical morality," (or training) says Goldwin Smith, "will sanction strong measures in evil times; selfish ambition, treachery, murder or perjury, it will never sanction in the worst of times, for these are the things that make times evil." "It you wish to profit by your reading," says Lord Bryce in one of his addresses, "do not forget to scrutinise each maxim delivered, to see if it be justified by facts. Sound criticism (or historical training) seeks rather to discover and appreciate merits than to note faults." In short, true historical training teaches to judge of events, correctly. It fosters right thinking, and favours the formation of a wholesome public opinion. "Let my son of ten read and reflect on history: this is the only true philosophy," were Napoleon's last instructions for the King of Rome. And it is this habit of reflection, which a sound historical training aims at cultivating in the average citizen, for a right understanding and proper guidance of the affairs of the society, and of the country in which he lives.

Another way in which a historical training is of practical value to the average citizen is that it enables him to make a fairly correct estimate of the future from the study of the past. "History," says Sir John Seeley, "ought surely in some degree, if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of the future. We shall all no doubt be wise after the event; we study history, that we may be wise before the event."

Engineering

L. N. Dev, Esq., L. M. T., writes in *Progress* :—

Engineering is now recognised as one of the sciences. It is really the science of applying the

older sciences to the ordinary affairs of mankind. It is the practical application of information gathered by the abstract scientist, the chemist, the physicist, the mathematician and so forth. It is also defined as the science and art of adapting, converting and applying the great sources of power in nature to the use and convenience of man.

Some Indian Artists

N. Vyasa Ram, Esq., BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI (which we suppose is a brief hono-
rific title), read a paper before the Bangalore Mythic Society, in which, as published in its quarterly journal, we find the following :

The works of Ravi Varma may be roughly divided into three main groups: portraits, scenes from life (contemporary) and mythological representations. I am of opinion that his best works are to be found among the portraits, examples of which can still be seen at Mysore. Though he was not a portrait painter like Rembrandt who could see through his sitters, Ravi Varma must certainly be accepted as one of the best portrait painters of modern India. The huge portraits of Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja of Mysore are among his best productions in the line.

While Ravi Varma, through his art created in the people a certain amount of appreciation for scientific colouring of light and shade, he has also on the other hand, stimulated the grosser tastes in them for jarring colour effects, and pleasant lusty womanhood in painting, to such an extent, that the path of the sincere well-wisher and reformer in the line has become very steep and beset with thorns on every side. India became, in consequence of the activities of Ravi Varma and his followers, a suburb of London and Paris in art, as she is a suburb of Manchester and Sheffield in commerce. As the art of Ravi Varma was a lifeless imitation and hybrid combination, similar features dominated the life of the average Indian of the period making it too prosaic and devoid of imagination.

The swing in Indian artistic thought towards the western ideal had reached far enough to need a re-action. And this originated on the other extreme of India. Ravi Varma's prosaic art spread its influences from the west end of India, commercial Bombay. The reactionary influences began their work from the east end of India—emotional and poetic Bengal. This movement, stimulated and patronized by E. B. Havell, the principal of the Calcutta School of Arts, gathered round it a strong band of relentless workers like Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose and began a counter activity in art.

The members of this re-actionary school saw that the beauty of Indian life was fading away in a mad pursuit of a foreign civilization and concluded that the only method of purging Indian art of its newly acquired evils and purifying it once again was to look back to the past for inspiration and guidance. Consequently they based their studies on the art of Ajanta, and the Moghul and Rajast schools of the mediæval period. Without

doubt this movement produced some excellent artists who have won world-wide fame for their country through their productions. Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Gogonendranath Tagore and Mukul Chandra Dey are among the foremost of them in Bengal. These artists developed different styles of their own each specializing in his own way. Gogonendranath Tagore specialized in the ironical aspect of art and produced a series of extremely humorous and instructive cartoons illustrating the degeneration of Bengali life. He has now become an exponent of the new theory of cubism.

As the fashion of Indian art grew more and more common the spirit of fanaticism found itself gradually entering the minds of the later artists. Among the ideals of the new school, one was to copy and revive the style, of Ajanta. But the new artists forgot that *the hand can never imitate the style of Ajanta unless the heart is inspired by the ideal of Ajanta artists*. If the ideal was there the style would come by itself.

It is with a certain feeling of pride, however, that we have to consider the effect of the activities of the new school of thought on South Indian artists who came under its influence. While Bengal, always emotional, soared beyond its normal limits and reached the extent of fanaticism in her art, South India, though represented by a handful of her artists in this new wave of artists' renaissance, brought her reason and intellect to bear upon these problems and struck out a new line for herself.

Two names appear before me in outstanding prominence in South India: Venkatappa of Mysore and Natesan of Hyderabad. These two artists evolved a style of their own which particularly reflected the ideals of the part of the country they lived in.

"To the Youth of India"

Through the medium of *The Scholar* Miss M. A. Tata, M. Sc., Barrister-at-Law, addresses the following words to the Youth of India:—

From times immemorial poets have sung of Youth. It is the most wonderful period in one's life. The youths are to a country what the spring is to the year. They feel the joy of being alive; vital forces are pulsating, throbbing through them, striving for expression like the flowers which burst forth in spring from the cold barren earth. It is those vital forces which give courage, vision and adventuresomeness to youth, nay, which are its sole prerogatives. It is a time when sympathy is rich and wide, the "world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls", and the mind is not fossilised in terms of dogma and tradition. Buoyancy and hope are characteristics of youth, for, were it not so, progress would not be possible in the world. It is this capacity of youth to dare, to be, which is the motive force of all progress. Life is the greatest of adventures which faces us all; if we shrink from it, if we do not face it, then surely something is wrong with us somewhere, for it is not in the nature of youth to doubt and hesitate, but to dare and hope.

Practical Idealists:

This is a time when dreams are dreamt and ideals are formed. But now-a-days, it is not enough merely to dream great dreams; this is an era pre-eminently of action, at no time in history was there so much need for right and decisive action as to-day. This is an era of big international movements. We, who have learnt the value of combination and organisation in business and in politics, why should not we, the youths of a nation, unite and form an association of practical idealists—for that is what we hope to be.

Improvement of Third Class Carriages

The Indian Railways observes:

In our opinion more accommodation should be provided with a view to avoid overcrowding and the benches should be wider to get rid of the present punishments. All carriages should be securely walled with wood and glasses and present narrow gauge open-trucks should be permanently damaged. In local trains also there should be privy arrangements, as nobody can check the call of nature and in view of sanitation this is bad. A cook room will serve a party well, but average Indians will not heartily support the idea. Water must there invariably be in all carriages and to this point all attention is respectfully drawn. There should be iron nails set in E. B. Ry. carriages as are found in the E. I. R. ones, in addition to the hanging benches. The same case applies to the *Inter Class* carriages. Overcrowding there is very great. People pay much but do not get suitable room to their ill-luck. Like third, more *Inter Class* carriages should be attached with every train to avoid discomforts and disquietitudes. We request the Railway authorities to be mindful to our hearty requests and sincere entreaties made above.

Self-help for Indian States Subjects

The Karantaka dissents from Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's opinions on Indian States on the following point among others:

He says that the people of the States have themselves to work for their emancipation. No one will be so foolish as to dissent from this. But, if he has known anything of the internal conditions of the States, he should not need to be told how very difficult—nay, impossible—it is for their peoples to carry on any political work. The Princes and their ministers know how to get scent of any attempt to start a popular agitation and how to crush it out. If their people should advance, it is essential that they should be helped by the progressive patriots of British India, even

as these were inspired and guided and helped in the past by the progressive patriots of England, like Hume and Wedderburn. Further, it is only a form of enlightened self-interest for the politician of British India to feel concerned for the politics of his brother in the Indian State. For, any scheme of Swaraj for British India must, at some vital points, touch the claims and interests of the Indian States; and no proper scheme can therefore be devised without a serious consideration of the latter's position and prospects also.

Teaching of Economics in School

We read in *The Garland*:

The importance of the study of a true National system of Economics to the growing citizens of a country can in no sense be overrated and the lamentable lack of knowledge in this subject even in several of our so-called educated men is one of the most regrettable shortcomings in the system of education prevalent in this country. That the subject of economics has not been given the proper place it deserves in our present curricula of studies prescribed for schools and colleges goes without saying and a chat with an average individual passing for an educated man on such a topic as India's international trade or tariff or currency problems, gives you ample room, I do not know, whether to say for regret or for laughter. I have often been wondering how seriously inadequate that education must be which does not impart to its recipient some knowledge regarding the production and distribution of wealth in his country, the monetary standard and the banking systems prevalent, the principle and practice of the tax system or systems in vogue etc. If the teaching of the elements of economics in general and of Indian economics in particular were more widespread than it is now, there would have been no possibility of men of some education betraying colossal ignorance on such a topic of discussion as say the suitability or otherwise of state aid to some industry during some specific period of its growth.

As things stand, few outside the small circle of college and University Professors of Economics, seem to take any great interest in the discussion of Economic problem. Even several of the newspapers try carefully to avoid the subject, and even when occasional editorials on economic questions appear, the average reader seems to slur over it for the simple reason that he does not understand it or thinks so. The proceedings of economic conferences do not often get the publicity they deserve and even if published appear almost as Greek and Latin to the vast majority of readers.

It will therefore be certainly an excellent thing, if the educational authorities see their way to make an elementary study of Indian economics compulsory in our High School classes throughout the Presidency.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

'Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Poetry

In *The Bharat* Mr. S. A. Rahman says of 'Sir Muhammad Iqbal's poetry, in part :—

In the midst of a community groaning under the dead-weight of a lifeless intellectualism and steeped in the opiate of pantheistic sufism came this singer of eternal melodies, and with one touch of his wizard-hand set into ecstatic vibration the life-strings of a whole nation. The sleepers of centuries stirred, yawned, opened their eyes, and found themselves in a new world. Some understood, some misunderstood; all were thrilled. And in the midst of this commotion, rose the voice of the poet, singing triumphantly:

"I have no need of the ear of to-day,
I am the voice of the Poet of To-morrow."
— *Secrets of the Self.*

That is the keynote to his poetry. He is not merely an inspired sentimentalist, catering to the love of "sch-stuff," so characteristic of the Orient. He feels that he has a message to deliver—a message he must proclaim with all the breath he can command:

"My song exceeds the range of the chord
Yet I do not fear that my lute will break."
— *Secrets of the Self*

His is indeed an inspiring message. He demonstrates to us that life is livable if only we knew it—not only livable but enjoyable. He enters a vigorous protest against the dogma that this world is an illusion and that therefore, one must resort to the woods and eat fig-leaves to save one's soul. We are not mere grains of sand buffeted by every chance-wind, the ephemeral playthings of an ironic Fate. We are atoms indeed, but atoms pregnant with the potentialities of life. We have only to develop our latent powers to realize ourselves:

"You do not know your worth; it takes its
value from you.
Otherwise this sparkling ruby is but a piece
of stone."
— *Message of the East.*

And again:

"O thou that art heedless of the trust
committed to thee
Esteem thyself superior to both worlds!"
— *Secrets of the Self.*

He does not merely hold out to our admiring gaze the vision of the supreme goal of life—he tells us how we can actually attain it. We have only to educate the Ego in us by a life of consistent self-affirmation, self-assertion, and self-expression.

A Dutch Journal

In a journal named *Timboek* conducted

in *Dutch* and published in Java, we find a translation of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's article in the *Modern Review* entitled "America's Interest in India."

The Labour Movement in China

Mr. Ta Chen concludes his article on the labour movement in China in the *International Labour Review* thus:—

In the first place, in order to strengthen the labour movement, labour must be divorced from both politics and radicalism, for in recent years political changes and communistic propaganda have adversely affected the cause of labour. Meantime, strenuous efforts should be made to recruit men of courage and determination to fight the cause of labour independently and unselfishly. Unless there are a considerable number of men with a strong conviction that social and industrial progress will come only through an emancipated proletariat, it will not be possible to carry on a fruitful labour movement. Secondly, the predominant ambition of labour should be the social and economic improvement of the workmen, for their misery to-day is fundamentally due to combined social and economic causes. The main questions at issue include wages, hours of labour, conditions of employment, and social treatment by the employers. Only when the workers have an income adequate to maintain a decent standard of living can higher ideals of social life be discussed. The economic phase of the fight should precede any other consideration in a programme of social reconstruction for present-day China. Thirdly, unsound practices should be avoided. A general tendency to-day is to imitate the tactics of the labour movement in the west. Certain practices may have been successful for the struggle between capital and labour in Europe or America but may yet be ineffective in China. Regulations or policies of trade unions may be efficient for one society but unsuitable for another. Certain aspects of the Chinese labour movement to-day are still too foreign in spirit. Trade union methods and practices of western countries should be so modified as to suit economic and social conditions in China. The 8-hour working day should not be blindly advocated when the 10-hour day would in many cases be a blessing to the workers. It is useless to agitate blindly for labour co-partnership in industry when the majority of the workers are still illiterate and care little for such privileges. What is urgently needed, then, is a programme of practical reforms, based upon existing social conditions, which shall truly serve to promote the welfare and happiness of the workers. Some fundamental work must be done to build up an intelligent proletariat capable of

using wisely its just rights and privileges. Gradually its social standards should be raised, so as to ensure industrial peace in the nation, and so ultimately throughout the world,

Japan's Foreign Relations

The Japan Magazine contains the following opinion of Baron Shidehara, minister for foreign affairs, Japan, on Japan's foreign policy :

Our policy covering all questions in the relations between Japan and China may then be summarized as follow :

1. To respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and scrupulously to avoid all interference in her domestic strife.

2. To promote solidarity and economic rapprochement between the two nations.

3. To entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations of the Chinese people, and to co-operate in the efforts for the realization of such aspirations.

4. To maintain an attitude of patience and toleration in the present situation of China, and at the same time, to protect Japan's legitimate and essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the disposal of the Government.

Difference Between the Nationalist and Anti-Nationalist Armies in China

The New Republic observes :

It looks more and more as if the national impulse to which the Canton government is giving an effective military and political expression will, in the course of the present year, subdue the whole of China. The Nationalist victories, according to all accounts, are won quite as much by propaganda as by the discipline and the valor of the Cantonese armies. The troops which oppose them are merely mercenaries, or at best provincial levies; and their loyalty and the loyalty of the communities which they are supposed to defend are easily undermined by armies which are fighting on behalf of the Chinese national idea. For the first time in centuries, the Canton government is offering to the Chinese peoples the prospect of participating in the life of an orderly, independent state which will at least try to govern in their interests. Propaganda to this effect ought to work as well in the north of China as it has in the south. Chang Tso-lin stands, it is true, for an idea. He, like many another apprehensive official, is proclaiming himself to the world as the arch-enemy of Bolshevism, but this kind of preachment is intended, not for the benefit of the Chinese, but to curry favour and support from foreign powers. The anti-Nationalists can for the time being place armies in the field against the Cantonese armies, but they cannot place ideas in the field against the

march ahead of the Cantonese troops and pave the way for their victories. The most serious obstacles which the Chinese Nationalists will encounter in winning over their fellow-countrymen will not be created by their present active opponents, who appear already to be beaten. They will arise after the fighting is over, and when they will have to redeem their pledge to provide the Chinese with an orderly and progressive national government.

Financial Interests and the Use of Violence

In the opinion of the editor of *The World Tomorrow*,

The use of violence by nations to protect their financial interests abroad is proving to be less and less effective. The policy of armed coercion is rapidly breaking down in China, India, and Egypt, and has already been abandoned in Turkey, Ireland, and the Ruhr. The economic boycott, the industrial strike, the policy of non-violent non-co-operation, and national armies are being widely used to administer disastrous blows to the commercial and financial interests of foreigners. It is supreme folly to think that western powers can successfully safeguard their economic interests in the Near East or in the Orient by the use of violence.

"Colour" Problem of the British Empire

Writing on the above subject in *The Labour Magazine*, Major D. Graham Pole asks :

Are our Statesmen big enough to settle the Eastern problem in a big way? If not, they are going to unite the whole of the coloured races against the dominion of their white over-lords. Not only shall we lose the Indian Empire because of the lack of imagination of our Statesmen, but we shall go far to unite the whole of Asia, and possibly the whole of the coloured peoples of the world, in a determination to overthrow the white races who seem unable to see the signs that even he who runs may read.

Muddle and Bombay

Mr. B. Shiva Rao writes to *Foreign Affairs* (British) :

Dr. Besant has been a severe critic of British rule in India, which may be efficient in administration, but has shown a criminal neglect of all that concerns the life of the people—education, health, food and decent housing.

Even this bubble of "efficiency" was burst recently by a Committee appointed by the Government itself. Lord Darnley, when he was in Bombay

as Governor, launched a scheme for re-claiming a portion of the sea for greater Bombay. The scheme is a colossal failure, and the protests of the people became so loud that the Government appointed a 'Committee. How the work was done is best told in its own words :

The organisation and arrangements made for the conduct of the scheme were almost unworkable. Responsibility was not clearly defined. Much of the technical work was left to an over-worked Chief Executive Engineer, or was not done at all. Nobody believed himself responsible for the due execution of the work. No real effort was made to secure competitive tenders.

Every word in the above paragraph is from the Committee's report. The scheme failed because the clay at the bottom of the sea was hard, and the dredger ordered from England could only work on soft clay. Lord Lloyd's defence is that the distinction between hard and soft clay was too technical for him to appreciate! Sir George Buchanan, the expert, gave such "manifest underestimates" that the Committee says, "it cannot understand how they found acceptance at Bombay and Delhi." When Sir George was questioned by the Committee about his figures, "he preferred not to answer those questions." Sir Lawless Hepper was Director of the Department, on a salary of over £5,000 a year. His annual reports, says the Committee, "cannot be justified. They do not present a true picture of progress of the work, and concealed material circumstances."

Now comes the best part of the story. The misleading of the public for over six years by false reports; the sanction of a scheme on figures deliberately altered and equally deliberately overlooked by the Bombay Government and the Government of India; the ordering of a soft clay dredger to do operations on hard clay; the breakdown of the scheme, involving a loss of several millions of pounds—none of this is denied. But the men concerned in this were all honest, says the Committee, "actuated by the highest motives." They perpetrated—well, only 'errors of judgment.'

A Union of English-speaking Peoples

On Mr. Hearst's advocacy of a Union of English-speaking peoples Mr. J. Krishnamurti makes many just observations, some of which are quoted below.

What, in Heaven's name, is the fundamental difference between a non-English-speaking person and an English-speaking person, between a Hindu and a Christian, or between a Chinese and an American, that they cannot peacefully enjoy the world together? Is it because of the difference in colour, in traditions, in customs, that we should be regarded as superior or inferior? The highest Brahmin of India regards the white man, or anyone outside his own caste, as "beyond the pale." He is as instrumental in causing a division as the man who is convinced of the superiority of the English race.

A Union of English-speaking races alone, while it might undoubtedly increase the material wealth and prosperity of those races, would not make for

the well-being of the world, because it would leave out of the new civilization the wisdom, the culture, the beauty of the East and of the non-English-speaking races. The English-speaking races, while they have been distinguished for their power of organization, of government and of law, while they have produced great literature and works of art, have never given birth to a religion or to a great spiritual teacher. The spiritual wealth of the world lies in the East, and the material wealth of the world lies in the West; and the union of both is the guarantee of the world's happiness.

"China Must Arm"

The following is taken from the London Inquirer :

"One of the saddest things said to me whilst I was in China," writes Dr. Charles E. Jefferson (U. S. A.) as quoted in *The Christian Register*, "was said by the President of Amoy University, one of the noblest men it has ever been my privilege to meet. We were sitting on the deck of a vessel on our way to Hong Kong, and we were discussing the present and the future of China. He said, 'China must arm. No Oriental nation can have the respect of the Christian nations of the West unless it is armed. No Oriental nation can expect justice at the hands of any Christian nation unless it is armed.' There is nothing, then, for us to do but to arm. We must go contrary to the traditions of our people and to the principles of the greatest of our sages in order to secure justice at the hands of the nations of the West.' And I sat there in his presence shamefaced and dumb."

Awakened China

We read in *The Modern World* :

Seventeen years ago the "break-up of China" was taken for granted by the chancellories of the world.

Today China can no longer be regarded as one of the stakes for which imperialist diplomacy can play.

Four hundred million people representing the oldest—and in many ways the most civilized—race the world has known have tautened in 17 years as no one would have anticipated they could have tautened in a century.

Every close student of Chinese history recognizes that beneath the surface differences China's diverse populations display, there is a psychic unity represented by a myriad manifestations which the casual tourist, the purblind militarist or diplomatist can never see.

Devices and outside oppression—railroads, telegraphs and airplanes on the one hand and arrogant bullying on the other hand—have served to make this psychic unity potent even in the gross terms which, alone, Occidental imperialism can understand.

From China emerges a voice which will increasingly influence the future. It is the voice of a

truly civilized, rational, ethical *kultur* made vibrant and threatening by enforced self-protection against the merely animalistic, brutish activities representing that mythical "superiority" of the predatory Occident exalting the physical while blind to the more subtle ideals to which the Orient has given allegiance.

A Polish View of English-speaking Peoples

We have received from Warsaw a journal named *Zycie Wolne*, in which the only things that we could read were the following lines in English addressed "To English-speaking Peoples":—

How now? ..

For the others only You have the moral command of disarmament in order to be able to keep easier Your uncontrolled armed dominance over the world?

From the others only You require, to give full rights to racial and speech minorities, and for Yourself You guard the right of oppressing enormous peoples, whose culture is by many millenia older than Your own?

For others You have pulpits to preach the sublime words of Christ, but for Yourself You preserve the Moloch's and Mammon's altars?

Ireland, Mexico, Nicaragua...

The Negroes: The Boers...

India, China...

And the affair of the Mayor of Cork...

And the process of Mahatma Gandhi...

Still, You are not ashamed, You mighty powers?

Still do You not regret this sublime role of a Great Arbiter of the World, that the cruel War has awarded to You?

O! Anglo-Saxons!

Every Anglo-Saxon is not like this.

Beating Politicals in Soviet Russia

In a Bulletin published in Paris and Berlin in March there are some frightful and disgusting details of the treatment received by political prisoners in Soviet Russia, some of which we print below. The more disgusting portions have been left out.

In a cell occupied by 4 Georgian Social Democrats was placed the non-partisan workingman Beliankin. The Georgians, speaking Russian imperfectly, used to converse among themselves in their native tongue. In consequence, Beliankin felt himself entirely isolated and requested to be transferred into another cell, or into solitary. His demand refused, Beliankin declared a hunger strike. He was entirely ignored by the prison management, till the 17th day of his strike, when he was removed from his cell for the purpose of administering forcible feeding. The other politicals protested against this by creating an obstruction for about five to ten minutes, during which time they beat with their tables and stools against the doors.

Within a few minutes the prison was filled with the special guards of the G. P. U. who immediately forced themselves into the cells and began throwing their contents into the corridor. The politicals did not resist, not wishing to precipitate any bloodshed, in view of the fact that the Tchekists were all armed, some of them being drunk. But the activities of the G. P. U. guards did not stop there. After the contents of the cells were all thrown out, the Tchekists attacked the prisoners. They began forcibly undressing them, the while beating the victims. Not only the men, but the Women prisoners were similarly treated. The proceedings in the female cells were accompanied with terrible scenes of brutality. They would pick up a woman bodily, one guard tearing off her things, another pulling off her stockings, while the other Tchekists indulged in market vulgarity and cynicism.

One of the women, the S. R. Ksheshnevskaya, was knocked down and beaten into unconsciousness for daring to protest. The Zionist-Socialist woman Holtzman and several others, suffered similar treatment. The Social Democrat Dalinsky was badly beaten up for trying to protect his wife. Also Dichter and his wife Venger. Even the sick politicals did not escape brutal handling.

During three days the Tchekists continued the beatings.

The use of the toilet is allowed for only 20 minutes—for the occupants of each cell, collectively. The guards actually force themselves into the toilets, even when occupied by women, and drag the occupant to his cell, irrespective of his or her condition. The women in particular have been brought to such a pass that they now refuse to go to the toilet to wash up.

For some time past the authorities of the Tobolsk polit-isolator have been making the lives of the politicals unbearably miserable. The Anarchist prisoners occupy Cell No. 6 and one morning, about 10-30, the usual time for being permitted to go to the lavatory, the men were informed that the lavatory was engaged. They waited patiently, repeatedly reminding the keepers about their need. This continued till 3 in the afternoon, though never on previous occasions was the toilet engaged by one person for more than 15 minutes.

Prohibition in America

We read in *The International Student of America*:

At the moment, prohibition as a national policy is supported by the business community, by all the Protestant churches, by the women's organizations, by the farmers, and probably by the bootleggers altogether a very powerful combination for any political party to challenge successfully. In Europe we are constantly told that American labor desires to re-establish the liquor interests. Even if this were true, labor is not so universally organized in America as in Britain and does not take the same part in politics. But it is not true. Manual workers in the United States belong in great measure to what is called the middle class. They belong to labor but not to the lower classes.

These men are often associated with church and chapel. These would be against drink. Then, also, too many wives of manual workers attribute to prohibition the comforts of their homes to make at all universal the pro-liquor views of a limited number of labor leaders in districts where there are foreign-born workers.

This journal shows how owing to prohibition health has improved, crime decreased, drunkenness decreased, drinking in colleges decreased and economic conditions improved. Consequently there are more homes, better homes, less poverty, and more food (not wine and beer), milk and meat.

The Soul of China

Writing in *The Review of Nations* on the Soul of China Professor Richard Wilhelm observes, impart:—

The East does not form one indivisible whole. It is true that there are some common traits—some things that are characteristic of all civilisations from Constantinople to Calcutta and Tokyo, if they are contrasted with Western Europe and America. The common characteristic may be briefly defined as a holding fast to the natural profundities of the soul, as against the Western tendency to make life consistently mechanical and rational. But within this unity we find a variety of forms of expression.

Chinese civilisation has already passed through one crisis about 2300 years ago. At that period it passed through its mechanical stage. Technical discoveries were made, and something like capitalism and industrialism came into existence. The old orders fell into decay, and a new aristocracy of wealth and power sprang up. A process of atomisation took place in thought. The philosophy of Yang Chu was a glorification of the individual, who would not give up one jot or one tittle even to benefit the whole world, and on the other hand, would not accept one jot or one tittle which was not his just due. Mo Ti, on the other hand, taught a rationalistic faith in an anthropomorphically conceived personal God, whose will it was that all men should love one another. He hoped to build up the fabric of society on the basis of this universal human love, organised in the form of a church, and on a rationalistic system of pragmatism and utilitarianism. In his view that is true which has prevailed historically, that which is practically useful, and that which corresponds to the dictates of common sense.

As far as China's attitude towards the West is concerned, it has gone too far in the reception of the mechanical civilisation of the West for retreat to be possible. The Chinese want the advantages of mechanical industry. This however means that capitalism, and the uprooting of the factory workers and their reduction to the status of a proletariat, must also be accepted. What is more, the improvement of means of communication, the development of mining, and the industrialisation of large tracts of territory cannot fail to have its effects on the structure of Chinese society. The organisation of the Confucian family State will necessarily break

down, and the atomisation of society will be the result.

There is no intention in China of passing through all the phases of capitalistic industrialism, which caused so much misery in Europe, in the same way that Europe was obliged to pass through them. China benefits by the historical moment at which industrialism comes to it. Since the Russian Revolution it is no longer a moral possibility for the proletariat to be treated in so inhuman a fashion as in Europe in the Nineteenth Century. Again the Chinese worker is not so defenceless against exploitation by the employers as the European worker was when there came, without warning, the sudden development of machinery and its consequences. China has inherited from its past the power to organise. The system of guilds of traders and craftsmen in the towns is still full of vitality. These organisations are a further development of the administrative organisations of the villages, which are based upon combinations of families. They constitute the germ of trade unions. Besides, the workers in China are not struggling without defence of help in inarticulate misery. They receive guidance, assistance and moral support from the students, who feel their solidarity with the struggling proletariat and stand shoulder to shoulder with it.

A solution for all the problems with which China is faced is to be found in the spirit of the old traditions. The more the Chinese have become sceptical that the only salvation is to be found in the gospel of Europe, the more they have realised how much benefit is to be derived from their own past, and have tended to go back to it. The representatives of Young China have undertaken the gigantic task of impartially investigating and sifting what national and what foreign elements are good and useful, and can be amalgamated to form a new synthesis of cultures.

Let us sum up what has been said above. If mankind is to set itself free from the bonds of the temporal and the local, it needs two things. The first is profound penetration into its own subconscious, until from that beginning the way is opened to all those living experiences to which access is gained intuitively in mystical contemplation. This is the contribution of the East. On the other side, mankind needs the bringing of the free individuality to the utmost pitch of intensity, until it gains sufficient strength to bear the full pressure of the external world. This is the contribution of the West. On this ground East and West meet as twin brothers, each of which is the necessary complement to the other.

Wiping Out Illiteracy in China

Current History for April has an interesting article on this subject by Lenning Sweet, in the course of which he says:—

What Socrates did for the thought of Greece, what Pasteur did for medical science, Y. C. James Yen is doing for democracy in Asia.

Yen, who conceived and founded the Popular Education Movement is gradually teaching 320,000,000 people to read and write at the rate of a

million a year, at a cost to each pupil of ninety six hours' time and to the community of the equivalent of 50 cents per scholar. This has been done almost entirely by volunteer help, in a country in which there is no semblance of central Government and which has sunk into poverty and anarchy through fifteen years of civil war and brigandage.

Never before has it been possible for a Manchurian coolie to learn at first-hand the thoughts of his countryman in Canton, or for him to read what is happening in Paris, in Vienna, in New York. Now millions are learning to understand the meaning of "China." For the three million textbooks which Yen has sold do not merely teach the pupils to recognize the puzzling Chinese characters; they also carry lessons concerning love of country, veneration of the heroes of old, the solidarity of the labouring classes, the imperialism of foreigners and the meaning of citizenship in a republic.

Afghanistan's "Modern" Ruler

We read in the same magazine :—

Amanullah Khan is an ambitious man. He has two objects in view: to become the Caliph or religious head of all the Sunni Mohammedans in the world, and to modernize his country.

The Amir has already taken many steps to realise his second object, viz., to modernize his country. He has taken Japan as his model, and like the late Mikado, Mutsu Hito, he is introducing all sorts of reforms in the country.

The Amir is rapidly progressing. He has employed a large number of Turks to bring Afghanistan into line with Western countries; the Afghan army is trained by Turkish officers. The Turks are also put in charge of the Finance Department. But though the Amir prefers Turks, who as mohammedans are more agreeable to his people as introducers of Western civilization, it must not be supposed that he employs no Western peoples. There are some American and German experts appointed to guide the industrial and commercial activity of the country. No British or Russians are employed, because the amir is afraid of both Great Britain and Russia. Non-official Western peoples are also taking part in the development of Afghanistan. A German firm called "Shirkat-i-Alman" (The German Cooperative Company) has recently secured monopoly of the whole export and import trade of the country. Another German firm has applied for the monopoly of valuable minerals in Afghanistan and the application is being considered by the Amir. French archaeologists under M. A. Foucher have obtained a thirty year monopoly for excavating the remains of the Greco-Bactrian civilization in the country.

The Amir is a strong protectionist. With the exception of the Koran and other religious books, also war material there is a heavy duty on all imports into the kingdom. Powders, cosmetics, collars and handkerchiefs are charged 100 per cent. duty.

The Government of Afghanistan has been considerably improved. The Amir sees that no tyranny is practised in any of the five provinces

into which his kingdom is divided—Kabul, Kandahar, Afghan Turkestan, Herat and Badakshan which are ruled each by a Governor. He has created a Khilwat (cabinet) which is composed of Sirdars (hereditary noblemen) and Khans (representatives of the people). He has also created two assemblies, the Durbar Shahi (the Senate) and Kharwanin Mulkhi (Congress). Justice is administered by the Kazi (the District Judge) and under the Kazi comes the Kotval (Magistrate). The Amir himself is the Supreme Court of Appeal. Amanullah Khan, like Oriental monarchs of old, has also set apart a day in the week on which the humblest of the subjects can approach him and pour their grievances into his ears.

He is something of a linguist, because, besides Pustu (the people's language) and Persian (the court language) he speaks English and French. He dresses in a half Oriental and half Western style; but he takes good care that the cloth from which his garments are made is manufactured in Afghanistan.

Increasing Duration of Life

Mr. Watson Davis writes in the same monthly :—

One of the most notable achievements in the eventful half century since Pasteur has been the increase in the average duration of life in the United States. At present the average length of life is 58 years. Public health experts predict that the average years of man will continue to lengthen as time goes on. At the recent convention of the American Public Health Association Professor Irving Fisher of Yale gave a schedule of how the duration of life should increase in the years to come, assuming that a hundred-year average duration is the attainable limit. In 1930, the average length of life will be 61; in 1940, 65; 1950, 69; 1960, 72; 1970, 75; 1980, 78; 1990, 80; 2000, 82. In the distant time of 2100 nearly everybody should live until 94 years of age. Professor Fisher pointed out that increases in length of life were being made at an amazing rate at the present time. The pace for the quarter century just past was 40 years increase per century, whereas it was only 4 years per century in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There will be a time, perhaps, when men will live, if not for ever, at least much longer than the century mark, which is now practically the limit of the human life span. The time will come, perhaps, Professor Fisher said, when the human being will have an indefinite life-span, when his defective and worn-out parts can be replaced and renewed like those of a watch.

A Swiss on Our Congress

A Swiss correspondent has contributed to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* an article on the Gauhati session of the Indian National

Congress, from which we make the following extracts:—

People previously unknown to its members have enjoyed brief periods of amazing popularity only to be forgotten the following season. A classical example is Annie Besant, the theosophist leader. As early as 1878 this lady attacked the British Government in India in a pamphlet entitled *England-India-Afghanistan*. In 1916 she appeared, almost unannounced, with a plan for immediate home rule, which she persuaded the Congress to endorse by a heavy majority. At the session in Calcutta late in 1917 she was elected president. But she vanished from the stage as suddenly as she had appeared, and no longer figures among the Congress leaders. The Ali brothers have had a somewhat similar experience.

This year's attendance, which was about five thousand including spectators, was not as large as at some previous sessions; but when we consider that the delegates had to make an exceptionally long journey at their own expense in order to attend, it was most creditable. A number of those with whom I talked spent three days and three nights on the railway to reach Gauhati, which is twenty hours' railway journey north-east of Calcutta, the nearest large city.

A place was reserved for lady delegates and their children. These formed a bright and charming group. Many of the women were remarkably beautiful, and, as they sat there on their mats, their flowing bright garments made them seem like a veritable nosegay in the snowy throng. The Assamite women, who were naturally out in force, are among the loveliest in India.

Madame Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, who, like Gandhi, has resided in that continent, followed Gandhi with one of the most brilliant and appealing addresses of the Congress. She pictured with vivid, ardent words and a great wealth of literary figures the condition of the Indian settlers in Africa. Every sentence was perfectly rounded and complete. Her address was a gem of extemporaneous eloquence.

Heart Thunderings by Loud-speaker

The Literary Digest notes:—

An electric stethoscope with radio loud-speakers attached rumbled and roared recently with the noise of human heart-beats amplified 10,000,000,000 times in its first clinical demonstration at the University of Pennsylvania, says a Philadelphia dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune*:

"Two hundred members of the junior class of the Medical School took notes as the dull roaring of the hearts of eight patients of the university hospital, one at a time, reverberated throughout the hospital auditorium.

"The patients, all of whom are afflicted with some form of heart ailment, were wheeled, one by one, on their beds into the center of the amphitheater beside the huge apparatus flanked by two large, rectangular loud-speakers, and had the stethoscope placed on their chests.

"As the first patient was 'hooked up' with the

radiolike apparatus, a rumbling as of distant thunder filled the room.

"That's the heart-beat," explained Dr. C. J. Gamble, assistant instructor in pharmacology, who with H. F. Hopkins, of the laboratories of the Bell Telephone Company, New York, in charge of the heart-beat amplifier, conducted the class.

"This is amplified, 10,000,000,000 times," said Dr. Gamble.

"The roaring was irregular, as if a man were pounding on a barrel with a hammer, alternating the interval between the strokes.

"Dr. Gamble explained that the machine was the result of seven years' work in the Bell Company laboratories. It was devised especially to enable students to become familiar with heart sounds in diagnosis. The demonstration, Dr. Gamble said, was its debut in actual work. Heart beats have been heard over the radio before, but this was the first time the beats have been amplified to such an extent.

"Differences in the heart beats of the several patients were discernible to the lay auditor. Some hearts beat rapidly, slowing up when the patient held his breath momentarily at the request of Dr. Gamble. Others were irregular.

"The most interesting patient was a sixteen-year-old high school boy. He grinned when he heard his own heart-beats pounding into his ears, watched the blackboard chart of his heart's functioning, and waved his hand in a cheery goodbye as he was wheeled out."

Buddhism in Leningrad

The British Buddhist announces:—

"Preparations are well under way for the opening in Leningrad of a special institution for the study of Buddhism. Its establishment with the status of an Academy, will mark it out as the only institution of its kind in the world.

"It will be organised in four departments—Japanese, Indian, Chinese, Mongolian—at the head of which will be four eminent Sanskrit Scholars, one from each of the nationalities mentioned. The Soviet Government has borne initial cost and guarantees the Institution financially for the future."

Let us hope that the British people too will follow this grand example and study more carefully the Doctrine of Love and Compassion enunciated by the Buddha Gautam over 2,500 years ago.

A Resolution Urging Prohibition

According to *Abkari*, the Executive Committee of the Prohibition League of India has passed the following resolution:—

The Executive Committee of the League passed a resolution placing on record its clear and considered judgment that the total prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic liquors and poisonous drugs,

except for medical and industrial purposes, should be the goal of the Excise policy of the Imperial Government, all Provincial Governments, and the Governments of Indian States. Keeping in view the difficulties of the introduction of national prohibition, a period of ten years is sufficient for this purpose in the opinion of the Committee. The financial difficulty must be met partly by reduction

of expenditure and partly by alternative methods of taxation. The Imperial and Local Governments should be urged to recast as early as possible the present scheme of finance so as to eliminate Excise revenue from the country's financial system.

The resolution further demanded the immediate introduction of local option laws by which to ascertain the wishes of the people in this matter.

SHIVAJI, HIS GENIUS, ENVIRONMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

OUR conception of Shivaji needs revision in the light of an exhaustive and critical study of the many original sources of his history which have been opened to the present generation. The theory that he was merely a lightly moving and indefatigable raider, a brigand of an ampler and more successful type than the ordinary, can no longer be held.

No blind fanatic, no mere brigand, can found a State. That is the work of a statesman alone. And statesmanship has been well-defined by the Right Hon'ble Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as the power of correctly calculating and skilfully utilising the forces of one's age and country so as to make them contribute to the success of one's policy. The true statesman does not grumble when he cannot find the materials for his purpose ready to his hand; he does not denounce the society round himself as hopelessly bad. Nor, on the other hand, does he, like the doctrinaire reformer, court failure by insisting on a standard of abstract perfection impossible in his age—and, indeed, in any age. Statesmanly wisdom consists in taking correct stock of the available human material around us, making different appeals to different individuals or social groups, rousing the vanity of one, the cupidity of another, the idealism of a third, so as to enlist them *all* in the service of the grand aim and undertaking of the statesman. That aim must be the paramount object of his pursuit, and a

statesman's genius is shown only in enlisting the greatest amount of public support to his policy while weakening that policy as little as possible by his concessions. No unprincipled opportunist, no spineless leader who tries to be everything to everybody by yielding on all points, can be a statesman. The true statesman is an unfailing judge of human character and of the social forces of his age; he has an almost superhuman acumen in knowing beforehand what is possible and what is not in that age and country. His success proves his divine gift of genius, which baffles our analysis.

II

Let us survey the situation in Maharashtra proper at the time of Shivaji's rise. Ever since the battle of Tirauri (1193), when Prithvi Raj went down, through five centuries without a break wave after wave of foreign onset had swept over the Hindu world. After the fatal day of Talikota (1565) no Hindu, even in the more sheltered southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a sovereign with a fully independent State under him. Thenceforth, the ablest Hindu, with all his wealth and power, had only been a feudal baron, a mercenary general under an alien master.

Every generation that had passed away in this state had naturally made the rise of a Hindu to sovereignty more and more difficult. Indeed, the very tradition of Hindu independence and Hindu maintenance

of a complete and self-contained kingdom seemed to have faded into a dim distant and almost forgotten memory. Thus, when in 1659-60, a poor, friendless, humbly born youth of thirty-two set himself to face at once the might of the Mughal empire (then in its noon-day splendour) and the, nearer hostility of Bijapur (which had been the "Queen of the Deccan" for nearly a century, and whose internal decay was not yet visible to any human eye),—he seemed to be the maddest of all mad men. No one could foresee in 1660 what the Mughal empire would sink to in 1707; as yet it was resplendent with all the prestige of Shah Jahan's victorious and magnificent reign. Shivaji had no brother Hindu chieftain to help him, nor even a Muhammadan Court which could have ventured to give him an asylum, in case of defeat, from Mughal vengeance. In embarking on war in 1660, he, therefore, as the English saying is, "burnt his boats" and made retreat impossible for himself.

The result in fourteen years was that he did found a State, he did make himself a fully independent sovereign (*Chhatrapati*). Therefore, there can be no denying the fact that he was, as the Ancient Greeks would have called him, "a king among men,"—one endowed with the divine instinct or genius.

III

Shivaji founded and maintained a sovereign State in the face of unparalleled difficulties and the opposition of the three greatest Powers of India in that age,—the Mughals, the Bijapuris, and the Portuguese. But did he succeed in creating a nation? Let us appeal to history for the answer.

A century and a half after Shivaji the Maratha State fell before the impact of England. Its political condition is graphically described by an exceptionally talented and shrewd Scotch contemporary. Sir Thomas Munro writes :

18 Dec. 1817:—"I have already got possession of a considerable number of places in this district, entirely by the assistance of the inhabitants, of whom nine-tenths at least are in our favour. All that the inhabitants had requested was that they should not be transferred to any [Maratha] jagirdar." [Gleig, iii, 221.]

19 May, 1818:—"No army was ever more completely destroyed than the Peshwa's infantry. Of the few who escaped [after the fall of Sholapur] with their arms, the greater part were disarmed or

Let us try to imagine a parallel in Europe. The Germans, provoked to war by the imbecile French Emperor Napoleon III, have invaded France. The French soldiers, after a disastrous defeat at Worth or Mars-La-Tour, are escaping to their homes before the enemy, and they are "disarmed or killed by the country people." Is such an event conceivable? If not, then the conclusion is irresistible that the French are a nation, but the Marathas were not even after a century and a half of *Hindupat Padshahi*, or a purely national Government without any foreign admixture or control.

What was the attitude of the higher classes, the natural leaders of the people in Maharashtra, during the national disaster of 1818? Let Munro again speak :

"Most of the Southern jagirdars would, I believe, be well pleased to find a decent pretext for getting out of it [i.e., the war, in which they were standing by the side of the Peshwa.]" [Gleig, iii, 301.]

"We have in our favour, with the exception of a few disbanded horsemen and the immediate servants of the late Government, almost the whole body of the people. We have all the trading, manufacturing, and agricultural classes." [Gleig, ii, 270].

IV

The Maratha failure to create a nation even among their own race and in their small corner of India, requires a searching analysis on the part of the Indian patriot no less than the earnest student of Indian history. And for such an analysis we have to go down to the roots, to the social condition of Shivaji's time.

A deep study of Maratha society, indeed of society throughout India,—reveals some facts which are popularly ignored. We realise that the greatest obstacles to Shivaji's success were not Mughals or Adil Shahis, Siddis or Feringis, but his own countrymen,—just as in his last year he could have truly said in the words of Tennyson's dying king Arthur :

My house hath been my bane.

First, we cannot blink the truth that the dominant factor in Indian life—even today, no less than in the 17th century,—is caste, and neither religion nor country. By caste must not be understood the four broad divisions of the Hindus,—which exist only in the text-books and airy philosophical generalisations delivered from platforms. The caste

that really counts, the division that is a living force, is the sub-division and sub-sub-division into innumerable small groups called *shakhas* or branches (more correctly twigs, or I should say, *leaves*,—they are so many!)—into which each caste is split up and within which alone marrying and giving in marriage, eating and drinking together take place. The more minute and parochial a caste subdivision, the more it is of a reality in society, while a generic caste name like *Brahman*, or even a provincial section of it like *Dakshina Brahman*, does not connote any united body or homogeneous group. Apart from every caste being divided into mutually exclusive sections by provincial differences, there are still further subdivisions (among the members of the same caste in each province) due to differences of districts, and even the two sides of the same hill or river! And each of these smallest subdivisions of the Brahman caste is separated from the other sub-divisions as completely as it is from an altogether different caste like the *Vaishya* or *Shudra*. E.g., the *Kanyakubja* and *Sarayu-pari Brahman*s of Northern India, the *Konkanastha* and *Deshastha* of *Maharashtra*.

These are live issues of Indian society. Where three *Karhare Brahman*s (to take only one example) meet together, they begin to whisper about their disabilities under the *Chitpavans*. A *Prabhu* stranger in a far off town would at once be welcomed by the local *Prabhu* society of the town, ignoring the other members of the visiting party.

V.

The evil penetrates deeper. For the purposes of marrying and dining together,—which are the only *real* bonds of social union,—even *Sarayu-pari Kanyakubja North Indian Brahman* cannot be safely taken as the last indivisible unit. Within this seemingly ultimate sub-division there is a force of still minuter cleavage, due to blood,—or what is called *kulinism*.

Thus, *Shahji Bhonsle* and *Chandra Rao More* both belonged to the same small social group as regards caste province and local sub-divisions, but *More* could not give his daughter to *Shahji's* son without a lowering of his social status or defilement of his blood, because he was a *kulin* (blue blood), while *Shahji* was a *non-kulin* or plebeian.* And

ancestor of a higher caste, sanctity or learning than *Shahji*? No. Both families had gained wealth power and social prestige by serving the same *Muhammadian* dynasty, but the *Mores* had been eight generations earlier in the field than the *Bhonsles*.* It was exactly as if the grandson of a *Rao Bahadur* created by *Lord Canning* were to sneer at a *Rao Bahadur* created by *Lord Reading* as an upstart.

Thus, even the smallest sub-division of a caste was further subdivided, and a united nation was made one degree still less possible. The same forces, the same beliefs, the same false pride in blood, are operating among us to-day. Without the completest freedom of marriage within a population—and not the much-advertised *Aryan Brotherhood Intercaste dinners* (on vegetables!)—that population can never form a nation. Englishmen of to-day do not consider their blood as defiled when they say in the words of their late poet laureate:

"SAXON AND NORMAN AND DANE ARE WE."

Where caste and *kulinism* reign, merit cannot have full and free recognition and the community cannot rise to its highest possible capacity of greatness. Democracy is inconceivable there, because the root principle of democracy is the absolute equality of every member of the *demos*:

The rank is but the guinea's stamp.

A man's the gold for all that.

Without the abolition of all distinctions of caste, creed and *kulinism*, a nation cannot come into being. And further, without eternal vigilance in national education and moral uplift, no nation can continue on the face of the earth.

This duty the *Maratha State* never attempted to perform, nor did any voluntary agency undertake it.

VI

Shivaji was not contented with all his conquests of territory and vaults full of looted treasure, if he was not recognised as a *Kshatriya* entitled to wear the sacred thread and to have the *Vedic hymns* chanted at his domestic rites. The *Brahman*s alone could give such a recognition, and though they swallowed the sacred thread they boggled at the *Vedokta*! The result was a rupture. So, too, his favourite secretary

* Another example, *Yadav Rao's* reluctance to

Balaji Avji (of the Prabhu caste) invested his son with the sacred thread, for which he was excommunicated by the Brahmans. Whichever side had the rights of the case, one thing is certain, namely, that this internally torn community had not the *sine qua non* of a nation.

Nor did Maharashtra acquire that *sine qua non* ever after. The Peshwas were Brahmans from Konkan, and the Brahmans of the upland (Desh) despised them as less pure in blood. The result was that the State policy of Maharashtra, instead of being directed to national ends, was now degraded into upholding the prestige of one family or social sub-division.

Shivaji had, besides, almost to the end of his days, to struggle against the jealousy, scorn, indifference and even opposition of Maratha families, his equals in caste sub-division and once in fortune and social position,—whom he had now outdistanced. The Bhonsle Savants of Vadi, the Yadavs of Sindhkhed, the Mores of Javli, and (to a lesser extent) the Nimbalkars, despised and kept aloof from the upstart grandson of that Maloji whom some old men still living remembered to have seen tilling his fields like a *Kumbi* ! Shivaji's own brother Vyankoji fought against him in the invasion of Bijapur in 1666.

VII

Thirdly, there was no national spirit, no patriotism in the true sense of the term, among the Maratha people to assist Shivaji and hasten his success. Not to speak of the common people, who patiently and blindly tilled a grudging soil all their lives,—many of the higher and middle class Maratha families were content to serve Muslim rulers as mercenaries throughout the Chhatrapati or royal period of their history, as their descendants did the English aliens by deserting Baji Rao II. And why? Because in that troubled divided society, with century after century of the clash of rival dynasties and rapid dissolution of kingdoms, land was the only unchangeable thing in an ever-changing world. The ownership of land,—or what amounted to the same thing, the legal right to a village headman's dues,—was the only form of wealth that could not be quickly robbed or squandered away, but could be left as a provision for unborn generations of descendants. Dynasties did change, but the

conqueror usually respected the grants of his fallen predecessor.

It has been well said of the Scottish Highlanders that, after the Jacobite risings of the 18th century, they could forgive to the Hanoverian Government the hanging of their fathers but not the taking away of their lands.

Such being the economic bed-rock on which Maratha society rested, it naturally followed that fief (*watan*) was dearer than patria *swa-desh*, and a foreign Power which assured to the watan-dar the possession of his land was preferred to a grasping national king who threatened to take away the watan or enhance his demand for revenue. As Munro writes :—

"The Patwardhans and the Desai of Kittenoor will be secured in the enjoyment of their possessions [by the British conquerors], instead of being exposed to constant attempts to diminish them, as when under the dominion of the Peshwa." [ii. 267]

Even Sindur [of the Ghorpare family] was in danger of treacherous seizure by Baji Rao II during his pilgrimages to the river. [iii. 235.]

The same clinging to land, which was quite natural and justifiable in that age,—drew many Deccani families to the Mughal standard against Shivaji and Shambhuji, and kept them faithful to the alien so long as the Mughal Empire did not turn hopelessly bankrupt and weak, as it did after 1707. There could, therefore, be no united Maharashtra under Shivaji, as there was a united Scotland under Robert the Bruce. Shivaji had to build on a loose sandy soil.

VIII

But the indispensable bases of a sovereign State he did lay down, and the fact would have been established beyond question if his life had not been cut short only six years after his coronation. He gave to his own dominions in Maharashtra peace and order, at least for a time. Now, order is the beginning of all good things, as disorder is the enemy of civilisation, progress and popular happiness.

But order is only a means to an end. The next duty of the State is to throw careers open to talent (the motto of the French Revolution of 1789), to give employment to the people by creating and expanding through State-effort the various fields for the exercise of their ability and energy—economic, administrative, diplomatic, military.

financial, and even mechanical. In proportion as a State can *educate* the people and carry out this policy, it will endure. Competition with the prize for the worthiest,—modified partly by the inexorable rules of caste and status and the natural handicap of the mediæval conditions of the then society,—was introduced into Shivaji's State.

The third feature of a good State, *viz.* freedom in the exercise of religion, was realized in Shivaji's kingdom. He went further, and though himself a pious Hindu he gave his State bounty to Muslim saints and Hindu sadhus without distinction, and respected the *Quran* no less than his own Scriptures.

But his reign was too brief and his dynasty too short-lived, for the world to see the full development of his constructive statesmanship and political ideals. Thus it happened that on the downfall of the Hindu Swaraj in Maharashtra, a very acute foreign

observer could remark. (evidently about its outlying parts and not the homeland) :—

"The Mahratta Government, from its foundation has been one of devastation. It never relinquished the predatory habits of its founder. It was continually destroying all within its reach, and never repairing."

[Munro's letter, 11 Sep. 1818. Gleig, iii 276].

For this result Shivaji's blind successors at Satara and Puna were to blame, and not he. In that early epoch and in his short span of life, he could not humanly be expected to have done otherwise.

Today, after the lapse of three centuries from his birth, a historian taking a broad survey of the diversified but ceaseless flow of Indian history, is bound to admit that though Shivaji's dynasty is extinct and his State has crumbled into dust, yet he set an example of innate Hindu capacity (superior to Ranjit Singh's in its range) and left a name which would continue to fire the spirit and be aspired to as an ideal for ages yet unborn.

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

6

ABOUT ten days after Bindu's return from her father's house, one afternoon Annapurna entered her room and called "Chhotobou !" Chhotobou was sitting silently in front of a pile of soiled linen.

Annapurna asked, "Has the washerman come?" Chhotobou did not speak. Annapurna now noticed the expression on her face and was frightened. Very much upset, she asked, "What has happened?"

Bindu pointed out with her finger two burnt cigarette ends and said, "They were in Amulya's coat pocket."

Annapurna stood speechless.

Bindu suddenly burst into tears and said: "Didi, I prostrate myself at your feet; either send them away or let us go and live elsewhere."

Annapurna could not say anything. She stood silently awhile, then went away.

In the evening Amulya returned from

school, had his tiffin and went out to play. Bindu did not say a word. Bhairab, the servant, came and complained that Narenbabu had slapped him without any cause.

Bindu got annoyed and said, "Go and tell Didi."

On his return from court Madhab attempted a little joke while changing, got scolded and reverted to silence. Only Annapurna of all the members of the family had any idea of the range of the storm that was brewing unseen. She passed the whole evening tortured by suspense; then finding her alone, she caught Chhotobou by the hand and said in a voice of entreaty, "Whatever it might be, he is your son after all, do pardon him this once! Or get him to one side and give him a good scolding."

Bindu said, "He is not my son. I know that, so do you. So what is the use of saying a lot of words for nothing, Didi?"

Annapurna insisted, "No, you are his

mother, not I; it is to you that I have given him."

"When he was young I have fed him and dressed him. Now he has grown up, he is your son; take him back, give me my freedom." So saying Bindu went away.

At night Amulya came to sleep with Annapurna. He was on the verge of tears.

Annapurna understood the matter and was annoyed. She asked, "Why have you come here? Go away, I am telling you, go away!"

Amulya turned round and found his father asleep on the bed. He did not say another word and went away.

In the morning Kadam, the maid, went to clean the kitchen and found Amulya fast asleep at one corner of the verandah on a pile of cow-dung fire-lighters. She ran to Bindu and brought her to the place. Annapurna was also awake; she too came and stood there.

Bindu said sharply, "Did you drive him away at night, Bara Ginni? He spoils your sleep, doesn't he?"

Seeing her son in that condition, Annapurna was deeply pained and tears of remorse clouded her eyes; but Bindu's cruel rebuke made her lose her temper absolutely. She cried, "Nothing pleases you so much as shelving your own guilt on to others' shoulders."

Bindu lifted up the boy and found he had a temperature. She said, "If one lies out in the open the whole night at this time of the year, one is bound to get fever. It will be a blessing now, if he gets well."

Annapurna anxiously leant forward and said, "Fever, did you say? Let me see."

Bindu pushed her hand away roughly and said, "Leave him alone, you needn't see if he has got fever". So saying, she picked up the sleeping child with ease, cast a poisonous glance at Annapurna and went to her room.

Amulya got well in about five or six days; but Bindu did not pardon her sister-in-law her fault. She did not even speak to her nicely after this incident. Annapurna understood everything, but kept silent. Nor could she forget how Bindu had put all the blame upon her before the whole house. This she somehow blurted out one day to Elokeshi. "His fever was due to Chhotobou. It is his good fortune that he did not die."

Elokeshi did not delay a minute to bear the tale to Bindu. Bindu heard it but said nothing. That she had heard it was known

only to Elokeshi. Bindu now stopped all conversation with Annapurna. For the last few days things were being moved to the other house, to-morrow they would go over to the new house. Jadab was staying in that house with the boys; Madhab was away on a case. He too was not at home when something terrible happened. The teacher had come in the evening; Bindu suddenly had an idea and had him called before her. She said, "From to-morrow, please go to the other house to teach the boys." The teacher was going away after a respectful, "All right," when Bindu asked him, "And how is your pupil getting on with his lessons now-a-days?"

The teacher answered, "He is always good at study; he stands first in his class every time."

Bindu agreed, "That is true. But he has learnt to smoke cigarettes these days."

The teacher was astonished, "Learnt to smoke cigarettes?"

The next moment he himself added, "Well, there is nothing surprising in that; children learn what they see."

"Whom has he seen to smoke?"

The teacher kept quiet. Bindu said, "Please inform his father about this."

The teacher agreed by nodding his head and said, "Take, for instance, this other affair about a week ago, they entered the garden of an Orissa man near the school, plucked his mangoes untimely, thrashed him and created no end of a row".

Bindu held her breath and asked, "What happened then?"

"The Oriya complained to the headmaster; he fined them ten rupees and pacified the man with the money."

Bindu could not believe it. She asked, "Was my Amulya in it? Where could he have got the money?"

The teacher answered, "That I don't know, but he too was in it. Naren-babu of this house was there, as well as some three or-four wicked boys of the school. I have heard all this from the headmaster."

Bindu asked, "And the money? Has it been realised?"

"Yes, madam, I have heard that also."

"All right you can go" Bindu sat down where she was, she could only utter in a whisper, "Who is so daring in this house as would give him the money, without telling me!" She was already in a bad temper as a result of her quarrel with

Annapurna. This fresh provocation drove her to desperation.

She got up and went straight to the kitchen. Annapurna was cutting up vegetables for the night's dinner. She looked up and into Chhotobou's clouded face.

Bindu asked, "Didi, have you given any money to Amulya recently?"

Annapurna was fearing this. Her tongue dried in her mouth. She asked, "Who told you?"

Bindu said, "That is not so very important. The important point is how you could give the money and how he could take it from you."

Annapurna was silent.

Bindu continued, "You do not want it that I keep him in discipline, that is why you have kept this secret from me. Whatever he might do, Amulya would never lie to his seniors. You gave the money knowing all; isn't it so?"

Annapurna said slowly, "Yes, it is so. But pardon him this time. I am begging it of you."

Bindu was burning within her heart. She cried, "This time! I am pardoning for ever. I shall not say anything more. I shall utter one final word. I would not suffer him go to the dogs like this, inch by inch, before my own eyes—let him go wrong altogether. But what audacity you have!"

The last word pricked Annapurna rather sharply; still she kept quiet. But the more Bindu talked, the more angry she was getting. Bindu cried again, "For every thing you have your one eternal pose of innocence and say, 'pardon him this time only'; but the fault is not so much his as yours. I shall never pardon you."

The servants of the household were all listening to the battle of words from under cover.

Annapurna could stand it no more. She cried, "What will you do? Hang me by the neck?"

The fire received added fuel. Bindu flared up like gun-powder and said, "That is the right punishment for you."

"Isn't my crime this that I have given my own son a couple of rupees?"

Words brought in words; Bindu forgot the main issue and digressed, "Why should you give even that much? Where does the money come from to be wasted?"

Annapurna said, "And don't you waste money?"

"I waste my own money; and whose money do you waste, may I know?"

At this Annapurna became fearfully angry. She was the daughter of a poor family and thought Bindu was referring to her poor origin. She got up and cried, "You may be the daughter of a rich man, but don't be conceited enough to think that other people could not even spend two rupees."

Bindu retorted, "I am not so conceited; but you had better think whose money you spend even if you give away a pice."

Annapurna shrieked, "Whose money I spend! How dare you say such things? Go away from my presence at once!"

Bindu said, "Go away I shall—in the morning; but can't you see whose money you spend? Don't you know whose income you live upon?"

Having blurted out this Bindu suddenly became silent.

Annapurna's face had gone deathly pale. She looked awhile, without a flicker of her eyelashes, at Bindu, then said, "We are living upon your husband's income. I am your bondmaid and servant and my husband is your slave and serf. This is what is in your mind, isn't it? Why hadn't you said so before this?"

Her lips trembled. She bit her lips hard, and continued after a moment's silence, "Where were you Chhotobou when he (meaning her own husband) never even purchased two garments at a time so that his younger brother might go to school? Where were you, again, when he rebuilt this parental cottage after it was burnt down, cooking his meals and living under a tree?"

As she said this, her eyes overflowed with tears. She wiped her eyes with the end of her sari and continued, "If he had only known what you had in your mind, he would never have passed his days in ease like this—eating opium and dozing away with the pipe of his hooka in his mouth—he is not a man of that type! Your husband knows him, the gods in heaven know him! And you have insulted him to-day by making me an occasion!"

Annapurna's breast heaved at this insult to her husband. She said, "It is a good thing that you have told me how you feel about it. Sati killed herself when her husband was insulted by her father; I am taking this solemn oath that I would rather earn my living by working as a cook, than touch your food! What have you done—you have insulted him!"

Just at this moment Jadab came into the court-yard and called, "Barabou!" Her husband's voice roused her emotions to a storm. She rushed out and said, "Oh shame, shame, the man who cannot feed his own wife and child—why can't he get a rope to hang himself with!"

Jadab was thoroughly non-plussed. He enquired in a dazed voice, "Why, what has happened?"

"What has happened? Nothing at all. Chhotobou said it quite clearly to-day that I was her maid and you her servant."

Inside the room, Bindu bit her tongue and put her fingers in her ears in shame.

Annapurna wept as she said, "I have no right to give even a pice to anybody—and I have to hear all this while you are alive! I am taking this solemn oath in front of you; if I ever again eat their food, may I eat the head of my own son."

To Bindu's stunned senses, the fearful words came faintly, as if from a long distance. She uttered a half articulate, "What have you done, Didi!" Then suddenly fainted and collapsed again after about twelve years.

(7)

Everybody had come to the new house except Jadab, Annapurna and Amulya. Among outsiders had come Bindu's aunt, her aunt's daughter and grand children, her parents, their servants, etc., etc. The whole house was full up. Bindu appeared a bit upset on the day of their arrival; but it passed off from the day after. That Annapurna would come the moment her anger vanished, Bindu had not the least doubt about. She put herself wholeheartedly into making arrangements for the religious ceremony and the feast which would take place.

Her father asked, "How is it, little mother, that I don't see your son?"

Bindu answered laconically, "He is in the other house."

The mother enquired, "Your sister-in-law couldn't come, isn't it so?"

Bindu said, "No."

She then herself explained, "If every-body came away, who would stay over there? One could not very well shut up one's ancestral home, could one?"

Bindu quietly went after her own work.

Jadab used to come every evening these days, sit outside and make enquiries about everybody; but he never came inside.

The night before the sanctification ceremony (of the new house) he called Elokeshi and was enquiring about various things of her. Bindu witnessed all this from a safe corner. Her brother-in-law had been more than a father to her. He used to call her "mother" and not "bouma" as is customary. How often had she carried her little complaints to him when she had quarrels with her sister-in-law. He had never decided against her. To-day she could not face him; for a great shame separated her from him. Jadab went away. Bindu wept bitterly in a secret corner, gagging herself with her sari—the house was full of all sorts of people; they might hear her.

Next morning Bindu had her husband called in and, when he arrived, said, "It is getting late, the priest is waiting, why has not Bara Thakur (Jadab) come yet?"

Madhab was astonished, "Why, what do you want with him?" he asked.

Bindu was even more astonished; she said, "What do I want with him! Who else is going to conduct everything, if he doesn't come?"

Madhab said, "Either I or our brother-in-law Priyanath Babu will have to do it. Dada cannot come."

Bindu said angrily, "You can't say 'Dada cannot come' and have done with it. While he is present, who else has the right to take the lead in such things? No, no, it cannot be—I will not allow anyone else to perform the ceremony."

Madhab said, "Then the ceremony had better not take place. He is not at home; he has gone to work."

"All this is Bara Ginni's doing! I see that she too will not come." So saying Bindu went away tearfully. To her the religious ceremony, the festivities, the merrymaking, all became aimless and unreal in a moment. For three days it had been her only thought that Bara Thakur would come and so would Didi and Amulya. Only she knew how much she had built upon this hope of hers while she had been going through the day's labours. How secure she was in her faith! And now, at a word from her husband, the whole thing vanished like a mirage and her fruitless labours rested on her shoulders like a burden of heavy stones.

Elokeshi came and said, "Give me the key of the store-room, Chhotobou; the confectioner has come with the sweets."

Bindu said wearily, "Keep them somewhere now, Thakurji; I shall see to it later on."

"Where shall I keep them, the crows will be at them at once."

"Then throw them away", Bindu said and went elsewhere.

Aunt came and enquired, "Bindu, if you would just show them how much dough they should prepare for the morning . . ."

Bindu answered with an expression of displeasure in her face, "What do I know about the quantity of dough required? You are experts in household work; you ought to know."

Aunt exclaimed in surprise, "Just listen to her! How should I know how many persons will dine here!"

Bindu got angry, "Then go and ask him", (meaning her husband). You should have seen Didi at work—when Amulya was being given his holy thread, the whole town dined at our place during three whole days; but she never once said 'Chhotobou just do this, or arrange that'. Her one little bone contained more ability than that found in all the people in the house put together". So saying she went into another room. Kadam came and said, "Didi, Jamai Babu is saying, the clothes for the ceremony—" Before she could finish Bindu cried out, "Slaughter me and eat me up, all of you! Go away from here at once!" Kadam ran away promptly.

A little later Madhab came and called her several times, "I say, do you hear?" Bindu came up closer to him and said loudly, "No, not a bit. I shall not. I won't! Won't. Will that do?"

Madhab gaped at her amazed. Bindu said, "What will you do to me? Hang me by the neck? Then do it". She began to cry and left the place at a run. The sun slowly mounted, the hours went on increasing. Bindu went about from room to room, restless, doing nothing and finding fault with others. Somebody in her hurry had put some plates and dishes on the floor. Bindu threw them all into the court-yard in order to demonstrate how plates and dishes should be kept. Somebody's clothes were drying on the line when they touched the passing form of Bindu. She tore them to ribbons to show how clothes should be dried. Whoever came before her hurriedly dodged her in a panic.

The priest himself came into the house and said, "Well, well, the hours are advancing

more and more; but I don't see any progress anywhere—"

Bindu stood behind a door and told him rather rudely, "It is usual for things to be a bit late where there is plenty to do." Then she kicked a plate to one corner and sat down on the floor like an inert mass. About ten minutes later a familiar voice made her jump up suddenly. She looked out and found Annapurna out in the courtyard.

Bindu wept in sorrow and wounded pride. She wiped her eyes, came noisily up to Annapurna, put her sari round her neck as a mark of submission and said, "It is nearly eleven Didi. What more would you do to show me your enmity? If it will please you to have me take poison, then go home and send me a cupful." She then dropped the bunch of keys at Annapurna's feet and went to her room to roll on the floor in tears.

Annapurna silently picked up the keys and went into the storeroom after opening its doors.

In the afternoon there was little crowd in the house. People had departed after enjoying the feast. Still Bindu kept going in and out of her room restlessly for some unknown reason.

Bhairab came and told her, "Amulya-babu is not in the school."

Bindu looked daggers at him and said, "Wretch! Do boys remain at school till late at night? Couldn't you go to the other house once and see?"

Bhairab said, "He is not there either."

Bindu cried, "He must be playing *gooli dang* somewhere with the children of low people. Has he any fears in his heart any longer? Now if he loses one of his eyes, I believe, Bara Ginni will be thoroughly pleased. She would then be really happy—Go and find him wherever he may be!"

Annapurna was conversing with some other elderly women, sitting by the storeroom. She could hear the shrill voice of Chhotobou. About an hour later Bhairab came back and informed Bindu that Amulya was in the house, but would not come. Bindu could not believe it.

"Wouldn't come, did you say? Did you tell him that I was calling him?"

Bhairab nodded and said, "Yes, I did, but still he wouldn't come."

Bindu kept silent for a moment, then said, "It is not his fault. He is only his mother's

son! I am taking an oath that I would never even look at the pair of them."

Late at night, when Annapurna was preparing to go home, Madhab came in to escort her. Bindu hurriedly came up to her husband and cried: "You are seeing her home; but do you know that she has not even taken a drop of water in this house?"

Madhab said, "That is for you to know. I went and fetched her in the morning to save the situation; now I am taking her home."

Bindu said, "Well and good. Then, you too are one of them."

Madhab did not answer her. He addressed Annapurna, "Bouthan, let us go, don't delay any more."

"Come along Thakurpo." So saying Annapurna proceeded on her way. At her first step, however, Bindu roared, "A bad enemy is truly compared to a relation who has turned enemy! She herself told a bunch of well-arranged lies—took oaths one after another, did not let me see my son for four days and four nights—God will judge her!"

She stuffed her mouth with her sari to choke back her tears, marched up to the kitchen verandah, then fell in a faint. There was some noise, people shouted, Madhab and Annapurna heard it, Annapurna turned back and said, "Let us go and see what has happened."

Madhab said, "No, you needn't, let us proceed."

The story of the quarrel had been kept a secret these few days; but it came out now. The next day when the women of the house had assembled, Elokeshi said, "The two sisters-in-law have quarrelled, but what prevented the son from coming over once? Chhotobou has not been wrong, when she said the son was a chip of the old block! I have seen many boys in my time, but never one so ungrateful."

Bindu surveyed her once with a weary glance then looked down in contempt and shame. Elokeshi said again, "You love children, Chhotobou, take my Narendranath, I am giving him to you. Thrash him, strangle him, he will not say a word—we do not bear such children!"

Bindu was silent. Her mother gave the answer. She was aged, was the daughter of a Zamindar and wife of another and was an expert in such things. She smiled and said, "Is that a serious proposal! Amulya is entwined with her whole existence—no, no,

don't agitate her like that. Your quarrel will be over very soon, Bindu, and, whatever it may be, it cannot make your son a stranger."

Bindu looked at her with eyes ashine with tears and remained sitting in silence. In the evening she called Kadam and asked her, "Well, Kadam, you were present there; tell me, was my fault so great that she could take such a terrible oath?"

Kadam could not suddenly believe that Bindu of all persons had invited her to discuss this matter. She kept quiet in hesitation. Bindu still insisted, "No, no whatever it might be, you are older in age, I have got to listen to you now and then; tell me was my fault very great?"

Kadam shook her head and said, "Oh, no, not much of a fault." Bindu said, "Then why don't you go over to the other house? Tell her off nicely—you have nothing to fear."

Kadam found her courage and said, "No, not fear; but what is the good of keeping up a quarrel? What is done, is done." Bindu did not agree. She said, "No, no, Kadam you don't understand—Truth has to be told. Otherwise she will think all the fault is mine and she herself is perfectly innocent. Didn't she ever say, 'I shall send you out, drive you away', and words to that effect? And did I ever show anger at such words? Why did she give the money secretly? Why did she not even let me know?"

Kadam said, "All right, I shall go to-morrow, it is late to-day."

Bindu was displeased, "Where is it late? You talk too much, Kadam. It is appearing a bit late because it is winter time. Better take a man with you.—Bhairab, call Hebo, he will accompany Kadam."

Bhairab said, "The master is having the lamps cleaned by Hebo."

Bindu glared at him, "How dare you answer back at me!"

Bhairab ran away from the heat of her glances. Having sent Kadam, Bindu went about from room to room for a while; then entered the kitchen. The Brahmin woman was cooking at one corner. Bindu sat down and said, "Well, daughter.* I am citing you as my witness—tell the truth, daughter, who was more guilty?"

The cook could not understand what she

*. A Brahmin's daughter. Addressed as daughter for brevity.

was talking about. She asked, "Of what, mother?"

Bindu said, "I am talking about what happened the other day! What did I say? I only asked, 'Didi, have you been giving money to Amulya recently?' Who does not know that one should not give money to children? She could very well have told me that Amulya had been crying and she had, therefore, to give him some money. That would have settled it. But where was the occasion for all this exchange of words and taking of oaths? If one keeps some plates and things together they knock against one another, and we are human beings. But what justification was there for such oaths. He is the sole descendant of the family—and the oaths were in his name! I am telling you, daughter, I shall never even look at her face while I am living! I might turn to my enemies but never to her."

The Brahmin woman was by nature not a great talker. She kept silent, not knowing what to say. Bindu's eyes filled with tears. She wiped them hurriedly and said, "Who is there who does not take oaths occasionally, when in a temper. But she wouldn't even touch a drop of water in this house! She wouldn't allow the boy to come here. Are these befitting an elder? I am after all her younger, I am not so wise. If I had been her own daughter, what would she have done then? But I shall pay her back; I shall never even take her name; you can rely on me for that."

The Brahmin woman still kept quiet. Bindu continued, "And it is not she alone who can take oaths. Don't I know it too? What will she do if I went to her to-morrow and asked her to send me a cup of poison, and told her that she would cause the death of her own son if she did not do so? I am

keeping quiet for a few days, but later on I shall either do this or take some poison myself and tell people that Didi had sent it to me. I shall see if people don't cry shame on her! If she does not learn a lesson thereby!"

The Brahmin woman was frightened. She said in a soft voice, "Oh, shame, mother—you must not have such ideas—quarrels do not last for ever—nor would she be able to live without you. Nor would Amulya. I do not know how he is passing his days without you."

Bindu said eagerly, "Say so daughter! She must be keeping him back by force and threats. May be, she is beating him. He could not sleep without me a single night and five whole nights have already gone by! One should not even see the face of that hag. Didn't I say, that I would rather look at my enemies than at her?" The cook showed her a black bruise mark on her own wrist and said, "See here, it is still all black and blue. That night you fainted, you do not know. Amulydhone rushed in from somewhere, threw himself on your bosom and cried such a lot! He had never seen you like that and said, Chhotoma was dead. He would neither let us sprinkle water on your face, nor fan you—I tried to drag him off, he bit me. He scratched, and bit Barama and tore her clothes, to ribbons. People forgot to attend to the patient in their vain attempts to pacify him. At last four or five people jointly dragged him away."

Bindu kept her eyes fixed steadfastly on the Brahmin woman's face and appeared to swallow every word she said; then she heaved a deep sigh, got up, went to her own bed-room and shut herself in.

(To be continued.)

THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.

THE term "efficiency" means much more than mere ability to accomplish a thing. In every stage of social evolution, there develops, with the progress of science and

art, certain moral, intellectual and mechanical technique, which gives man a better control of himself and his environment. Efficiency implies the application of this growing

technique to the accomplishment of a thing, so that while the standard of the achievement might be maintained or even improved, there might be at the same time a saving of time and energy. In other words, efficiency is the ability to accomplish a thing by means of the best method known at a time and place.

The most significant connotations of efficiency are, therefore, that it is relative and dynamic. There is nothing absolute and static about it. It always implies that one method is better or more economical than another. It is always in the state of becoming. The efficiency of yesterday may appear to be the inefficiency of to-day, and what is most efficient to-day may prove to be most wasteful to-morrow. As soon as a new law is discovered or a new technique is invented, there arises an occasion for the appearance of a new standard of efficiency. The fundamental principle in the development of efficiency is, as in the case of organic evolution, adaptation or the constant adjustment of old methods to new conditions.

Efficiency is a general term which is applicable to all classes of activities, namely social, political, and industrial. It refers to the means of achievement rather than to the achievement itself. One can thus speak of the efficiency of machines, industries, institutions and governments with reference to the function which they have to perform. Industrial efficiency simply refers to industrial activities or productive energies.

The industrial efficiency of an individual is the ability to mobilise all the physical, intellectual and moral forces at his command for achieving results in a productive process. It consists of several elements:—First, health and vigor, which are the physical basis of efficiency. They depend partly upon the constitution, including the muscular and the nervous systems, and partly upon the proper development of the vital organs and their freedom from disease. Second, aptitude and adaptability, which are the psycho-physical features of efficiency and imply temperament and disposition. The former relates to one's liking for a particular kind of work in preference to others and the latter to the capability of adjustment to new conditions, including machines and surroundings. Third, application and perseverance, which, although psycho-physical in origin, refer to the moral qualities of efficiency, inasmuch as they imply one's power to control the body and mind.

The former is the ability to concentrate one's energies on a particular work and the latter is the capability to sustain this concentration for a desired length of time. Fourth, skill and ingenuity, which relate to the intellectual aspects of efficiency. Skill is the combination of speed and precision, the former adding to the quantity and the latter to the quality of work. They are achieved through education and training and perfected through repetition and experience. Ingenuity is the ability to meet a new situation or to design a new method in a productive process and is, therefore, the basic quality in invention. Both skill and ingenuity are the highest qualities in industrial efficiency.

When applied to an entrepreneur, industrial efficiency may best be defined to be the ability to organise and manage a business for profitable purposes. In the case of self-sufficing economy, it is the capability of producing the largest amount of commodities with the least expenditure of land, labour and capital. The efficiency of a housewife is similar to that of an individual engaged in household production. It is the power of economising or getting the highest amount of satisfaction out of the stock of goods and services at her disposal. But in this age of exchange economy, production takes place mainly for the market rather than for the household and efficiency in such cases may best be judged by the extent of profit, which in the final analysis is, however, nothing but one's command of other goods which one can obtain in exchange of one's own.

The organisation and management of a large business or corporate enterprise include several processes, such as location and installation of the plant, choice and utilisation of machinery and material, selection and organisation of workers and marketing of finished products, the object in each process being the decrease of cost and increase of productivity. The movement for the so-called scientific management of industries and business has also added some new phases to business organisation. The ability to co-ordinate land, labour and capital with a view to making the largest amount of profit in a given business enterprise constitute the efficiency of an entrepreneur or business manager.

The industrial efficiency of a nation has, however, a much larger connotation. First of all, national efficiency generally refers to the production of social wealth, while in-

dividual efficiency may imply merely acquisition for private gain. Second, a nation is more or less a permanent entity and its interest lies both in the present and future generations, while an individual is a temporary being, and his interest may end in himself or may at best continue for his immediate descendants. While making the best use of its resources for the present generation, a nation must also conserve them for future generations.

Prosperity is of course the prime object of industrial efficiency. It is, however, more or less a relative term. There is no end to human wants. In this age of growing aims and aspirations and of consequent increasing wants, it is hard to draw a line where poverty ends and prosperity begins. Beyond the supply of absolute necessities of life, the prosperity of a nation can best be judged from the viewpoint of its ability to maintain its economic standard among other advanced nations. But there is no necessary correlation between efficiency and prosperity. Wealth is the product of factors other than human energy or labour alone. The same amount of labour applied to two countries, of varying natural resources would result differently in national wealth. In order to maintain its national standard, a country of poorer resources will have to increase its labour power or capital resources. Since capital is the product of past industry, the accumulation of capital resources is also determined by labour power or industrial efficiency.

The welfare of a nation depends not only upon the creation of economic values, but also upon that of other values, such as the ethical, esthetic and religious. While devoting itself to the pursuit of wealth, a nation must also pay attention to the moral and intellectual aspects of life. In fact, one of the principal aims of industrial efficiency is to release a part of national energy for activities other than industrial. Moreover, by facilitating the supply of the basic needs of life, industrial efficiency also creates opportunities for realising moral and intellectual ideals.

The industrial efficiency of a nation is, therefore, determined by several factors:—First, utilisation and conservation of arable land, forests, fisheries and mines in the light of modern science and art. Second, encouragement to savings and transformation of these savings into productive instruments of

the latest discoveries and inventions. Third, development of the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of the people for productive purposes. Fourth, preservation of a high national standard among other advanced nations. Fifth, cultivation of the moral and intellectual aspects of life for the welfare of society. In short, the industrial efficiency of a nation is its ability to conserve and utilise, in the light of the latest progress in science and art, all its natural, human and capital resources for both the absolute and relative wealth and welfare of its people.

2. SIGNIFICANCE OF EFFICIENCY.

Efficiency is the goal of all evolutionary processes. They all tend to the gradual differentiation and specialisation of the organism on the one hand, and the more and more interdependence and coordination of the parts to the whole on the other, resulting in increasing efficiency in functional process. While organic evolution furnishes one of the best examples of functional development, equally illustrative is social evolution, which, through the development of different institutions, such as the family and the state, has led to the progress of society. The function of industrial evolution is the augmentation of social wealth. The development of the factory system from hunting and pasturing, of the modern exchange from the primitive barter, and of international economy from the self-sufficing household or village have all tended towards the increase of national prosperity.

The significance of efficiency in national life is best indicated by its functions, which might be classified under two heads, namely, direct and indirect. The direct effect of industrial efficiency is threefold:—First, supply of the basic needs of life in the face of the proportionately decreasing natural resources, especially food supply, as a result of increasing population. Second, supply of increasing requirements of the growing individuality in the process of social progress. Third, preservation of the prosperity and prestige of a nation as well as its economic independence in the growing competition among different nations.

The indirect effect of industrial efficiency upon a nation is also very great:—First, the physical, intellectual and moral qualities constituting industrial efficiency also form the basis of national character. Second,

efficiency, by saving time for the supply of necessities and requirements, secures needed leisure for intellectual and moral activities. Third, both material prosperity and moral and intellectual development are essential for national liberty and social progress.

3. ESTIMATION OF EFFICIENCY

There is scarcely any standard by which the industrial efficiency of a nation can be measured with any degree of accuracy. Some rough idea may nevertheless be had from different systems of estimation. Since efficiency is a relative term, such estimates must be based upon comparison.

The per capita incomes of different countries might give some idea of comparative efficiency. But they refer to nominal or money income, which differs in different countries, and not to real income. Moreover, they give no idea of the relative importance of labour in productive processes, which forms the subject-matter of study in efficiency.

Attempts have been made to estimate efficiency by the productivity of an industrial unit. Thus the yield of crop per acre has been made the basis of relative efficiency. The defect of the system lies in the failure to take into consideration the relative importance of the other factors of production, namely, labour and capital. Similarly defective is the system of estimating the efficiency of labour from the products of factories using the same kind of machine. Such estimates disregard the differences in the conditions of work, nature of raw materials, rates of wages, and similar other factors.*

The relative efficiency of labour may also be estimated by employing different groups or gangs of workers in the different branches of the same industrial plant, such as factory, mine, farm or orchard, or in the same plant at different times. Such a method is quite practicable in the United States, where workers of practically all nationalities are available. The weakness of the system is that the age, health, education and training of the workers of different nationalities are

often disregarded. But as most of the immigrants are in the prime of life and the experience of the workers, is also taken into consideration to some extent such a method offers a very fair basis of comparison. But it is hardly possible to apply this method to a nation as a whole.

Another method is the estimation of the potential productivity of a country with the probable application of the latest industrial technique, including discoveries and inventions, compared with the actual productivity. Such methods would include the effect of machinery in the technique or labour proper. But the inability of a nation to apply the best machinery to productive processes is also a sign of its industrial inefficiency. This system is, however, too theoretical to be of any practical use.

A practical method is to take as base the average productivity of various industries in several advanced countries, including as many commodities as possible, and to compare the efficiency of a particular nation by index number. But the difficulty arises in the fact that there is no common basis of collecting statistical data in different countries. Moreover, exact data on a sufficiently large number of commodities are available only in a few countries. It must also be mentioned that a large number of commodities escape statistical calculation even in the most advanced countries.

There are several other methods by which the industrial efficiency of a country may be indicated. First, the general economic condition of a country. For, example, the starvation of the majority of the people in India cannot fail to indicate its industrial inefficiency. The presence of a few extremely rich people implies only a defective system in distribution rather than sufficiency in production. Second, absence of the latest technique and up-to-date machinery from the productive system of a country is another indication. Obsolete and antiquated tools and implements and century-old industrial system and methods in this age of world competition and international economy show that India is still far behind other nations in industrial development. Third, wastage of natural, human and capital resources is still another indication. In a country like the United States, where there is a superabundance of natural resources in comparison with man-power, private economy has necessarily

* This is the basis of calculation of the efficiency of Indian Labour as compared with the British. See, Das, R. K. *Factory Labour In India*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 107-25.)

led to a certain amount of wastage. But in a country like India, where famine is constantly present in some part of the country or other and where the majority of the

people are always on the verge of starvation, the wastage of the resources in any form is the direct result of her industrial inefficiency.

INDIANS ABROAD

SEGREGATION IN MOMBASA

IT is well known how the Government of Kenya Colony have always tried to live well up to the principle of racial segregation in which they believe heart and soul. Last year they tried to sell 21 residential plots in Mombasa with the restrictive clause "*To Europeans only*"; but were frustrated in their noble effort by the opposition of the Indians there. This year they are again offering 12 plots on similar condition. A memorandum published by the Young Men's Union, Mombasa, throws much light on matters as they stand. We are quoting from it below.

It seems the Local Government with the consent of the Colonial Office is determined to revive segregation in Mombasa Township.

It is contemplated by the Government to reserve the area bounded by Salim Road South, Railway Line, Tritton Road and Golf course measuring about 160 acres for the European residence only. Owing to the policy of segregation contemplated to be followed by the Government before 1923, few plots were sold by the Government in the said area in 1913 allowing any person without distinction of race or colour to buy the plots but with a condition that no Asian could reside or stay in the houses erected thereon except as domestic servants. Later on in 1916 and 1918 few more plots were sold restricting the sales to Europeans only. The total area alienated thereby is approximately 30 acres.

It must be borne in mind that at the time of all the said sales the Indian Community strongly resented the unjust and arbitrary restrictions put on sales and carried on their fight against that invidious policy till July 1923 when the Imperial Government published the White Paper and while doing injustice to Indians on all the points at issue definitely abandoned segregation in townships without any qualification. It was then considered by all competent persons that non-segregation in townships was the only point decided with equity and justice. Following is the text of non-segregation clause from the White Paper of July 1923:—

"The next matter for consideration is the segregation of European and Non-European races. Following upon Prof. Simpson's report the policy of segregation was adopted in principle and it was

proposed by Lord Milner to retain this policy both on sanitary and social grounds. In so far as commercial segregation is concerned it has already been generally agreed that this should be discontinued but with regard to residential segregation matters have been in suspense for some time and all sales of township plots have been held up pending a final decision on the question of principle involved. It is now the view of competent medical authorities that as a sanitation measure the segregation of Europeans and Asiatics is not absolutely essential to the preservation of the health of the community: a rigid enforcement of sanitary, police and building regulations without any racial discrimination by Colonial and Municipal authorities will suffice. It may well prove in practice that different races will by natural affinity keep together in separate quarters but to affect such separation by legislative enactments, except on strongest sanitary grounds would not in the opinion of His Majesty's Government be justifiable. They have therefore decided that the policy of segregation between Europeans and Asiatics in Townships must be abandoned."

On 15th May 1926 a joint deputation of Indians and Arabs waited upon His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg who was then in Mombasa and submitted a memorandum representing to him how the proposed sale of plots was unjust, illegal and against the White Paper and requested His Excellency to do justice by abandoning the unjust restrictions upon sales. In reply to the deputation His Excellency expressed an opinion that the case of the signatories was strong but refused to discuss the legal aspect of the subject. His Excellency was very sympathetic to the case of the signatories of the memorandum. To explain why the restrictions on the sales were imposed he read the following extract from the letter of the Commissioner of Lands, Nairobi to the land Officer, Mombasa, "the Secretary of State for the Colonies has now agreed that the sale of plots in the area bounded by Cliffe Avenue and Salim Road can not legally be unrestricted but must be confined to Europeans only," and stated that the proposed restrictions were due to the legal decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Excellency promised to supply a gist of correspondence passed between the Government and Colonial Office and extend time of sales in order to allow signatories to put their case before the Colonial Office and he also promised to represent the views of the signatories to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Not only that the gist of the correspondence was never supplied but the Colonial Secretary never gave information to the Secretary of the Indian Association in spite of various requests. In short no definite ground on which the restrictions were based was ever disclosed by the Local Government to the Non-European Communities and the representatives of the Non-European Communities failed to understand what grounds they should meet by putting forward a further memorandum. But it could be safely presumed from the extract of the letter of the Commissioner of Lands and particularly the words "has now agreed" that the Secretary of State for the Colonies sanctioned restrictions after more than once representations were made by the Local Government to the Colonial Office and sanctions was asked for.

Though the Local Government has not disclosed the reason why the unjust policy is proposed to be followed it can be ascertained from the following extract from the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies given to Col. Wedgewood on the 10th June 1926 that the restrictive covenants entered into with previous landholders is the only ground given on which the present policy is based. The following is the reply. "I have been asked to reply. The information in possession of my Rt. Hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies does not enable him to identify the particular plots referred to in the question but the facts are very probably as stated. It should be borne in mind that the transition from the policy of segregation to one of non-segregation involved some difficulty and it was pointed out by the Government concerned that in certain cases the land was legally subject to restrictive covenants entered into under the former system. After careful consideration it was decided that where it was not possible to waive such covenants without incurring legal proceeding entailing the probability of an injunction against the Government it would be necessary to retain the restrictions. The sales mentioned by the Hon. member no doubt fall within this category.

But any one who would care to read the leases made between the Government and previous landholders and registered in Mombasa registry will find that no restrictive covenants are incorporated as regards unsold adjoining plots. Those leases only contained covenants that the leased premises cannot be transferred to nor can be used by Non-Europeans but do not contain one word about adjoining unsold plots.

It is interesting to know that certain Japanese tenants were occupying one building in the said area since 1924 and the Government has now given notice to the landlord asking him to eject his Japanese tenants from the premises otherwise proceedings for forfeiture of the lease will be taken by the Government against the landlord. It is also remarkable that the application by the Japan Cotton Trading Company Ltd., a well-known Japanese firm to purchase a house in that area has been refused by the Government on the grounds of racial discrimination only.

From the minutes of the District Committee of February 1927 it could be seen that the Government has now definitely decided to enforce the restrictive covenants in the old leases and also to restrict the future sales in that area to Europeans only. It should be noted that that even now no

ground for adoption of such policy have been disclosed and the Government even does not care to define the area within which such restrictions will be extended.

It must be borne in mind that the said area is the healthiest part of Mombasa Township. It should also be understood that under the proposed policy Non-British Europeans including ex-enemy aliens and others will be given preference over British Indian subjects of His Majesty as regards the acquisition of property in a British Crown Colony.

We are not surprised at the conduct of the Kenya Government. We do not expect anything better from them; but we expect our Indian brethren over there to put up as great a fight as possible against them and wrest from them what they will not give with good grace.

Indians in Fiji

We have received the following Communication from Fiji.

Lautoka Fiji.
19th November, 1926.

The Editor,
The Modern Review
Calcutta

Dear Sir,

Seven years ago the Government of Fiji appointed a Commission to inquire into and suggest ways and means in respect of Indian Franchise. Since then there have been numerous representations appealing the Government to grant the right and privileges promised to Indians as far back as in 1879 by no less a person than the Secretary of State but all have been in vain, and the Government remains as callous as ever.

The Government of India appointed and sent a Commission known as Raju Commission to Fiji in 1922 but so far its report have not seen the light of the day nor is it likely to. It is believed the Commission demanded equal representation in the Council which the Government of Fiji is not prepared to accede.

Mr. Shastri's resolution of Equal Status in the Imperial Conference, of 1922 and Dr. Sapru's subsequent proposal in the Imperial Conference of 1923 combined with the appointment of the Colonies-Committee has been set to naught.

The following correspondence has passed between the Young Men's Indian Association and the Fiji Government which throws a flood of light on the present situation and it would be read with interest.

LETTER FROM THE "Y.M.I.A." TO COLONIAL SECRETARY

16th September, 1926

Sir,

I am directed by my Association to write and respectfully ask you for informations regarding the decision of Imperial Government on the momentous question of Franchise to Indians in Fiji and the intention of the Government of Fiji to nominate an Indian to the vacant seat in the Legislative Council

for such period as the question of our Franchise remains under consideration.

The deprivation of the seat in the Council caused by the resignation of the nominated member Mr. Badri Maharaj, is greatly felt by the Indian Community and His Excellency the Governor is quite aware of the anxiety of our community on these questions.

If no decision is reached on the former question will you be so good as to represent to the Rt. Hon. The Secretary of State the pressing need and the feeling of our community on the subject with a view to expedite the decision.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant regarding the question of Indian Franchise and to inform you that His Excellency is in communication with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Subject of the nomination of an Indian Member to a seat on the Legislative Council for such period as the question of the grant of the Franchise remains under consideration and is recommending that the request made in the last paragraph of your letter be acceded to.

I am to add that His Excellency hopes to be in a position to send your Association a definite reply in the course of a few weeks.

Sgd. Acting Colonial Secretary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT By

YOUNG MEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Mr. C. CHATTUR SINGH, President.

Mr. RAMSAMUJH PRASAD, Secretary.

Lautoka

5th October, 1926.

The Hon'ble

The Colonial Secretary

SUVA.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your letter of 26th ultimo.

The Young Men's Indian Association deeply appreciates the prompt action taken by H. E. the Governor in respect of our request as contained in my letter of 16th September last and I should deem it a favour if you would be so good as to convey our feeling of gratitude to His Excellency.

If it is not out of place my Association desire to suggest the name of Dr. A. Deva Sagayam M. B. for nomination to the vacant seat in the Legislative Council in preference to Mr Badri Maharaj or any other who is not sufficiently conversant with the language in which the Council is conducted.

My Association wishes to emphasize the fact that knowledge in English is very essential to this important matter and it therefore requests urgently that our suggestion may be accepted in spite of Dr Sagayam's short residence in Fiji.

LETTER FROM THE COLONIAL SECRETARY To Y.M.I.A.
Sir,

Referring to my letter of the 23rd September last, I am directed by the Governor to inform your

Association that His Excellency has, with the Secretary of States approval appointed Mr Badri Maharaj to be a Nominated Un-Official Member of the Legislative Council to take his seat at the session of the Council meeting to-day.

I am to inform your Association that the Secretary of State has intimated to the Governor his intention to advise His majesty the King to provide for the grant of a measure of Franchise to Indians in the Colony, The Government of India having accepted proposals to that end made by His Majesty's Government measures to give effect to that intention are at present under consideration. Further information on the subject will be published in due course.

The appointment of Mr Badri Maharaj to the Legislative Council is for the period pending the issue of writs for the election of Indian representatives to the Council, unless the Council be sooner dissolved.

(Sgd) Acting Colonial Secretary.

It is unfortunate that the Government did not accept the suggestion, of the Y.M.I. Association, to nominate an Indian sufficiently conversant with the English language but since we have no choice, it is no good crying after the spilt milk.

Yours faithfully,

C. Chattur Singh

America Prohibits Lascars

The following press news demands our closest attention.

It is understood that Britain is preparing a formal protest against the terms of the new Immigration Bill which would exclude from American ports all foreign ships employing seamen of other countries who are ineligible to enter the United States as immigrants.

Under the Bill which has already passed the Senate, lascars would be prohibited from coming to America on any vessel except one flying the flag of India. Similarly no ship employing Chinese seamen could come to an American Port unless it was Chinese.

Britain has never been so keenly alive to any injustice done to Indians anywhere. Rather she has often encouraged other nations to go against Indians. In this case her shipping industry stands to lose heavily by any such exclusion of cheap Indian labour. Hence her protest. If the above news be true; we shall be glad if the Americans stick to their point; for will it not force British ships to lower their own flag and fly one which they will call the Indian flag?

NOTES

Mr. Gandhi on Sister Nivedita

The following passage occurs in Mr. M. K. Gandhi's "Story of My Experiments with Truth" part iii, chapter xix:—

I then ascertained the place of residence of Sister Nivedita, and saw her in a Chowringhee mansion. I was taken aback by the splendour that surrounded her, and even in our conversation there was not much meeting ground. I spoke to Gokhale about this and he told me that he did not wonder that there could be no point of contact between me and a volatile person like her.

I met her again at Mr. Pestonji Padshah's place. I happened to turn up just as she was talking to his old mother, and so I became an interpreter between the two. In spite of my failure to find any agreement with her, I could not but notice and admire her overflowing love for Hinduism. I came to know of her looks later.

The mention of "the splendour that surrounded her" without any other details conveys a wrong idea of Sister Nivedita's mode of living. The fact is, at the time when Mr. Gandhi saw her, she was the guest of Mrs. Ole Bull and Miss Josephine MacLeod at the American Consulate, and, as such, was not responsible for the "splendour." Her ascetic and very simple style of living in a tumbledown house in Bosepara Lane, Baghbazar, is well-known to all her friends and acquaintances.

We do not know whether Mr. Gokhale spoke to Mr. Gandhi in English and actually used the word "volatile" to describe her;—for what has appeared in *Young India* is translated from the Gujarati *Navajivan*. But whoever may be responsible for the use of the word "volatile," has wronged her memory. Sister Nivedita had her defects, as in fact even the greatest of mankind had and have, but volatile she was not in any sense of that word. As English is not our vernacular, we have consulted two dictionaries on our table to find out its exact meaning as applied to human beings. The Pocket Oxford Dictionary defines it to mean, "of gay temperament, mercurial." In Webster's New International Dictionary the explanation given is, "light-hearted; airy; lively; hence, changeable; fickle." Sister Nivedita was a very serious-minded person, noted for her constancy and steadfast devotion to the cause of Hinduism and India.

The reference to "her overflowing love for Hinduism" is quite just and accurate.

Germans and the League of Nations Secretariat

A report of the proceedings of the Council of the League of Nations, December Session, 1926, received from the League Secretariat, contains the information that

The Council approved several appointments of German members of the Secretariat. The principal appointment is that of M. Dufour-Feronce, from the German Embassy in London, as Under Secretary-General. The British representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain, congratulated the Secretary-General on his choice, and Dr. Stresemann expressed his appreciation of what Sir Austen said.

When the present writer was at Geneva in September last, he heard at the time of Germany's admission to the League that some good posts were to be created in the Secretariat for Germans and that Germany was also to have some "mandates." The first part of the rumour proves to have been well-founded. "Mandates" cannot be so easily created and given as posts. For no mandatory state is likely to give up its "trust property" to accommodate Germany.

We have repeatedly pointed out that justice demands that there should be more Indians in the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office. But India, though one of the original members of the League, is a subject country, and so there is nobody to fight for her. At the last plenary meeting of the League Assembly in 1926, M. Hambro, Norwegian delegate, urged, with reference to the Budget of the League,

"the necessity for all small and distant nations to foster a better representation on the Secretariat and on the International Labour Office.....In appointing the new higher officials of the League and the Under-secretaries and Chiefs of Section, the Council must take care not to give the world at large the impression that only the citizens of great Powers should have an opportunity of filling them."

But Norway is not a great Power. Therefore no need has been felt by the bosses of the show to placate her. Do they act according to the spoils system?

Persia and Opium Production

Another statement received from the League Secretariat contains the following paragraph:

Connected with the general opium question was the report of the League's Commission which went to Persia to study the possibility of substituting poppy growing by other crops. This report is referred to the next Assembly. The Persian representative told the Council that his Government would agree, after a delay of three years, to reduce its opium production by 10 per cent. a year for three years; its policy after that would be governed by the general situation and by what other countries were doing. Poppy growing land diverted to other uses would be exempt from land taxes and the Government would make special loans to help cultivators who gave up poppy growing.

As India is an opium producing country like Persia, it may be asked whether the League's Commission visited India also to study the possibility of substituting poppy growing in this country by other crops. If not, why? If it did, has the Government of India agreed to do anything similar to what Persia has agreed to do?

"A Mandate and Its Moral"

Under the above heading, *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* has the following paragraph:—

There has just been published the texts of the Conventions, ratified in July, between the United Kingdom and the United States respecting national rights in the territories of Africa mandated to the former Power...the mandates are most explicit about the obligation to promote "the material and moral well-being and social progress" of the inhabitants. One of the districts under mandate is Tanganyika Territory, which is the immediate neighbour of Kenya Colony, and the United Kingdom, as mandator of the one and possessor of the other, cannot logically impose one form of administration on one side of the border and another on the other. In Kenya there is the crushing hut-tax, which drives the native to leave his home and become a wage-earner in white employ and there is the use of forced labour for public works; thus the British record does not in the least conform with the duty to safeguard social progress. Is Tanganyika to become a model of administration to Kenya, or is Kenya to give a vicious example to Tanganyika? The mandate for the latter does, it is true, allow forced labour for "essential public works," and it is a serious evil that the authority of the League should be given to any trust containing a clause so liable to abuse. But in the last resort the mandator is responsible to the League for its administration of the trust, so that there is some external check on the power to impose a modified form of slavery. In Tanganyika the native is encouraged to become a cultivator not for his own needs only, but for the market; in Kenya the opposite is the case. It is the business of the League to see that in Tanganyika the invasion of native rights in land and liberty, which has gone so far in the neighbouring country of Kenya, is not imitated by the

white settlers. Kenya needs a preceptor rather than an accomplice at its side.

Good Examples Set By Public Men

When, four years ago, Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh was one of the Ministers for Bihar and Orissa, he promised to devote three-fourths of his salary to a public cause. In fulfilment of that promise he has founded the Hindu orphanage at Patna with an endowment of one lakh of rupees.

Mr. Patel, president of the Legislative Assembly, has also promised to send Mr. Gandhi a specified portion of his salary to be spent by the latter for some public cause, and has already begun to make remittances.

These praiseworthy examples deserve to be followed by other public men.

Supply of News from China

What news we get from China through Reuter's agency is one-sided and cannot be depended upon. Many lies and half-truths are transmitted to all parts of the world through the cables, which are entirely under non-Asiatic control. For these reasons, there does not seem to be anything intrinsically wrong in the suggestion made by the honorary secretary to the Indian Journalists' Association in Calcutta that our Indian journals should combine to send one or more correspondents to China to gather correct information and send the same by telegraph or by post, whichever may be practicable. It may be that such correspondents would not be allowed to proceed to China, or that, even if so allowed, their cables would not be accepted for transmission. There may be other difficulties, too. But we should not allow the thought of such contingencies to paralyse our efforts. The attempt is worth making.

Seeing Things "Whole and Undivided."

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. have been publishing a series of small volumes under the general title of "To-day and To-morrow." Among the authors are some of the most distinguished English

thinkers, scientists, philosophers, doctors, critics, and artists, such as Bertrand Russell, J. B. S. Haldane, F. C. S. Schiller, etc. One of the volumes is named "*The Dance of Siva*" by "Collum." By the dance of Siva the author means the Indian conception of the continuous cosmic process "which is both constructive and destructive at one and the same time." A considerable portion of this book is taken up with a critically appreciative interpretation of the scientific work done by Sir J. C. Bose. Says the author :

Let us turn to another department of human activity, to the current tendencies of critical science. Here it is no longer a matter of tentative queries. A portent has appeared which is of the greatest significance. Shadows that we took for substantial barriers are being dissipated by the painstaking method of scientific experiment, and a whole collection of categories that we had come to accept as facts have been revealed as being but mere fictions born partly of our ignorance, partly of the characteristically "Western" inability to see anything whole and undivided. The achievement has been a triumph for that Western "intellectual curiosity" and Western critical and experimental method which first became characteristic of Europe in the Renaissance—but it has not been achieved by the West. East and West had to come consciously together to achieve the result. An Eastern mind, seeing Nature whole, and working with the critical experimental science of the West, was needed and in the fulness of time was forthcoming when Indian genius found itself in full and practised possession of Cambridge scientific method in the person of Jagadis Bose, the Bengali physicist. Centuries hence men may point to Bose as a conveniently identifiable point from which to date the dawn of the new thought just as to-day we put our finger on Socrates when we wish to focus our view of the beginning of that new thought which inspired the West for centuries and to say: "Here is our landmark; here the new can be said to have been first recognisable as something that was characteristically different."

A brief glance at the significant results of this Indian researcher's discoveries will illustrate better than any attempt to define it, what is implied in the Oriental conception of the Dance of Siva which I have taken as the symbolic title of this essay to discern the continuous thread running through the apparent tangle of to-day linking yesterday with to-morrow and to-morrow inevitably with yesterday.—*The Dance of Siva*, pp. 59-61.

These introductory observations are followed by page after page of eloquent interpretation and comment.

Chinese Cadets in Japanese Military College

A recent Tokio despatch says that the Japanese Government has decided that

admission of Chinese students to the Military College in Tokio must hereafter be limited, following an unprecedented number of applications for admission. There are now 250 Chinese students in the college and 140 more are seeking admission.

China has her own military colleges where thousands of officers are trained by efficient instructors. China is torn with Civil War. Yet the Chinese Government and people could make such arrangements that hundreds of Chinese students could secure admission into the military colleges of Japan and other countries. Under the benevolent British rulers, who say that the Indians cannot be given self-government because they are not competent to take charge of their national defence, there is not a single well-equipped military college for Indians in India ; and only a few Indians are annually admitted to Sandhurst. This is how Indians are trained to take charge of their national defence !

Latest News on Hindu Citizenship Fight in America

Dr. Taraknath Das wrote to us from Baden-Baden, on March 22, 1927, that he had received cables from responsible Americans in Washington, D. C., to the effect that the United States Supreme Court has denied the application of the United States Solicitor General who petitioned that Court to review the decision rendered in favor of Mr. Sakbaram Ganesh Pandit, Attorney-at-Law of Los Angeles by the circuit of appeals, at San Francisco, California. This means that Mr. Pandit, who was naturalized as an American citizen in 1914, and whose citizenship has been contested by the United States Department of Naturalization, on the ground that he is not a "white person" and is thus ineligible to citizenship, and that he secured his citizenship illegally and fraudulently, has won the case against the United States by the verdict of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Pandit's victory in the contest has been secured purely on the legal ground of "res adjudicata", and the Court has not decided that the Hindus are "white persons." Thus Pandit's victory would not establish any precedent for other Hindus to become citizens of the United States. But it will

establish a precedent in favor of all those Hindus who were naturalized before and whose cases are still pending before the court.

Independent News from China

We have received the following for publication.—

"As representing the British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom, we desire to inform the British Press and the Public generally that whilst deploring the loss of lives of foreign nationals at Nanking and the insults and other lamentable occurrences alleged to have taken place there recently, the other side of the question must be brought to the notice of the British people.

"A cable received from Shanghai and published in the Continental Press on March 28th says :—

An hour ago our representative returned from Nanking. The bombardment has stopped after destroying more than half the city. The British and American warships fired incendiary shells. The whole of the Pukow quarter is still in flames. Heaps of half-burnt corpses fill the streets and squares. Over 2,000 of the population have been killed.

The Native population and the National troops had nothing whatever to do with the looting, which was done by disbanded Northerners encouraged by White Russians.

Some Americans and one Englishman were killed. The British Consul was wounded.

"The above statement is one which the British Government must not be allowed to ignore. Pukow is on the left bank of the Yang-tse River, and has been bombarded as well as Nanking.

"Insults to the British Flag or to British Nationals, deplorable and regrettable as they must be to everyone, cannot blind anyone to the fact that the bombardment of an undefended city is an outrage on that which is called civilisation.

"The British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom calls upon all those who care for the good name of the British people to at once demand that the British Government shall consent to this matter being referred immediately to an International Tribunal upon which the Chinese nation should be effectively represented."

"7, Staple Inn Buildings, Alfred M. Wall.
High Holborn, W. C. I. R. Bridgeman."
31st March, 1927."

European Monopoly of Baths in Africa

The following interesting tale appears in the *Indian Opinion*, Natal.

A universal matter was raised in the Rand Division of the Supreme Court, when Michael Towell, of Ampthill Avenue, Benoni, applied to Mr. Justice Greenburg for a temporary interdict pending litigation prohibiting the Benoni Town Council from refusing him admission to their swimming baths.

Towell is bringing an action against the municipality seeking to enforce his rights to enter the baths, but being advised that the hearing of such action could not be obtained for some months, and as he was desirous of using the baths in the meantime, he applied for the interdict as a temporary measure.

Towell in his petition stated that he was born in the Mount Lebanon district of Syria of Christian parents, and was himself a Christian. On February 6 he went with four other Syrians to the baths, which he had used regularly each Sunday, and some times on weekdays, for, the past three years. The Superintendent of the Baths, however, asked him what was nationality, to which he replied, "Syrian." Whereupon, it was stated, the Superintendent said: "You know Syrians are not a European race, and you are not allowed here." Shortly afterwards a police-sergeant arrived and ordered Towell and his friends to leave the baths, which they did.

The following day Towell complained to the Syrian (Lebanon) Christian Association, which was formed for the protection of the Syrian community, and on the succeeding Sunday, together with some friends and three members of the Association's Committee, he again proceeded to the baths and sought admission. The Superintendent, however, said the petitioner, again refused him admission, stating that Syrians were not allowed inside, and adding that he was acting on the instructions of the Town Engineer.

Affidavits from Towell's friends were put in, and his Lordship granted the interdict.

Next the "Whites" will petition God for a separate atmosphere to breathe in.

Delegates to International Economic Conference

The firm and dignified representation which the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has sent to the president and officers of the International Economic Conference at Geneva on the subject of the Government of India's choice of India's delegates to that conference, is worthy of all attention. A maximum of five members could have been sent to Geneva. But the Government of

India has chosen only three men. Experts, though not entitled to speak or vote, could have been sent in addition, but none, it appears, have been sent. According to the requirements laid down by the Economic and Financial Section of the League, "the Members [who are to participate in the Conference] should not be spokesmen of the Official policy," i. e., they should be non-officials. But one of the three delegates, Sir Campbell Rhodes, is an official, being a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India in London and a paid servant of the Government. The Indian Merchants' Chamber points out in addition that

Sir Campbell Rhodes is not an Indian and cannot therefore be expected to put before the Conference the Indian point of view upon the economic problems to be discussed by the Conference. The proper Indian representation at the Conference is thus reduced to less than half, consisting as it now does of only two Indian Delegates as against the total of five delegates for India. The loss of India is, however, turned to the gain of England. The Englishman representing India naturally urges the English point of view and acts in concert with his English confreres, thus leading to overrepresentation of England at the Conference. Such disregard by the Government of India of the wishes of the Indian public as also of the rules laid down for various Conferences either by the Treaty of Versailles or by the League of Nations has now become chronic.

In the matter of these meetings the Government of India appear to make their selections more with a view to British interests than to the interests of India. Last year this Chamber had to protest against the nomination by the Government of India of a representative of British ship-owning interests to represent India at the 8th and 9th International Labour Conferences. The composition of the Indian Delegation to the sittings of the League of Nations has so far never been satisfactory to Indian public opinion.

Some of the questions to be discussed at the Conference are :

(1) Liberty of trading, including economic and fiscal treatment of foreigners and foreign companies ; (2) indirect methods of protecting national commerce and shipping, including discriminating legislation ; (3) International Commercial treaties ; (4) International agreement regarding national industries ; (5) International action in collaboration in agriculture.

In most of these subjects British interests clash with those of India. Hence a full quota of five well-informed non-official Indians, with expert advisers, ought to have been sent to the Conference, which has not been done.

Bengali Homage and Tribute to Shivaji

As the tercentenary of the birth of Shivaji is to be celebrated all over India this month, we should utilise the occasion to promote a study of his life and achievements, as well as of the causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha confederacy. Such study is sure to help us in our efforts at national regeneration. Bengal has done something to draw attention to the greatness of Shivaji. There is the late Romesh Chunder Dutt's Bengali novel 'Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat', or 'The Dawn of Maratha Life'. There is the magnificent poem in Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore, in which occur the words.

"জয়তু শিবাজী"

"Victory be to Shivaji".

During the days of the antipartition agitation there was a Shivaji festival in Calcutta in which Lokamanya Tilak participated. There is the standard biography of Shivaji in English by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, whose timely article on the hero and statesman we are privileged to publish in this number. A considerable portion of that work appeared in this Review. There are at least three biographies of Shivaji in Bengali. There is an epic poem on Shivaji by the poet Jogindranath Basu. It is an illustrated volume. Recently Professor Surendranath Sen has contributed to *The Calcutta Review* an article on Shivaji, being a translation of Portuguese materials. Shivaji and Ramdas Swami have furnished subjects to Bengali artists for some of their paintings. Dramatic pieces based on incidents in Shivaji's life are not infrequently staged in Bengal. All this shows that Bengalis have to some extent honoured Shivaji in several ways—mostly of course with the pen and the brush and sometimes with the voice on the stage.

We learn from *The Indian Social Reformer* that an appeal has been issued "to the Hindu leaders in every province in India to organise in their own town or city a festival in memory of the great event, and in a manner worthy of the same," "signed by, among others, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Sir Sankaran Nair, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, J. M. Mehta, Harchandrai Vishindas, A. S. Asavale, S. N. Haji, Raja Harnam Singh, Dr. Moonje and others." We support this appeal wholeheartedly.

edly, if we may. As we have not seen the appeal we do not know whether there is among these "others" persons belonging to Orissa, Bihar, Assam, Rajputana, the Central Provinces, Bengal, etc. Bengal may be ignored on this particular occasion, as being unwarlike, but some of the other provinces have honoured Shivaji more than Bengal, not only with voice and pen and brush as Bengal has to a little extent done, but with Shivaji's favorite weapon also.

The Hindu Mahasabha

The definition of the word "Hindu" adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha is very wide. It would be in keeping with that definition if among its members and office-bearers and in its executive committee there were members of the Jaina, Buddhist, Sikh and Brahmo communities, and if the latter communities took increasing interest in its proceedings.

In the abstract, the Hindus have as much right to convert or re-convert people of other faiths to Hinduism as the followers of any other religion. But many people, while admitting this right in the abstract, raise the objection that the Hindus are making a new departure for political reasons. These men assume that Hinduism is not and never was a proselytising religion in any sense. This is not true. Its missionary methods differ from those of Semitic faiths. But it is a proselytising religion all the same. Apart from the absorption of numerous aboriginal tribes by the Hindu community, which is still going on, and also from the inclusion in the Hindu fold of many invading peoples and tribes from beyond the bounds of India, even within recent historical times several groups of Musalmans have been converted or reconverted to Hinduism. This took place long before Shuddhi or Sangathan was heard of. More than once in some of our previous issues we gave details, which will be found in the Bombay Census Report for 1921. In still earlier times, after the Musalman conquest of Sindh, there was an active movement in existence in that province for the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam. Those who were reconverted had to perform certain expiatory rites. These are to be found in the *Devala Smriti*.

Therefore the assumption that Hindus are now for the first time in history converting

or reconverting people of other faiths to their own is entirely unfounded. But supposing the Hindus had really made a new departure, why should that be objected to? Every body of men has the right to adopt whatever non-criminal and moral methods it considers necessary in its own interests, particularly when similar methods pursued by other bodies of men are considered legitimate and unobjectionable. Therefore, we strongly support the movement for the conversion or reconversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism, using the word Hindu in the sense accepted by the Hindu Mahasabha. We also equally strongly support the movement for the organisation of the Hindu community so that there may be greater solidarity in it. We are not, however, to be understood to support the name of the *Shuddhi* movement or to accept as unobjectionable the purificatory rites and all the tenets and practices to which the converts adhere. But we do not at all suggest that these are un-Hindu. What we say is that the kind of Hinduism which we follow is different.

This is not the first time that we criticise the name "Shuddhi". It means purification. But we do not believe that non-Hindus are necessarily impure or unclean because they are styled Jews, Christians, Muslims etc. Similarly a Hindu is not necessarily pure because he is called a Hindu. It is the life and character of a man that make him pure or impure. There are many non-Hindus who are pure in their lives and there are many Hindus who are not. For this reason we would earnestly request all advocates of "Shuddhi" to adopt some other name for Hinduization which is not offensive. The resources of the Sanskrit language are sufficient to make the discovery or coinage of such a word feasible. It may be added here by way of illustration that the word "baptism" used by Christians has no offensive meaning or implication.

The present writer is a believer in strictly monotheistic, non-idolatrous Hinduism. He does not, moreover, believe in any infallible revealed scriptures as the orthodox followers of many religions do. He does not believe in *havan*, in the worship of images, in animal sacrifice, and the like. At the same time he admits that some kinds of Hinduism recognise and enjoin these beliefs and practices. He does not call in question anybody's right to practise or propagate such kinds of Hinduism, though if he him-

self had the leisure and the inclination to preach Hinduism he would hold up before Hindus and non-Hindus alike the best that is to be found in its scriptures. That is what Rammohun Roy did. It is this kind of monotheistic Hinduism which we believe to be not only true but the most likely also to promote the cause of inter-communal unity in India. But, as we have indicated before, we have neither the desire nor the power to interfere with the right of other Hindus to follow their methods and doctrines.

Some persons talk of doing away with the present system of numerous castes and reverting to the ancient ideal of *Varnashrama Dharma*. Without trying to discuss historically the real character of ancient *Varnashrama*, one may ask who has sufficient authority, impartiality and power of "soul-reading" to assign to each Hindu man and woman, boy and girl a place in one or other of the four ancient castes according to his or her *guna* and *karma*. Let us avoid all loose talk. Caste may be gradually destroyed and Hindu society may certainly continue to exist and have a vigorous life without caste. But a reversion to the four ancient castes is a dream which will never be realised.

Some persons want that there should be intermarriages and interdining in Hindu society. We have not the least objection. We advocate such social changes.

But those who think that there cannot be any progress towards what has been called Hindu Sangathan without interdining and intermarriage seem to be unduly pessimistic. In orthodox Hindu Society there is no intermarriage in Bengal among the Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas, and no interdining also among them on orthodox socio-religious occasions, except, perhaps, in big cities. But in spite of that fact, there is no such cleavage or wide gulf between these three castes as there is, for instance, between Brahmans and Namasudras. We think, therefore, that for all practical purposes there may be sufficient solidarity in Hindu Society, if there be the same mutual feeling between, say, Namasudras and Brahmans as there is between Vaidyas and Kayasthas and between Brahmans and Vaidyas. For bringing about such a state of things, the economic condition of the backward classes should be improved and there should be wide diffusion of education among them. And of course, untouchability should be entirely done away with.

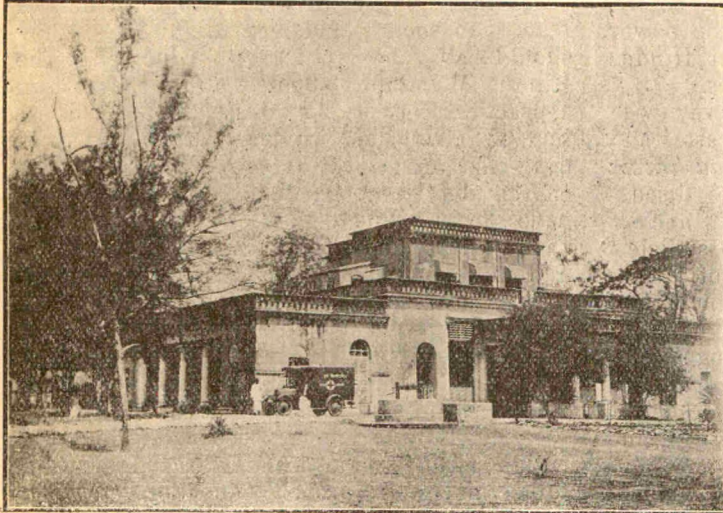
While saying all this, we should also record our conviction that complete solidarity would be possible only when there is fusion of all castes by means of free interdining and intermarriage.

Just treatment of women and just treatment of the backward classes are the two ideals that are most difficult to realize. In order that women may be able to command respect in society and lead useful lives, they should all be properly educated. The Hindu Mahasabha should do its utmost in a practical way for the cause of the education of girls and women. Orthodoxy will not offer much active opposition to such efforts, but great apathy and inertia will have to be overcome. Greater difficulty there will be in preventing child marriages and in raising the age of marriage of girls. If girls are married after the attainment of youth, the problem of the child widow will be to some extent automatically solved. But years and decades may pass before child marriages become things of the past. In any case, girls who have become widows in childhood should be re-married. Their due protection, their proper education, etc., are good and necessary measures. But there is no reason why they should not also marry if they want to. Reason, justice, scriptural authority do not stand in the way. This year the Hindu Mahasabha has passed a resolution relating to widows one part of which seems in a covert way to allow the remarriage of girl widows. It enjoins the adoption of all such steps as would prevent their going astray and indirectly swelling the number of non-Hindus. Their re-marriage is such a step. If our interpretation of the resolution in question be correct, the Hindu Mahasabha must be said to have made some progress towards adopting a social reform programme.

If untouchability had been attacked and *suddhi* and *sangathan* advocated before any political necessity had been felt for doing so, the leaders of the Hindu Community, including Mahatma Gandhi, could have been given credit for acting solely from considerations of humanity and justice. But better late than never. Every item in the programme of the Brahmos and other social reformers for which they have been criticised and reviled is being adopted one by one by their critics. That is a matter for satisfaction.

Bankura Medical School

The main building and grounds of the Bankura Medical School founded by the Bankura Sammilani, were given to the institution by Mr. Rishibar Mukherjee, some-



Main Building of the Bankura Medical School.
The building with 23 acres of land are
free gift of Mr. R. Mukherjee, ex
chief judge of cashmere

time Governor of Kashmir. We are glad to learn that Messrs. A. Milton and Co. of Calcutta have recently given it a completely equipped motor ambulance. This will greatly facilitate the conveyance of patients from villages to its hospital, which is being increasingly utilised by the people owing, among other things, to the provision of separate cottages for some patients on payment of a very small rent. The institution has recently been provisionally recognised by the State Medical Faculty up to its Intermediate standard.

This Medical School is situated on high and dry ground in a suburb of Bankura. While this is a great advantage from the sanitary point of view it, increases the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply

of water for the students and the hospital patients in summer, when the wells dry up. It has been proposed, therefore, to dig a deep well in the sandy bed of the adjacent river and bring water from there by laying pipes. This has been estimated to cost about six or seven thousand rupees. Seeing that Messrs. A. Milton and Co, have given the school an ambulance of about the same value, we hope that some other benevolent person or persons will generously donate what is necessary for the adequate supply of water. Donations will be thankfully received by (1) Rai Bahadur H. K. Raha, Deputy Director-General of Post Office, Council House Street, Calcutta who is honorary treasurer to the Bankura Sammilani, or (2) by the editor of this Review, who is Vice president of the same association.

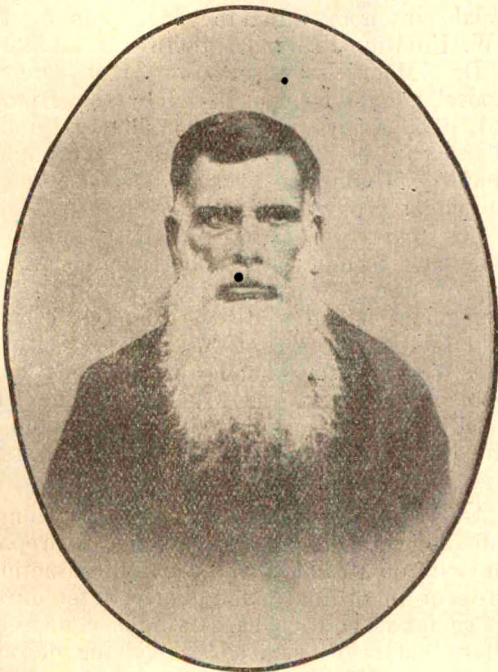
Nibaran Chandra Mukherjee

Babu [Nibaran Chandra
Mukherjee of Bhagalpur, who



The Ambulance Presented by Messrs A. Milton
& Co Ltd. for the use of the Hospital attached to
the Bankura Medical School

has passed away at the ripe old age of 81, was an entirely self-made man. He was born of very poor parents. In boyhood he was too poor to buy oil for a lamp when he wanted to read at night. So he used to prepare his lessons in the light of the street lamp in front of his house. He was a good student, and prosecuted his studies at college with the help of scholarships and the financial aid given by some relatives. He was an M. A. and B. L. of the Calcutta University. At first he took to the vocation of a teacher and became headmaster. When "he found that as the head of an institution he was getting rather arrogant and power-loving, he resigned his headmastership and joined the bar in 1874 so that he could practise just like an ordinary lawyer without enjoying any special privileges.



Nibaran Chandra Mukherjee

Later on he found that the legal profession was not congenial to his temperament... Consequently we find him giving up his profession as a lawyer and his lucrative practice in the year 1886".

He was a Brahmo, and was married according to Brahmo rites. "The idea of true brotherhood among the new Brahmos of those days was so real that it inspired them to live up to it. With a view to realise this ideal, Julla Kothi in Bhagalpur, with its very

spacious grounds measuring several acres of land, was purchased in the name of Nibaran Chandra, and was subdivided into plots; and several Brahmo families purchased them and built houses of their own on them".

"He was prominently connected with the Tej Narain Jubilee College, Girls' School, Young Men's Theistic Association and Debating Society, the Band of Hope, the temperance movement, Bhagalpur Workingmen's Association, the Moral Training class and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was for some years the elected Vice-chairman and, later, Chairman of the Bhagalpur Municipality, and also of the District Board. He discharged the duties of these honorary offices to the entire satisfaction of the ratepayers."

Every day before beginning his day's work, he regularly performed his daily devotions. "Since the days of the partition of Bengal in 1905, he was a firm believer in Swadeshi enterprise and used Swadeshi articles as far as possible. His Bengali book "Manava-Jiban," written for young men, has been made a text-book in Assam. He has written other books also. "Even on the eve of his death he had been revising a manuscript on comparative philosophy both in English and in Bengali."

Dr. Moonje's Utterances

In a different note we have discussed some of the questions on which Dr. Moonje has recently spoken. We need not, therefore, repeat any of our observations with reference to his utterances. He has an original way of putting things which arouses and rivets attention. We are entirely at one with him in the firm attitude which he has taken up with regard to the bargaining *cum* dictatorial spirit perceptible in the terms proposed by some Musalman leaders for a united endeavour for the attainment of Swaraj. The limp and too yielding Hindu temperament requires stiffening up. Only, we may be permitted to observe that the Hindu cause and the Indian cause would perhaps be better served if he always spoke *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. We do not think he means any offence to the Musalmans or wants to irritate them. He does not want to encroach on their just rights or deprive them of any privilege of Indian citizenship. It is because we think so that we have

suggested more circumspection. That is not synonymous with less firmness.

Hindu Moslem Unity

We desire Hindu-Moslem unity from the bottom of our heart, but not the show of such unity at any cost. But so far as Bengal is concerned—we have no direct personal knowledge of the state of things in other provinces—real Hindu-Moslem Unity would be utterly impossible in this province so long as outrages on women are not openly and actively discouraged, condemned and put a stop to by the Musalman leaders and the Hindu Swarajist leaders. These outrages are an unspeakable shame for both Hindu Bengal and Musalman Bengal. Recently several Hindu leaders from outside Bengal have cried shame upon us for these in public meetings. We should thank them for doing so, though some of them may not have shown by their words and their manner that our shame was theirs, too, in more senses than one. *Verb. sap.*

So far as Muslims are concerned, Indian Swaraj may be of two kinds: either it would be Hindu-Moslem raj, or it would be Moslem raj. Those who want the latter and want our assent to it, should prove practically that it would be better than British raj, so far at least as the honour of women and Hindu temples and images are concerned. Many Moslem publicists speak and write as if Hindus aimed at establishing a purely Hindu raj. They have no such aim. Moreover, even where Hindus, as in Madras, are in an overwhelming majority, there are no such atrocities practised on Moslems by Hindus as have been perpetrated by Moslems on Hindus in East and North Bengal, Sindh and N.-W. F. Province. Therefore the fear of an imaginary Hindu raj is entirely fictitious and groundless. But the fear of the predominance of Moslems of the type to be found in large numbers in the aforesaid regions is very real and well-founded.

Some or most Moslems want the creation of at least one new administrative province where they are to be in a majority. We cannot be consenting parties to such a proposal; but as we have no political power, we cannot prevent the Government from doing such a thing if it wants to. But we may point out to those of our Musalman countrymen who support such a proposal,

that two similar proposals could be made which, if they had any regard for consistency, they would be bound to support. One is the inclusion in the administrative province of Bengal of some adjoining areas which formerly formed part of Bengal, thus reconstituting it. This might be so done as to reduce the Moslems in Bengal to a minority. The other is the inclusion in the Punjab of some adjoining districts of the United Provinces, which are really parts of the Punjab. This would reduce the Moslems in that province to a minority. What have Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues to say to such possible proposals? Two or more than two can play at the same game.

As regards the introduction of the "Reforms" in (and consequently giving provincial autonomy in the long run to) the N.-W. Frontier Province, there is great force in Dr. Moonje's observation that such a proposal cannot be considered by the Hindus until the Army comes completely under Indian control and is also thoroughly Indianised. Under the system of recruitment followed at present, the people of the North-western parts of India—the Musalmans in particular, form a disproportionately large part of the army. Any administrative arrangement which would be likely to place a still larger power of defence, passivity or aggression in the hands of those people, cannot be assented to by the Hindus, who not only form the majority of the people of India but are also Indians first and last in all possible senses.

As for "leaving the Moslems severely alone", we do not think any sane person can propose a boycott of Moslems in the daily transactions of life or in ordinary neighborly intercourse. But so far as political bargaining is concerned, so far, that is to say, as the paying of any price to the Musalmans for purchasing their consent to a united struggle for Swaraj is concerned, we are absolutely opposed to such transactions. Swaraj would be good for Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and all other inhabitants of India. If a combined effort for its attainment cannot be made without practically giving the Moslems a stranglehold and converting them from a minority into practically something like a majority, we are certainly for each community pursuing its political goal separately in the best way it can. There is an entirely unfounded belief prevalent among some people that, as soon as there is a united Hindu-Moslem demand

Swaraj, however brought about, the British people will give it to us at once. But the truth is, they are such adepts, in finding or inventing excuses, that they will never agree to our being self-ruling unless they are driven to a corner. That would be possible only if there were *real* national unity, not a patched up substitute for it.

The smallest of minorities in India are the Parsis. Yet by their capacity and public spirit, members of that small community have won the position of leaders. Such leadership is possible for Moslems and other communities, too. But an artificial prominence or predominance ought not to be conceded to any community by any pact. That would be unjust to other communities and cause heart-burning and jealousy.

Subhas Chandra Bose

The Government of Bengal and the Anglo-Indian Press perhaps think that they have been able to convince the public that if Subhas Chandra Bose is still in jail it is his fault. But they are mistaken. The Indian public in any case think that the terms offered to Mr. Bose are mean, wily and wanting in common humanity. At present Mr. Bose is interned within the walls of some jail or other. If the Government's offer were accepted, he would be exiled from India and interned in a larger area, named Switzerland or Europe or the world outside India. The loss of complete liberty of movement is common to both kinds of internment. At present Subhas Chandra obtains food and shelter and clothing at the expense of the Government. If he were to go outside of India, he would, we presume, have to pay his own expenses. That is very generous of the Government. Government professes to believe that, even when Mr. Bose is very seriously ill, his release would be a danger to the State. Such profession cannot but excite laughter.

Mr. Bose's rejection of the offer of the Government even at the risk of a lingering death, shows the stuff he is made of. It has heightened the respect felt for him.

We do not think his conduct would be misunderstood by any honourable persons—those of his enemies who are mean-minded may be left out of account, if he were *now* to consider a possible request of his

and place himself under the treatment of some eminent expert to get cured. We suggest that such a request should be sent to him without any avoidable delay, signed by as many of his countrymen as possible. Many patriotic men, of countries other than India, too, banished from their countries or self-exiled, have done good work abroad for their motherlands and the world. Subhas Chandra may also be able to do so in foreign countries undoubtedly.

The Kakori Conspiracy Case

At the trial of the Kakori "Conspiracy" case, which has resulted in so many staggering sentences, the accused do not appear to have had sufficient legal help. If they appeal or have appealed, it would be the duty of their relatives and friends and of the public to see that they are ably defended. Neither the guilt of any accused nor the enormity of his guilty should be taken for granted.

Trial of "Conspirators" and Murders of Witnesses

Though in the Press and in the Legislative Assembly it has been shown repeatedly that the plea, that Government is prevented from bringing alleged revolutionaries to public trial by the fear of the murder of prosecution witnesses, has no legs to stand upon, yet it continues to be trotted out whenever the occasion demands it. But the Kakori "Conspiracy" case has proved once more the falsity of this plea. "This case was one of the biggest conspiracy cases in India. Over 250 witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution before the Court of Sessions." The trial lasted more than a year. Yet not a single witness has been murdered or subjected even to a pin-prick. It is to be hoped that the witnesses in this case will continue to be safe even after attention has been drawn to this fact.

Skeen Committee's Report

Indian self-rule implies that Indians are to be completely free to decide whether they are to have any foreign employees,

also implies that the British garrison of white troops in India, officered by Britishers, is not to remain, that the sepoys are to be led only by Indian officers, and that all arms of our military forces are to be open to Indians of all provinces, races, sects and castes, under only the necessary physical, moral and intellectual tests. The principle that national defence should be undertaken by the nation involves all the above-mentioned conditions. Therefore, even if all the recommendations of the Skeen Committee were given effect to, which is unlikely, we would not be a party to their acceptance. We want a scheme whose fruition within a measurable distance of time—say, not more than twenty-five years, would enable the Indian nation to undertake the defence of its country. And, of course, it would be optional for us to have foreign soldiers or officers or trainers, if necessary.

Some countrymen of ours are for accepting whatever can be got, and pressing for more. But as acceptance or non-acceptance does not lie with us, as the Government will carry out its plans whether we be a consenting party or not, why be guilty of accepting anything which falls far short of our just demands?

The Skeen Committee leaves the white garrison entirely untouched, and makes recommendations which, if carried out, would under the best of circumstances make only 50 percent. Of the officers of the Sepoy army Indians in twenty-five years. Nobody denies that that would give us more Indian officers than now. But as nothing is said as to when, if at all, the remaining 50 percent. would be Indianised; when, if at all, the white garrison would be withdrawn; when, if at all, the air force, the artillery, etc., would be thoroughly Indianised; and whether the white garrison would not be increased parri passu with the increase in the number of Indian officers; and as the proposed dribble of military "boons" would practically prevent the reopening and consideration of a complete scheme of national defence by the nation; we are against the acceptance of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee even in their entirety.

British politicians and publicists are masters of the trick of enhancing the value of their proposed "boons" by setting up a cry that they are overgenerous, that they would produce a revolution, that they would mean the end of British rule, and so on. We

should not for ever remain gullible. We should learn by experience. Whenever the above mentioned cry is raised, we should not beg to demand that the "boons" must be given to us in their entirety as recommended, that not a jot or tittle should be taken away from them, and so forth. On the contrary we are for continually placing our demand before the world and trying to get what we want, leaving the Government to do what it likes. Of course, if it wants to take away any right which we possess at present we must oppose any such attempt with our might.

Governors from the Indian Civil Service

So long as the system of government remains what it is in India and so long as at least full Home Rule is not won, it makes no substantial difference whether we have governors direct from England or from the ranks of sun-dried white bureaucrats in India. Experience has not shown that direct imports from Great Britain have or in the majority of cases been better rule than the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats.

We must confess this protesting a petitioning in favour of a particular brand of foreign masters makes us ashamed.

Sir Charles Innes goes to Burma as Governor. He knows much about commerce and railways, etc. Will he be able to connect Burma with India by rail and thereby facilitate commerce, or will he play into the hands of the British India Steam Navigation Company and leave to them the monopoly of the traffic between India and Burma?

Calcutta to Rangoon Steamer Service

A correspondent has described in a daily paper the abuse and insult to which he was subjected in Outram Ghat by an official of the B. I. S. N. Co., and the assaults and insult which fell to the lot of some of our passengers when trying to board a steamer. We have ourselves witnessed such shameful things.

The Company ought to prevent such insults and assaults. No doubt, so long as they practically have a monopoly, they may not care to. But they should understand that politeness and humanity are sure to increase the traffic and bring them more money. The majority of the Company's passengers are Indians. But they do not provide Indian food. The bathrooms are

lavatories, too, are not such as Indians are accustomed to use.

From the Indian side, the remedy for the insults and assaults lies in the growth of manliness. But the penal laws in India and their administration are not such as to promote such development. A "European" assailant of an Indian, even when the assault is fatal, is more likely to escape scot-free or with a small fine than otherwise. But a price has to be paid for the growth of manliness.

Visvabharati Scholarships

The attention of our readers is drawn to the details of two scholarships offered by the Visvabharati, printed in our advertisement pages.

Promotion of Some Allahabad Industries

The Allahabad Municipality is entitled to praise for trying to promote the copper, *phool*, and brass ware industries of that town.

The Bengal Provincial Conference at Maju

The inhabitants of Maju, which is a village in the Howrah district, arranged for the holding of this year's session of the Bengal Provincial Conference in their village. They sunk tube-wells for the supply of good water to the delegates and visitors and also made arrangements for electric lights and fans for their comfort and convenience. All the other arrangements were equally praiseworthy. The pluck and public spirit shown by Maju are highly commendable. The attendance, though not as large, as was expected, was not small. Had there not been personal jealousies and quarrels among the Swarajist leaders and had not one party of them dictatorially asked the Conference to be postponed, there would have been a record gathering. But as the people of Maju had done their best, they cannot be held responsible for the Conference not being a complete success in every respect. The President, Mr. Jogindranath Chakrabarti, also did his best for its success.

The So-called Indian Navy

The so-called Indian Navy Bill has been passed by the British House of Commons.

It is Indian only in the sense that India will have to pay for it. It is not at all officered by Indians. Great Britain would be able to use it in any waters for purposes other than India's defence, and even when so used the cost would fall on India. The Indian Legislature is not to have any voice in determining the strength of the Indian Navy or where and for what purpose it is to be used.

During the debate in the Commons on the third reading of the bill,

The final spokesman for the Government was bold enough to suggest that this measure was really a concession of more self-government to the Indian people, who by means of it would be able to take more and more interest in their own affairs. This claim was derided by the Opposition, whose last speaker, Mr. Barker, described it as the most hypocritical statement that could possibly be made. They were creating this navy, he said, because it was a long way from this country to Singapore. They had Japan in mind more than India when they brought in this Bill.

By passing this bill Great Britain has been able practically to increase her naval strength without breaking the letter of the international agreement by which the respective strength of the navies of Great Britain, U.S.A., Japan, France, etc., was fixed. It is in this way that international conventions are respected.

The Hours of Labour Convention

The Hours of Labour convention agreed upon by the powers at Washington, known as the Eight-Hour Day convention, has not yet been ratified by the foremost industrial countries. Great Britain, the U.S.A., Germany, France and Japan have not yet ratified it; Austria, Italy and Latvia have ratified it only conditionally. But the British Government of India ratified it for India so long ago as the year 1921.

The French Senate has adopted a Bill with an amendment (approved by the Government) providing that *ratification shall take effect only when the convention has been ratified by Great Britain as well as Germany*. Germany's declaration of social policy includes the following :—

"The next step in this direction is to create an extensive body of law for the protection of the workers, special consideration being given to miners. Such legislation, while based on German conditions, should fix hours of work, including Sunday rest, in accordance with international

agreements. *On the basis of such legislation, the German Government is prepared to ratify the Washington convention at the same time as other industrial countries of Western Europe.*"

The states which have ratified the convention are as follows:

State	Year	States	Year
Greece	1920	Austria	1924
Roumania	1921	Italy	1924
India	1921	Latvia	1925
Czechoslovakia	1921	Chili	1925
Bulgaria	1922	Belgium	1926

We read in the Calcutta, *Guardian* :—

The overtime abuse has increased so alarmingly of late in Germany that a general movement for the refusal of overtime work is necessary and has already been begun. In certain industries the number of hours of overtime worked runs into millions—and this in spite of the large unemployment! The resistance of employers and government to social reform is stronger than ever.

As for Britain, the British Government is obstinately persisting in its policy of setting a bad example by refusing to ratify the Eight Hours Convention. This fact aroused the warm indignation of Poulton, the British workers' representative at the recent meeting of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. Poulton, supported by Oudegeest and Jouhaux, accused his government of having been trying for 7 years to find reasons for refusing to ratify and of having receded further and further from the conception of co-operation which inspired the Washington Conference of 1919

The Manchester Guardian observes that

The Government's betrayal of the cause of the is at study Washington Convention on Eight Hours the moment one of the chief obstacles to reform all over the world."

We desire that our labourers should not be sweated and dehumanised. But if the sole or principal motive of the foremost Christian countries of the West in fixing the hours of labour be philanthropy, how is it that their hearts were filled with pity for Indian labourers so long ago without their own fellow-Christians and fellow-countrymen yet obtaining the benefit of that pity?

Servants of the People [Society]

The Servants of the People Society, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai in December, 1920, has been doing much good work. It was founded with two main objects :—

To make provision for those interested in the of Politics, Economics and other Social Sciences and to create an interest in such studies amongst young men in general, and to start an order of Life Membership for those willing to devote their whole time to the political, social, educational and economic uplift of the country.

The Tilak School of Politics was started for achieving the first object. To it the founder gave his library and his residential bungalow, with attached lands, and made provision for scholarships of the value of Rs. 15 to 20 to be given to deserving students. It carried on regular teaching work for some time. When the National College came into existence, both teachers and students joined it.

The Society has at present six full members, five members under training, and four associates.

It is open to persons of all communities and all political parties whose aims and objects are identical with those of the society.

Besides propaganda, it has done real work in Orissa and work for the backward classes among themselves as well as among the "higher" castes. It has its own organ "The People," which is one of the best English weeklies in India. It is also principal shareholder of the Punjab News papers and Press Company which own the *Bande Mataram*. This is not an exhaustive enumeration of the activities of the Society. It has deserved well of the public. And therefore, its appeal for Rs. 50,000 for Lecture and Library Hall ought to be responded to liberally and promptly.

Convocation Address at the Osmania University.

In the course of his convocation address at the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur said :

The word 'University' has been translated in Urdu as 'Jamiaa.' This little word exactly conveys the grandeur and extent of the conception of university. A real university has a dual existence or to be more explicit, it has two sides, external and internal. The external appearance of a university depends on its imposing buildings, vast libraries, well-equipped laboratories and an immense concourse of teachers and students. A university can be likened to a human body and as such it should be as proud of its external appearance as a man of his strong and well-proportioned body. There is the internal or spiritual side, which is the only real one, in the same sense as the real existence of a man is bound up with his soul. If the soul is dead or dormant, his splendid body has no real existence. The real existence of a University is the accumulative result of the joint and ceaseless efforts of the teachers and the taught.

Calcutta's Old-new Mayor.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta has been elected Mayor of Calcutta for a third term. His position gives him and his party the opportunity to do great good to the City and indirectly to the country. But for right use of this opportunity he and his party would require to knock on the head anything macking of a spoils system. Can they do it?

"White Slave Traffic."

Summaries of the first part of the report on the wicked international traffic in women and children, which has been made to the League of Nations by a special committee of experts, has appeared in the papers.

The inquiry, it is stated, was mainly concerned with the American Continent, Europe, the Near East and certain countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The inquiry has scarcely touched a large number of other countries, such as those of the Far East. The Japanese member of the Committee prepared a special report on the conditions in the Far East. Owing, however, to differences of race, religion, and custom, the problem appears in a different aspect.

The Council of the League has decided to refer the whole matter of this report to the Advisory Commission for the protection of the welfare of children and young people, which meets on the 5th April.

A similar inquiry should be made in India. One of the points to which special attention should be directed is whether the abduction of women and girls in Bengal, Sindh, etc., has any "business" organisation behind it. As this is not a political or industrial or economic matter, in which British and Indian interests may clash, the Government of India should not hesitate to ask the League's special committee of experts to visit India and help in the inquiry.

The Sad Death of a Detenu

The case of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has received great attention because of his personal distinction. But there are numerous other cases which are equally sad, if not sadder. Here is one:—

Sj. Shib Shankar Chakrabarti died at the Campbell Hospital, Calcutta, on April 17 at 5 p.m. He was arrested at Pabna under the Bengal Ordinance in October, 1925, and was interned first at Hanskhali in the district of Nadia, and subsequently in Jalpaiguri and Rangpore. In January last he was transferred to a village in Maldah, where he had an attack of paralysis. Practically no steps were taken for his medical treatment at first, but

after repeated representations, he was removed to Sambhu Nath Pundit's hospital in March 13. There he had an attack of small-pox and was transferred to the Campbell Hospital on the 14th instant. It is strange that, although he had been suffering from paralysis for some time, the police authorities did not think it worth their while to communicate the fact either to his friends or relatives and it was only four days before his demise that they informed his father about his serious illness.

His dead body was carried by the members of the Congress Karmi Sangha in a procession, with national flags flying, to the Nimtola Ghat, where the funeral ceremony was performed. His old father accompanied the procession and bore his bereavement wonderfully well.

The Condition of Two State Prisoners

The following appeared in some Calcutta Indian daily papers in the first week of April last, and has remained uncontradicted:—

State prisoners Purnananda Das Gupta and Nalini Ranjan Ray, confined in Fategarh Central Jail (U. P.), are suffering from various ailments. Both are suffering from indigestion, headache and dysentery, accompanied by pain in the abdomen. Das Gupta is, moreover, down with fever since his coming and has lost by about 10 lbs. For want of any provision of physical exercises, even that of walking, the diseases are showing daily signs of aggravation. They have been confined in a small space where they are to remain all day and night. In spite of their repeated appeals to the Superintendent for provision of physical exercises and fresh air in the Jail compound, they have been refused permission, though there are quite a number of good open spaces in the Jail area. It is said that the local officials complain that their hands are tied by an order of the Government of Bengal which says that, though provision is to be made to allow the detenus free air, games and exercises, they should never be given except with the consent of the Government of Bengal, and the consent is not forthcoming, though numerous petitions and reminders have been sent hitherto.

The passage relating to the Government of Bengal's order seems incredible. It is like passing an order that certain prisoners are to be given food and water, but not without the previous permission of the Government of Bengal, and then withholding that permission! But has anybody who may arrogate to himself the authority of the Bengal Government really passed such a stupid and inhuman order like the one quoted above?

Outrages on Women in Bengal

We have not hitherto referred to this topic in this Review. What we have to say on the subject we do in our vernacular magazine *Prabasi*. But as from what we

have heard from some distinguished visitors to Calcutta from some other provinces of India we find that they do not know some facts relating to it, we shall mention some of them.

There are very many non-Swarajist Bengalis who are quite ashamed of the state of things in Bengal. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, the process of rubbing it in is unnecessary. We cannot speak for the Swarajists. It is probable that they, too, feel like others.

We told a very distinguished visitor from Madras that real Hindu-Moslem unity in Bengal would be impossible so long as these outrages continued. To put a stop to them, all leading Moslems must openly and actively try to make them a thing of the past, and the Hindu Swarajist leaders must do likewise. Our visitor enquired whether the outrages were appreciable in number. We told him that they were very much more than that. His very question made us suspect that some Swarajists, with whom he is most in touch, must have tried to convince him that the matter was of no importance. When the late Mr. C. R. Das was asked orally by a leading office-bearer of the Women's Protection Society in Bengal to join it, he refused. Nor did he himself do anything for the protection of women from outrages. We have heard from more sources than one that Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said in the presence of Dr. Kichlew and others that the women and girls who were alleged to have been molested were all or mostly of loose character. We do not know whether he really made such a shamefully false statement. It should be presumed that he did not. But we mention his name in order that he may contradict the rumour if he did not. Up till recently the leading Swarajist organ, and probably other Swarajist organs, too, paid very little attention to the subject. These are our reasons for suggesting that the Hindu Swarajist leaders should bestir themselves to put a stop to the outrages. The *Karmi Sangha* should also do more than it has done.

Our vernacular papers, particularly the weekly *Sanjibani* and the daily *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, have shown greater earnestness, zeal and activity in this matter than the papers conducted in English. The *Sanjibani* has been publishing serially a statement, covering the period of the last five years, in which are given the names, religion and

civil condition (married, unmarried, or widowed) of the women and girls molested, the names and religion of the accused, and the result of the trial, if any. An analysis of these statements shows that only in a very few cases Hindus molested Muslim women, that some Hindus molested some Hindu women, that in the majority of cases the offenders were Muslims and the women assaulted were Hindus, that in a few cases Hindu and Muslim ruffians combined to commit the offence, that the cases of abduction or assault committed by Moslems on Moslem women are not negligible in number, and that it is not merely widows who are treated in this brutal manner, but that a considerable number of unmarried girls and girls and women with their husbands living are also victimised.

The Society which has done most to rescue abducted women and girls and bring the offenders to trial is the Women's Protection Society. Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, the fearless, active and almost blind septuagenarian editor of the *Sanjibani*, has been the honorary secretary of this Society from the start. We have had occasion to criticise his politics, because in politics we differ; but we must give him credit where credit is due. When the Society was established, Mr. S. R. Das, then Advocate General of Bengal, was elected its president. He has always taken active interest in its work and has spent money for helping it forward. With his politics also we have not much in common. An old gentleman of the name of Mr. Mahesh Chandra Atarthy goes about actively and fearlessly for propaganda and other work. Pandit Sitanath Goswami, a Vaishnav gentleman, related to the saint Vijay Krishna Goswami, is very active in the cause of women. He did most to get the accused punished in the Barada-Sundar case. There are other active workers whose names we are unable now to mention. We have learnt from the honorary secretary that the Society is always in need of money and that poor men give more freely for it work than well-to-do people. It has several branches in North and East Bengal.

There is another society, *Shishu-Sahay Matri-Mangal Samiti*, with Srimati Saral Devi as its president, which also does some work occasionally to help women and girls who are victimised.

There is a small book in Bengali, name

"Bharat-Narir Sat Sahas O Biratva," "Moral Courage and Heroism of Indian Women", which describes actual incidents in which women have defended or tried to defend themselves. It is to be had of Mr. A. C. Das, Moradpur, Patna : price five annas.

The re-marriage of Hindu girl-widows is steadily increasing in number. Comilla gives a list of ninety such marriages. Midnapur district has shown much activity. Elsewhere, too, the cause is making progress.

Moslem Origins in Different Provinces

According to the Census of India, 1921, the Muhammadans number nearly 69 millions and form about one-fifth of the population of India. More than one-third of the community were enumerated in Bengal and rather less than one-fifth in the Punjab. In each of these provinces they form over half of the population. In the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan about 90 per cent. of the population are Muhammadans, in Kashmir over three-fourths, in Sindh less than three-fourths and in Assam between one-fourth and one-third. Elsewhere the Muhammadans form only a small minority of the provincial population. "While the Muhammadans of the eastern tracts and of Madras were almost entirely descendants of converts from Hinduism, by no means a large proportion even of the Punjab are really of foreign blood, the estimate of the Punjab Superintendent being about 15 percent. The proportion advances of course as one proceeds further north-west." (*Census of India, 1921, Vol. i, part i, p. 116.*) In a recent speech, delivered in the Calcutta Albert Hall, Lala Lajpat Rai said that the large proportion of Muhammadans in Bengal showed the existence of Hindu-Moslem conflict in the province, thus proving that such a conflict was not imported into it by upcountrymen. It is true so far as his interpretation of the facts go. And in that sense there has been Hindu-Moslem conflict in the Punjab also. Considering that, according to the official estimates 85 per cent. of the Panjabi Musalmans are descendants of Hindu converts, it has perhaps to be admitted with regret by Hindus that, as in Bengal so in the Panjab, the Hindus came out second best in the conflict.

Draper has stated in one of his works that one of the means by which the number

of Musalmans increased in North Africa and some other regions was "the confiscation of women", by which is meant abduction and the like. That in India Islam gained many converts by the life and character of some of its saints, is undoubted. What proportion of converts was made by force, and what additions were due to the abduction of Hindu women and indirectly to outrages on Hindu women who were out-casted by unrighteous and shortsighted orthodoxy, it is difficult to say. But it is probable that all the processes and means of conversion have been at work, more or less, all over India, particularly in those provinces where the Moslems are in a majority.

The Turks have found, inspite of their independence and martial valor, that the oppression of women (Armenian and other) and the subjection of women do not in the long run pay. It is for the enslaved Hindus of Bengal, Sindh, the Punjab, etc., to convince the enslaved Musalmans of India that under British subjection, too, it does not pay. That it is unrighteous and inhuman is, of course, a truism. But even truisms may not be understood, realized and recognised by some people without some appropriate help.

Wanted Institutes of Journalism

Some persons connected with the University of Madras have shown that they are wideawake by making a serious proposal that arrangements should be made in connection with it to teach journalism and grant diplomas and degrees in it. As journalism is one of the most influential professions in the world and may be a most potent instrument of public good in the hands of competent men and women of high character, institutes of journalism should be founded in the principal university towns, either in connection with or independently of universities.

Democracy in some form or other has been established in many countries and it is likely to be the most widely prevalent system of government in the world. Whether that be so or not, the two most effective and quick means of influencing people are public speaking and journalism. Both the arts should, therefore, be cultivated. Those regions or provinces where they are not, are sure to occupy back seats in public life.

Sir Atul Chatterjee on the League of Nations

Among the Great Powers Great Britain exercises the greatest influence in the affairs of the League of Nations. Britishers hold most of the appointments and some of the most responsible ones in the League Secretariat and in the International Labour Office. Sir Atul Chatterjee is a paid servant of such a Power, and he has never indulged in the dangerous game of twisting the British Lion's tail or brushing its hairy coat the wrong way. He is, moreover, connected with the League's International Labour Organisation in an important capacity. When such a man criticises the League even in a very mild way, the criticism has a significance of its own. In the course of a lecture delivered by him in London on March 12 last, he is reported to have said :—

India had not lagged behind other countries in taking an interest in world problems and in co-operating whole-heartedly with other parts of the world to give effect to the decisions reached from time to time at Geneva. But there was no denying the fact that in India there was a very distinct impression amongst the leaders of public opinion and also amongst the people who took an interest in subjects outside India, that the League of Nations did not devote as much attention as they had every right to look for to questions which affected countries or parts of the world outside Europe. There was a feeling that the views and actions of the League were to a large extent coloured by European prepossessions, difficulties and problems, and he could not say that this impression was always entirely unjustified. For instance, although the health organisation of the League was doing extremely useful work, very little attention was devoted until quite recently to questions that naturally arose regarding public health in countries outside Europe. He was glad to say, however, that the delegations from India had succeeded in interesting the health organisation of the League in Eastern problems.

But why did not Sir Atul as an Indian come to the point? Instead of referring to Eastern problems in general, he ought to have pointed out what the League's health organisation had done for India. We showed recently in a long article in *Welfare* that it had done nothing for India. Recently, it has been announced that there is to be an interchange of public health officers in India. But there is nothing to show that anyone else except the Government officers of India will take part in it. When will the Government of India have the courage and the humanity to ask the League to send the best experts available to examine what the State

has done in India to extirpate or combat epidemics and generally to improve public health?

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes.

There have been some pretentious and well-advertised schemes for doing good to village people, some of which have mainly furnished opportunities to some professional patriots to pilfer public money. No wonder, then, that so beneficent and honestly conducted a society as the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes of Bengal and Assam should not be adequately known and supported. Its *sixteenth* annual report, for 1925-6, is before us. The following facts may give some idea of its work:

"On the 31st March, 1926, the Society had 406 schools in 20 districts of Bengal and Assam. Most of these schools are intended for, and are attended mainly by, the backward classes. Of the total number of children, both boys and girls, receiving tuition in these schools, viz., 16,274, the largest number, 5,588, come from the Namasudra community, and the next largest number, 2,584, from the Muhammadan community. This is a significant fact. The Muhammadan and Namasudra cultivators constitute the backbone of the village population of Bengal, especially in the Eastern districts of the province, and the Society always measures its success by the closeness of its contact with the real children of the soil. Amongst pupils from the so-called backward classes, the next in order of numerical strength are Podes (908), Muchis or Chamars (678) and Kapalis (503).

"The resources of the Society being limited, its efforts have up to the present been directed almost solely towards the spread of education among village people, and possibly for many years to come this will continue to be its main work."

But it has been recently able to extend its activities in several new directions of a more practical nature, namely, lantern lectures, public libraries, boy scouts, industrial work (sowing cotton seed, spinning, weaving), kitchen-gardening, and nursing and free medical aid.

We are concerned to learn that recently there has been a decrease in its annual income to the extent of about ten thousand rupees. We bring this fact to the notice of the generous public, with the assurance that every pie of the society's income is well and honestly spent. Donations and subscriptions are to be sent to Rai Sahib Raj Moban Das, 14 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. He will be glad to supply information sought and also copies of annual reports.

A Vice-Chancellor on Varieties of Education

Rai Bahadur Lala Moti Sagar, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, while recognising the need of technical and technological institutions, does not join in the prevalent sweeping condemnation of our existing Universities. He observes in his convocation address:—

It is high time to reconsider the entire scope of University education in India and to make it conform to the rapidly changing conditions of the country and the growing stress of competition in every path of life. There is a demand everywhere for vocational and technical education. It is true that a number of technical and technological institutions have been established in different parts of the country, but it is felt that their scope is not sufficiently comprehensive and they have not materially helped in solving the problem of the unemployment of our educated young men.

At the same time, I have no sympathy with the sweeping condemnation of our existing Universities by a certain section of our critics. Whatever the defects of our Universities, it cannot be denied for a moment that some of the greatest names in modern India stand on the rolls of Indian Universities. With no lack of famous men among the graduates of Indian Universities, it is unfair to designate them as failures.

Racial Discrimination on Indian Railways

The presidential address delivered by Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada at the seventh session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi, is replete with information of absorbing interest. Justice cannot be done to it in a brief note. We intend to turn to it again. In the meantime we shall make a brief reference to the position of Indians in the state railway service as brought to light in it.

"Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who were 11.42 per cent. among the total population of literates in the English language in India, held 75.68 per cent of the appointments [of the upper subordinate staff drawing Rs. 250 and over on the twelve state railways] in 1924 and 73.46 per cent of the appointments in 1925; whereas Muslims and non-Muslims, who were 88.57 per cent. in the same population of literates in English, had 24.32 and 26.54 per cent of those appointments, respectively, in the two years."

The details of the Gazetted Officers on 31st March, 1926, show that 73.4 percent. of them were Europeans, 14.3 Hindus, 2.7 Muslims, and 9.6 other classes. In India the minimum and maximum railway salaries are in the ratio 1:444; in Japan 1:22; in China 1:32; in Germany 1:11; in France 1:

22; in Denmark 1:5, and so on. In no country do the lower officials get such cruelly inadequate salaries and the pampered high officials such fat pay as in India.

Number of High Schools in Bengal

In his report on public instruction in Bengal for the year 1925-26 Mr. Director Oaten observes: "At the risk of being accused of being an opponent of educational expansion, one must emphasise the fact that there are too many high schools in Bengal." We do not agree. It is not that the high schools are too many; it is the primary schools which are too few. And money is required for improving both.

Mr. G. D. Birla on Indian Mercantile Marine.

In the course of the statement made to the Hon'ble Sir George Rainey, Commerce Member, Government of India, on behalf of the committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, on 13th April, Mr. G. D. Birla said:—

The Committee of the Chamber are grieved to find that no action has been taken by the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee even though three long years have elapsed since the date of the publication of their report. The Committee are still more amazed at Earl Winterton's recent statement in the House of Commons to the effect that the Government of India are opposed to the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee regarding the reservation of coastal trade to Indian Shipping. It has been urged on behalf of the Government that the reservation of the coasting trade introduces the principle of Flag discrimination. But the International Shipping Conference which represents the leading shipowners of all the important maritime countries of the world, recognised in clear terms that the principle of Flag discrimination did not affect the right of any country to reserve its coasting trade to the national bottoms. It is, therefore, difficult to appreciate the objection levelled against a proposal of reservation of coastal trade to indigenous shipping on the ground of Flag discrimination. The fact that the principle of Flag discrimination is not applicable to the coasting trade of a country is further recognised by a recent treaty reported between Great Britain and Greece, admitting the right of Greece to reserve her coasting trade.

As a sharp contrast, as it were, to the dilatoriness on the part of the Government in encouraging water transport as above, we have of late witnessed the expedition with which the Government have taken steps in regard to the Road Transport problem, and the Committee of the Chamber see no

reason why a subject of such supreme national importance like this should be thus unnecessarily shelved any longer.

Mr. Birla's contention is unanswerable.

Girls' Education in Bengal

Hindus in Bengal think that they are more progressive and enlightened than Musalmans. We are not going to examine this claim in all spheres of life. But so far as the education of girls and women, particularly in the elementary stage, is concerned, the following figures do not support the Hindu claim:—

On the 31st of March, 1926, the number of girls at school in Bengal were 332,099. Of this total 137,050 were Hindus and 187,977 Muhammadans; the rest came from other communities. The Muhammadan pupils outnumbered the Hindu by 50,927. Unrecognised schools for girls, which numbered 254 during the year under review, had an enrolment of 6,588 pupils—2,876 being Hindus, 3,412 Muhammadans and 300 belonging to other communities. The number of Muhammadan pupils increased by $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent; that of the Hindu pupils by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Hindu parents and guardians are evidently not doing their duty to their daughters and girl wards properly.

Roumania, etc., and exchanges have been organised between the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in London and institutions at Athens, Dornat, Vienna, etc.

The general organisation of intellectual life has been promoted by the formation of a number of national committees for intellectual co-operation working closely in touch with the International Committee, and twenty are now in existence.

We are not aware that any enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in India has been made by the League, or any monograph on India published. India's intellectual life has been affected through economic conditions brought about by British rule. But the League has not brought assistance to India. India needs books more than any Western countries. So it is a cruel joke that whilst books were sent from India, none have been sent to India. Phenomenally illiterate as India is, she requires scholarships more than Austria or any European country; and she pays the League much more than Austria, much more in fact than any European country except Britain, France, Italy and, recently, Germany. But India has not been given any scholarships. Publications, too, of all descriptions India requires more than the Polish Academy and the other institutions named, but none have been given to her. No exchange has been organised with any department and institution in India. And, lastly, no national committee has been formed in India.

League of Nations "Intellectual Co-operation"

A pamphlet published by the Information Section of the League of Nations states:—

A careful choice of work has been necessary within the limited funds of the Committee. One of its first steps was the institution of a general enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in different countries, and a series of monographs has been issued on the subject. Efforts were made to bring assistance to those nations whose intellectual life was specially affected through economic conditions; suggestions were made to universities, academies, and learned societies throughout the world to organise the exchange of books and scientific instruments, and a large number of institutions responded. Books were sent from America, England, India, etc., to those in need of them, and gifts made by the Japanese universities made it possible to award two scholarships to Austrian students. Certain publications have been obtained for the Polish Academy, the Budapest Observatory, the School of Mines at Sopron, the universities in

The Mandate System

The following information is supplied by the League of Nations pamphlet on mandates about the different classes of mandates:—

1. *The "A" Mandates*—This type of Mandate is applied to certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire (Mesopotamia, Syria (1), and Palestine), which have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be "provisionally recognised", subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until they are able to stand alone. At present they are allowed a

(1) The word "Syria" is used throughout this pamphlet to designate the whole of the country under French mandate in the Near East (Syria and the Lebanon). These mandated territories comprise the "States" of Aleppo, Damascus, Alaouites, Djebel Druze and Lebanon, of which the four first-mentioned are now combined in the "Federation of Syrian States".

certain measure of self-government while at the same time obliged to accept the "assistance" given to them by the Mandatory, in the selection of which the wishes of the peoples must be the principal consideration.

2. *The "B" Mandates.*—For the territories in this category (comprising the Cameroons, Togoland, and former German East Africa) it is recognised that *self-government would be impossible* and that the Mandatory must be responsible for their administration. This administration must, however, be carried out for the benefit of the native communities and with due respect for the interests of the other Members of the League of Nations. Article 22 imposes certain conditions which must be fulfilled by the Mandatory. Freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are to be guaranteed; abuses such as the slave trade, arms traffic, and the liquor traffic are to be prohibited. The establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory, are to be prevented; equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League are to be secured.

3. *The "C" Mandates.*—The third group of territories (South-West Africa and the former German possessions in the Pacific) are to be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the same safeguards as apply to the "B" Mandates in the interests of the indigenous population. The distinction in the method of administration is made (in accordance with the Covenant) on account of the sparseness of the population or their small numbers, their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, or other circumstances.

All the world, except the mandatories, know how the existence of Syria, for instance, as an independent nation has been recognised, and how "administrative advice and assistance" were showered on the Syrians from aeroplanes and machine guns, etc., in the shape of bombs, bullets and shells!

Negro slaves and their descendants have produced in America distinguished men in all walks of life, though they did not get full facilities for education, and they enjoy the franchise, too. In South Africa, in some regions the natives have some kinds of franchise. These facts are enough to show that it is the height of racial arrogance and impertinence to assume and assert that "self-government would be impossible" in any particulars regions in Africa.

If the "C" mandates are to be administered by a mandatory "as integral portions of its territory," why use the word mandate at all? Why not use the brutally frank but honest word "conquest?"

If the "B" and "C" class mandates are to be administered for the benefit of the native inhabitants of the territories, the League ought to lay it down as one of the obligatory conditions that agricultural and industrial schools, along with those for general elementary education, must be established and maintained in every village and town of the mandated territories.

Indians and the Air Force.

Replying to a question from Mr. George Lansbury, Earl Winterton said in the British house of commons that Indians were not recruited for the commissioned ranks of the Royal Artillery or the Royal Air force, wherever serving. What more just and natural? Here is free and compulsory universal education in *ahimsa*!

Professor Radhakrishnan's Presidential Address

Professor S. Radhakrishnan's address as president of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association has deservedly received attention all over India. His criticism of the educational policy of the Government cannot be called unfair. Says he :—

"The educational policy of the Government has been restricted in aim and scope. While it has succeeded in training men into efficient but docile tools of an external authority, it has not helped them to become self-respecting citizens of a free nation. Love of one's native land is the basis of all progress. This principle is recognised in all countries. But in our unfortunate country it is the other way. A conquered race feels its heart sink. It loses hope, courage and confidence. Our political subjection carries with it the suggestion that we cannot consider ourselves the equals of free nations. Indian history is taught to impress on us the one lesson that "India has failed." The worst form of bondage is that of despair and dejection, which creeps on defeated peoples, breeding in them loss of faith in themselves. The aim of true education should be to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect, in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. If we lose our wealth and resources, we may recover them to-morrow, if not to-day; but if we lose our national consciousness, there is no hope for us. The dead cannot be raised but the poor can."

The difficulty of developing the idea of nationhood in the vast population of India, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is great; but it is not impossible. It has not been tried. The American schools are highly successful in Americanising heterogeneous European elements that flock into the United States year after year. There is no reason why we should not succeed in this task, if our schools and colleges focus the emotions of our youth on the national ideal, if they imbue our young men with a fixed determination to be content with nothing less than control over their own destinies and a burning passion to remove the conditions which prevent the realisation of this ideal. They must sternly silence all sectional tendencies and foster opportunities for developing the sense of unity and feeling that we are all parts of a whole destined to swim or sink together. When we are all voyaging in one vessel, we cannot hope to keep afloat or win through to port, if there be mutiny aboard or if one man's hand is turned against another's. Communal warfare is another name for national suicide.

His complaint that state support for scientific studies is meagre is true. Nor can it be said that, with a few exceptions, our rich men have given liberally for such studies. Yet, it cannot be denied that

Science was not neglected in the vigorous days of India. India was not backward in mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine and the branches of physical knowledge practised in ancient times. The scientific achievements came to a halt somewhere about the thirteenth century. In recent years we have recovered much lost ground, thanks to the workers of the University College of Science among others. May I, in this connection, offer our felicitations to Dr. Meghnad Saha who has been recommended by the President and the Executive Council of the Royal Society for admission to its Fellowship? That the Royal Society should have bestowed its highest award on Indian scientists means that in the making of new scientific knowledge the work of our men is deemed worthy of respect even by critics who are not ordinarily prone to enthusiasm for Indian talent. While much of the work that is being done in our University is of a high order, the general level is low and the State support for scientific studies is by no means generous.

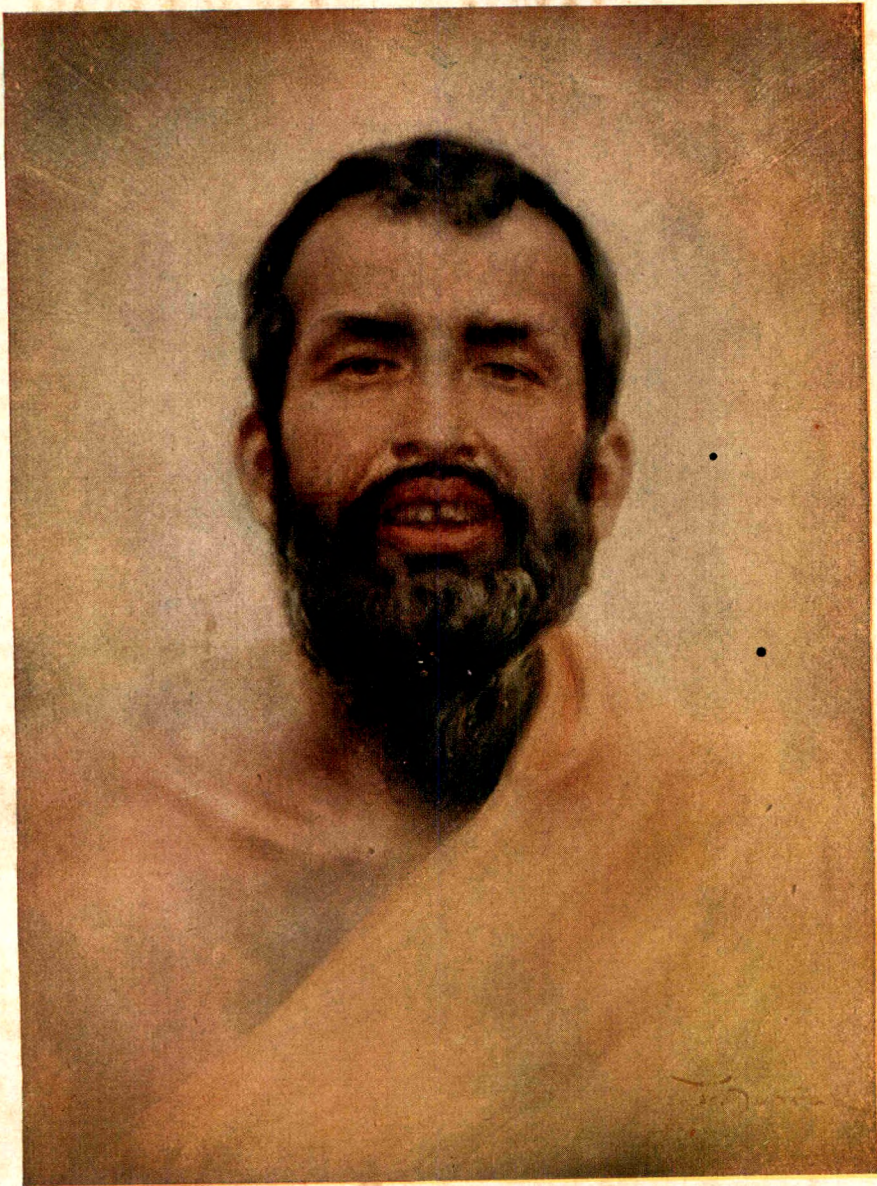
We are pleased that Prof. Radhakrishnan has declared himself in favour of University

reform. We do not make a grievance of it that his reforming zeal should have manifested itself now, instead of about half a dozen years ago. Philosophers have as much right to be prudent as other people.

On this subject, he is not in favour of slavishly following the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Says he:

While a great and progressive University should be in active touch with the life of the nation, we have to remember that it exists primarily for the advancement of learning and research. It should therefore consist of a decided majority of academic representatives. They will be quite competent to deal with administrative questions. The idea that academic men are not suited for administrative work is peculiar to our country. So far as I know the Universities of Great Britain and America are controlled by academic men; I am afraid that the Court, if constituted so as to include every important element of the public opinion of the areas which the University serves, will become a ceremonial body where discussions will be of an unpractical character. While the Senate should include a few representatives of the public at large, it should not be degraded into a durbar. Even in the present Senate, there are some gentlemen for whom university fellowship is a mark of distinction and recognition of public importance. They do not trouble themselves about academic affairs but attend annual meetings to favour a friend or resist a rival. As a corporation of learning, the University should be under the authoritative direction of experts.

Prof. Radhakrishnan has put his case in as cogent a way as he could. What he has said of the claims of academic men is theoretically quite true. It is also true that the Senate should not be degraded into a durbar. We hope, therefore, that he will suggest some means by which academic men like those members of the Calcutta postgraduate departments who on a recent occasion converted the Howrah station platform into a durbar hall may be excluded from his proposed senate. And is it the special failing of non-academic men alone to attend meetings "to favour friend or resist a rival"?



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CHINESE NATIONALISM AND FOREIGNERS

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

IN that outer fringe of the Chinese Republic which alone is China to most foreigners, there are just two general topics of conversation. One of them is "Trade." The other is "Bolshevism." Each is pronounced as if it were spelled with a capital initial letter--"Trade" because it is the god of gods--and "Bolshevism" because it is the devil of devils.

When foreigners in China are tired of singing the praises of trade, they being, just by way of obtaining a little diversion, to chant a dirge bewailing the menace of bolshevism to trade. While engaged in that occupation they drink much whisky or gin and smoke many cigarettes and cigars.

The Briton amiably shuts his ears to the American's habit of talking through his nose and using language which, while it sounds English, is not quite the King's English. The American forgets, for the nonce, the "fool laws" of his country that prohibit liquor and the "fool government" at Washington, D. C., which abased him in the Englishman's sight by refusing to send troops to Shanghai when the call went forth for them from the American Chamber of Commerce in that the "Queen City of the East." The two fraternize convivially and raise their voices conjointly, whether they be blessing trade or cursing bolshevism.

II

American trade with China is small compared with that of the British. Oil is sent in large quantities to China from the

United States of America. Both the volume and value of exports of motor cars, machinery, hardware, piece goods and other manufactures had considerably expanded, especially since Britain went to war with Germany. Nevertheless American exports to China do not constitute a formidable array. Silks, oil-beans and other raw products, and curios, imported from China into the United States too, do not, in the aggregate, bulk very large.

American trade with China has, moreover, not had to bear the shock of the strikes and boycotts so astutely and persistently directed by the Chinese Nationalists against the British. At one time there was a strong disposition among Britons in the Far East and at "home" to minimize the harm done by such attacks upon their interests. Lately, however, that tendency has disappeared. The losses suffered by the exporting industries in the British Isles and their representatives and agents in China were no doubt much too heavy to be hidden.

Emphasis laid upon losses was, moreover, good propaganda. Only by such means could a people who so recently had passed through a long period of ruinous industrial strife be persuaded to yield even a passive consent to the despatch of large "Defence Forces," which, in certain contingencies, would entail heavy cost, unless, by some means, the Chinese could be saddled with the bill.

Until comparatively, recently, when fighting became hot in the Yangtse Valley and almost all foreigners were compelled to leave their posts, such American trade as the Americans carried on in China experienced little disturbance. But though American

losses even now have no effect, so to speak, upon American industry which, in the last analysis, still depends almost entirely upon the home market, certain powerful individuals and trusts have been more or less seriously hit, and they have set up a howl that is heard all over the "sweet land of liberty." I can speak of it from personal experience.

III

The American, being a full-blooded person, is vigorously castigating the Chinese who are unable to maintain conditions which would make it possible for foreigners to trade with them. One American with whom I fell into conversation in the Far East occupied important position under one of the "trusts" interested in the extension of American trade in the Orient. He was particularly vehement in his denunciation of Chinese incapacity and corruption.

"Why," this man declared, "if the Chinese cannot restore peace in their country, some one else will have to step in and do it for them. The world cannot sit back with folded hands and see its trade destroyed in a land with 400,000,000 to 500,000,000 potential buyers. The world cannot afford to be shut out of so large—so important—a market.

"Besides, the world cannot get along without Chinese products. It needs Chinese silks, vegetable oils, antimony, and other articles that China supplies. It *cannot*, indeed, do without them.

"And there is only one way in which the world can pay for what it buys from China—it must pay in goods. People ignorant of what goes on in the commercial world think that large quantities of precious metals are constantly being shipped from country to country. What actually happens is, however, that goods are generally paid for with goods—imports with exports. It is a case of barter, just as it was in the days when the world was young. Only our way of effecting the exchange is different from that of our ancestors.

"In any case, there must be an absolutely unfettered flow of imports into China and exports out of that country—an unfettered exchange of commodities between the Chinese and other nations. The Chinese trade is essential to the world. The world cannot get along without it. It simply won't get along without it.

"The Chinese have got to mend their ways. They have got to restore order, without which trade cannot flourish. They have got to stop interfering with trade.

"If the Chinese will not behave—or if they are incapable of maintaining peace in their country—well, the world will have to accept that situation and deal with it on that basis. The world is not going to put up with all this nonsense of nationalism and other rot talked by Chinese schoolboys while its trade is being ruined. No Sir-ree."

"Trade is the god you worship, Mr. American," I cut into his argument, my patience entirely exhausted. "Nothing else matters to you and your kind so long as you can sell China your oil or tobacco or whatever you have to sell her. The rights of a people are nothing to you if they happen to be people you are bent upon exploiting.

"If the shoe were on the other foot, however, you would be the first to cry out. What would have happened if, during the years when your U-N-I-T-E-D. States was rent by civil strife, some European nation or other had talked about you as you have been talking to me about China? What would you have thought and done if, during the Civil War, Europeans had said that since Americans were suffering from fratricidal mania, and foreign trade (except the traffic in arms) was virtually paralyzed while they were butchering one another, Europe must step in and make the Americans behave? How would your people have liked that?"

That man was by no means *sui generis* in the Far East. Nor did he talk thus merely because he was an American and the worship of Mammon was in his blood. Had that been the case I would not have quoted him. I have taken the trouble to reproduce his argument as nearly in his own language as I could because his view is the one that prevails among foreigners of Anglo-Saxon descent in the Far East.

These foreigners are in China to make money. Anything that interferes in the slightest degree with that noble aim, they insist, must give way, no matter what the nature of the obstruction may be. The soul of a people may perish, but they will not suffer any diminution of their income, not if they can help it.

It maddens these worshippers of the golden calf that events in China are playing havoc with their trade despite all the hue

and cry that they have raised, and even despite the fact that their countries have yielded—the United States of America most unwillingly—to their entreaties, protests and threats, and piled up armed forces in Chinese waters and on Chinese soil, avowedly for the purpose of protecting their interests. Worse still, every indication strengthens the fear that matters may not mend for years, and then not all at once. So the losses that they are suffering are likely to continue, at least for a time, unless, of course, the Chinese may be made to “behave” by the civilised world. That is what they think—and say.

I did not see, on the part of any British or American traders whom I met in the Far East on my way from North America, where I spent the last summer and winter, to Ceylon where I am writing this article, the slightest disposition to surrender the special privileges which they enjoy in China. I was, on the contrary, strongly impressed with their determination to evade, and, if necessary, to resist the Chinese Nationalist attempts to secure the abrogation of the “unequal treaties” that permit them to enjoy those rights.

IV •

Even the most cursory examination of the advantages that foreigners engaged in gainful occupations in China derive through these treaties shows why they cling to them so tenaciously.

Before making such an examination, however, let us first be clear as to who the “foreigners” in China are. They are not Germans, nor Austrians: for towards the end of the Great War the Chinese were persuaded by some of the Allied nations to join them and, in consequence, the Germans and Austrians lost their special privileges and concessions there. They do not mean Russians, either, for the Russians came out of that titanic struggle with a different government than they had when they went into it, and the new regime, for the sinister purposes it has in view (so, at least, it is said), is supporting the Chinese Nationalists’ demands. The Belgians, also, must be excepted from the list: for the Peking Government despite all the powerlessness that is attributed to it, recently cancelled, of its own motion all the special privileges that they enjoyed in China: and though they fumed and fretted for a time, they, in the end, decided to

accept the situation with such grace as they could command.

These exceptions reduce the list of foreigners to the British, French, Italians, Americans, and Japanese. The French have been saying little but “sitting tight.” The Italians have only been an echo of the British. The Japanese, too, have not been as active as they were a quarter of a century ago, at the time of the Boxer trouble, but their attitude is “what-we-have-we-keep.” Almost all the talking has been done by the British and Americans—the British at “home” backing their people in the Far East, and the Americans in the United States trying to pursue a conciliatory—even friendly—policy towards Chinese Nationalists, while the Americans in China are openly hostile towards them.

Using the term “foreigners” in this restricted sense, let us examine the position. Legally they are able to do as they please, without regard to the Chinese laws or customs, wherever the Chinese will permit them to do so. Under the “unequal treaties” they are not amenable to the Chinese legal code or to the Chinese courts.

The foreigners are further able to evade the payment of local and excise taxes. Their banks can issue notes on their own authority without seeking the sanction of or submitting to any supervision from the Chinese and if they fail, such notes are worthless, so far as the Chinese holders are concerned for they have no redress for their wrongs when in conflict with a foreign institution. In the same way the foreign insurance companies carry on their business without being subjected to any Chinese control.

Foreigners—individuals and corporations alike—carry on trade in China upon their own terms. The Chinese authorities for decades have been shorn of the power to levy more than a merely nominal duty on exports and imports—that is to say, they lack to-day, as ever, tariff autonomy. They were even deprived of control over customs until a few months ago, when they took the law into their own hands and dismissed the Briton in charge of that service for refusal to carry out certain orders, salt gabelle and certain railways are also outside Chinese control.

V

The Chinese are bent upon shearing the foreigners of these special privileges for

reasons that should be patent to any one. Five of them deserve special attention.

Firstly, foreign encroachment upon Chinese territoriality and sovereignty injures Chinese pride—Chinese national susceptibilities. It lowers the entire people in the eyes of the world. So long as they were an unconscious inert mass, they did not feel the humiliation of their position. Now, however, that their sense of self-respect has become quickened, they are deeply stung, and are determined to put an end to every national indignity to which they are being subjected.

Secondly, the enjoyment of special privileges by foreigners in China inflicts material harm upon the Chinese nation. They lose money through the ability of the foreigners (and even the Chinese residing in the foreign settlements), successfully to evade the payment of local and excise taxation. They suffer financially through being deprived of tariff autonomy, which makes it impossible for them to utilize to the fullest extent a very important source of revenue, of which it stands in sore need.

Thirdly, China is adversely affected industrially because of the helpless position in which she has been placed in respect of tariff autonomy. That Government cannot use the tariff as an instrument to safeguard the indigenous industries from foreign competition. Nor can it even place an embargo upon raw materials which it might wish to conserve for exploitation at home, either now or hereafter.

Fourthly, the abridgement of sovereignty in this matter affects the Chinese morally. The Chinese authorities lack the power to keep out of the country products which they consider harmful to their people.

Fifthly, and perhaps most important of all, the special privileges which the foreigner in China enjoy lower the Chinese Government in the estimation of the Chinese. How could they have high regard for the men in power over them when, every day of their lives, they see thousands of foreigners living within integral parts of their land, snapping their fingers in the faces of those very men, and doing so with impunity? A Government which is impotent to compel obedience to its laws from men, women and children, of other lands cannot expect to inspire awe in its own people.

Under the Manchus the case was different. They were autocrats, and did not hesitate to use their absolute power to enforce their will.

Now, however, the Chinese are trying to carry on their administration upon representative lines, and they cannot very well employ high-handed methods. If, however, they cannot command the respect of the foreigners, how can they hope to be respected by the electors? Duality of standards inevitably results in the sapping of those moral qualities upon which, in the last resort the stability of any government rests.

For these reasons, particularly the last, Chinese attach the greatest importance to ending the regime which enables the foreigners to live and to trade in China without being under Chinese jurisdiction and which makes it possible for them to treat portions of China as if they were not Chinese soil. They know that until they have succeeded in that object they will not be able to have a government which will be respected abroad—much less at home.

The Chinese suspect and not without reason—that internecine warfare in China is stimulated (though not created) by certain foreigners who fear that a strong, united Chinese Government will not permit them to flout it with impunity. That suspicion acts as an additional incentive to continue the struggle until every foreigner in China has been stripped of every vestige of special privilege.

VI

I found one type of foreign trader in China ready to admit the justice of the Chinese demands. He even expressed his willingness to surrender his special rights and privileges. He, however, laid down conditions which, in effect, insured to him the continued enjoyment of such privileges for many years—possibly decades—to come. Let the Chinese Nationalists first set their house in order, he said, and then they would have no difficulty in getting the foreigners to give up the protection for their lives and interests that, through their own efforts and at their own expense, they had slowly built up during a lengthy series of years.

Whenever I pressed a trader of this type to explain just what he meant, he first insisted upon the banishment of the civil strife existing in China. It should be made to disappear at least to a point where it would not interfere with foreign trade, he declared. Next, he would demand the re-

writing of all the Chinese legal codes so that the laws in force in the country would be acceptable to foreigners. He would then stipulate the establishment of systems of police and judiciary that would be fearless and incorruptible. Even when China had reformed in these matters to his entire satisfaction, he appeared to feel, if he did not say so outright, that at least during the period of transition the foreigners must reserve to themselves some sort of hold over the municipal finances of the present concessions, as also over the municipal services in those areas, lest administrative inefficiency might be lowered and sanitary conditions might, in consequence, degenerate and beauty spots might be destroyed.

I found another type of foreign trader in China to be much more frank in the expression of his views. He openly declared that the Chinese had no claim to the concessions, because those concessions had been created by foreign initiative and at the expenditure of a vast amount of foreign energy and money.

Let me summarize a conversation that I had with a British businessman on this subject. We were talking, at the moment, about Hongkong. That island, he declared, was the most uninviting piece of bare rock imaginable when the British first took hold of it. They had pushed back the sea, "made" land, and built upon it handsome structures which gave to the place a beautiful sea-front. They had torn down hills to obtain sites for office buildings and residences; provided a net-work of roads and communications; and insured an adequate supply of the finest drinking water. They had, in fact, created a veritable paradise on earth—something the Chinese could not have done in a thousand years.

Across the Bay the British had, this man went on, built extensive docks and substantial structures in Kowloon—the British territory on the Chinese mainland. "As you must have seen for yourself," he said, "immense improvements have been made since you first visited Kowloon, in 1905."

"It is true," admitted this British trader, "that the Bay constitutes one of the finest natural harbours in the world, that it lies on one of the busiest ocean-ways, and gives British merchants, bankers, brokers and shippers an unique opportunity to make money, and their Navy an equally unique opportunity to protect British commerce. It is also true

that regarding the possession of places the British are in an exceedingly favourable position to market their wares in southern and south-eastern China, and for taking, in return, the products of those regions."

"But," the man continued, "the British have not kept the Chinese, or the traders of any other nation, out of Hongkong: Anybody and everybody is welcome there. They have even created institutions to which the Chinese from other parts of China come for higher education. They have given such security to life and property that the British Colony is considered by wealthy Chinese to be a very desirable place to live in—there they are secure against the exactions and corruption of their own people."

In any case, Hongkong and Kowloon, as they exist to-day, the British trader declared, were what the British had made them—and they were theirs by right divine. In making that statement he merely reflected the sentiments of the entire British community in that Colony.

A foreigner from Shanghai spoke to me in much the same vein about that place. The Shanghai for which the Chinese were hankering was not the Shanghai that they gave away in the first place, he declared. At the time the concession was made it was nothing but a sodden marsh, infested with malaria and deadly even to the "natives," who chuckled at the "gift" they were making, and considered that the foreigners were fools to accept it. The foreigners, however, were not so crazy as the Chinese took them to be. They had called the science of engineering and the science of medicine to their aid, pushed the river back, and erected buildings upon the land that they reclaimed. They had beautified the place by creating the bund and the parks, and had built theatres, moving-picture palaces, clubs and golf courses that ranked among the finest in the world.

No sooner had the foreigners metamorphosed the fever-infested swamp into the greatest metropolis in the Far East, the trader continued, than the Chinese came along and, seeing that it was valuable and beautiful, cast covetous eyes upon it. As soon as they could get up the "nerve" to do so, they demanded that it be returned to them.

What, the foreigner from Shanghai wished to know, did they expect to receive? The marsh which they had originally ceded, with their tongues in their cheeks? Or the

extensive, beautiful, healthy city, with all its handsome buildings and every conceivable amenity to maintain civilized life? Well—they had no claim to that modern city. They had no right to it. It would never be given to them so long as he and fellows like him who thought the same way could help it. They would ruin it in no time if they succeeded in laying their hands on it.

VII

Talks with foreign traders in China convinced me that they wished to use Shanghai as the last ditch in which to fight the Chinese Nationalists. Its accessibility to the sea, they declared, made the situation ideal from the strategic point of view. Hankow was too far up the river to enable them to make of it a suitable base for operations.

It seemed to me that these persons, indeed, cherished the belief that the "anti-foreign tendencies" of the Chinese would disappear as if by magic if all the Treaty Powers could only sink their differences and show a united front to them. Fighting would be hardly necessary, they imagined.

As an American put it to me: if all the Powers with interests in China would only unite in flourishing the "big stick" the Chinese—Northerners and Southerners alike—would soon come to their senses and "behave." They would never dare to resist the united will of the whole "civilized" world. If they did, and it came to a "show-down," he declared, the matter would quickly be settled, for the Chinese soldier, underneath his skin, is first and last a cowardly coolie. One soldier from the United States—one English Tommy would easily be able to account for a hundred Chinese, all by himself.

Supposing that by a mere flourish of the "big stick," the foreigners were able to make the Chinese "behave," I asked this man, when would the foreigners be able to lay down the "big stick."

The American trader had the merit of being honest. He frankly admitted that he could not visualize a time when, even if the Treaty Powers were able to force their trade upon the Chinese at the point of the bayonet, they would be able to withdraw their forces from China. It was inconceivable to him that the time would ever come when the foreign nations could trust their people and their property to the tender mercies

of the Chinese police and the Chinese courts. "These Chinese are all so utterly inefficient—so rottenly corrupt!" he said, by way of concluding his case.

VIII

The case was not quite completed though. The American trader, after a moment's pause, went on:

"These Chinese would be easy enough to deal with if those D—D Bolsheviks would only leave them alone. But they won't. The 'reds' are constantly egging them on—training their armies—buying up their 'generals' and 'statesmen' with their cursed gold."

I do not remember a single talk that I had with any British or British Colonial or American in the Far East which did not end upon some such note as this. The foreign traders in China have succeeded in convincing themselves that all their troubles are due, ultimately and indirectly—if not primarily and directly—to the influence of the Bolsheviks who have found haven in the land. To be sure they blame the fratricidal struggle in which the Chinese are engaged—but they are certain that their trade could be—as, in fact, it was being—carried on despite that struggle until the Russians appeared on the scene and mesmerized the Chinese into playing the Soviet game. Since then affairs, so far as foreign trade is concerned, have been going from bad to worse.

The British in China, particularly, have bolshevism on the brain. The Soviet, they declare, is out to destroy the British Empire and is using the Cantonese as its tools using them only too efficiently.

The British are not altogether on the wrong scent in this matter. There is no love lost between them and the Soviet. Churchill and others have tried in every way short of an open fight to destroy the "reds," and the "reds" in their turn, appear to be using all their resources to do all the damage they can to the British Empire.

The Bolsheviks have certainly managed to convince many Chinese that that they are their true friends. They have done so by showing their sympathy for Chinese Nationalism in more than mere words. I have heard statements from Chinese which showed a pathetic spirit of dependence upon the Russians.

Certain young Chinese have also become

enamoured of the bolshevist doctrines. They talk as if the Soviet social and political philosophy were the only gospel worthy of acceptance.

That, however, is as far as any truthful investigator of conditions in China can go. Bolshevism has really affected only a small proportion of the Chinese. It has, on the other hand, inspired fear in the propertied classes in the South as well as in the North, and through that fear has raised powerful enemies.

I did not see any disposition upon the part of any Chinese, whether he was known to be kindly disposed towards the "reds" or was their avowed enemy, to deliver China to the Russians, or to substitute Soviet control over their country in place of the control which other European Powers, together with the United States and Japan, now exercise over Chinese tariffs and over other Chinese affairs. No. Nationalism constitutes the spring of the Chinese Nationalists, life and action—and not pro-Sovietism.

Foreigners in the Far East are, however, incapable of looking beneath the surface.

Talk among them, as I wrote at the beginning of this article, centres round "Trade" and "Bolshevism," and they find it impossible to realize that the China which was content to lay supine under their heel has gone, and that if they intend to continue to trade with that country they will have to trade upon a basis of equality. While recently in Washington, D. C. I gathered the impression that the men in power there (who received me so kindly) had caught a glimmer of that truth. The statesmen at Britain's helm, however keep issuing statements which, in a polished form, echo the sentiments expressed by those British traders in China who declare their readiness to surrender their special privileges, but propose conditions which, in effect, would enable them to continue to enjoy them, under a different name and form.

And the struggle between the Chinese and the foreigners in China lengthens, and becomes menacing as it lengthens in the shadow of armaments piled up by Europe, America and Japan in Chinese waters and on Chinese soil.

SARADAMANI DEVI

(Translated by a follower of Ramakrishna Paramahansa from a Bengali article)

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Hindu scriptures praise both householders and monks; and they justly hold that the life of the householders is the basis of the other orders of life. It is not that either all monks or all householders should be praised or blamed. It is the God-given powers and tendencies of the mind that determine the kind of life God wants a man to lead and the works He wills him to accomplish. One's satisfaction or dissatisfaction arises from the consideration whether he is living up or not to the ideal of the life he has chosen for himself. We cannot judge a man's worth or success by the mere name or form of his life or the relative superiority of the life of the house-

holder or the monk without reference to the individuals that live those lives.

It is generally found that the Sannyasins are either not married at all, or if married, they sever all relations with their wives, renounce them and leave their homes. Paramahansa Ramakrishna was a Sannyasin, but he married at the age of twenty-four. His marriage did not take place when he had not arrived at the age of discretion or against his will. In fact it had his full approval, and it is recorded in his life that the choice of his bride was made under his own guidance. It is true that he did not live with her like an ordinary householder and in any physical relations; but neither

did he forsake her, but rather kept her near him and made her his true help-mate by affectionate instructions and personal example. This is one of the specialities of Ramakrishna's life.

But Ramakrishna alone was not unique. His wife Saradamani Devi also shared this quality. May be that Ramakrishna himself taught and trained her, but the pupil also must have had the capacity to assimilate and avail herself of the teaching. All pupils of the same teacher do not turn out good and wise; we cannot make as fine ornaments of a lump of clay as of gold.

One is, therefore, naturally interested to know the details of Saradamani's life. Unfortunately no biography of her is available, and one has to be contented with the fragments of information that lie scattered about the life-story of Ramakrishna. We earnestly request that some of the disciples of Ramakrishna and Saradamani should record the life and teachings of this great woman. It may be that several records will be required. But there should be one among them which will be a simple and unvarnished narration of her life and sayings without any attempt at interpretation, comment or criticism. Such a biography of Ramakrishna also is greatly wanted. Our plea is that those also who are not their intimate followers should be afforded the opportunity of understanding them in their own way. The followers themselves may have another kind of biography.

The lay name of Ramakrishna was Gadadhar. "His affectionate mother and elder brother decided to have him married to a suitable bride, hoping to cure him thereby of his extreme indifference to the world and constant mental unsettlement." "They held their council in secret; for they feared, that if Gadadhar came to know of their decision, he was sure to protest against it. But the intelligent Gadadhar found it out in no time. He did not however raise any objection. He rather took it as great fun, like a child enjoying a festival."

Messengers were sent about to find a suitable bride, but they returned disappointed. It was then that Gadadhar suggested the daughter of Ramchandra Mukherji of Jayrambati in the Bankura District. His mother and brother sent a man to enquire, who brought

hopeful news, and soon all negotiations were over.

Accordingly in the latter part of the month of Baisakh of the Bengali year 1266, Gadadhar duly married the five-year-old daughter of Ramchandra Mukherji. A dowry of three hundred rupees had to be given to the bride's father. Gadadhar had by then completed his twenty-third year and stepped into the twenty-fourth.

Gadadhar's mother Chandra Devi, "had borrowed some ornaments from her rich neighbours, the Lahas, to adorn the bride on the wedding day in order to please the bride's people and maintain the family dignity. It may be well imagined, therefore, that she felt her poverty very keenly when she had to return them after a few days to their owners. From the very day of the marriage, she had felt a great love for her daughter-in-law. The thought of snatching the jewels from the girl's person filled her eyes with tears. She did not speak out her agony, but Gadadhar felt it intuitively. He consoled his mother and cleverly removed the ornaments from the person of his wife while she was sleeping. But when she woke up, she cried out, 'Where are my ornaments gone?' Chandra Devi took her in her lap and said: "Gadadhar will give you much better ornaments afterwards."

These words were fulfilled to the very letter, though not in the sense in which they were used.

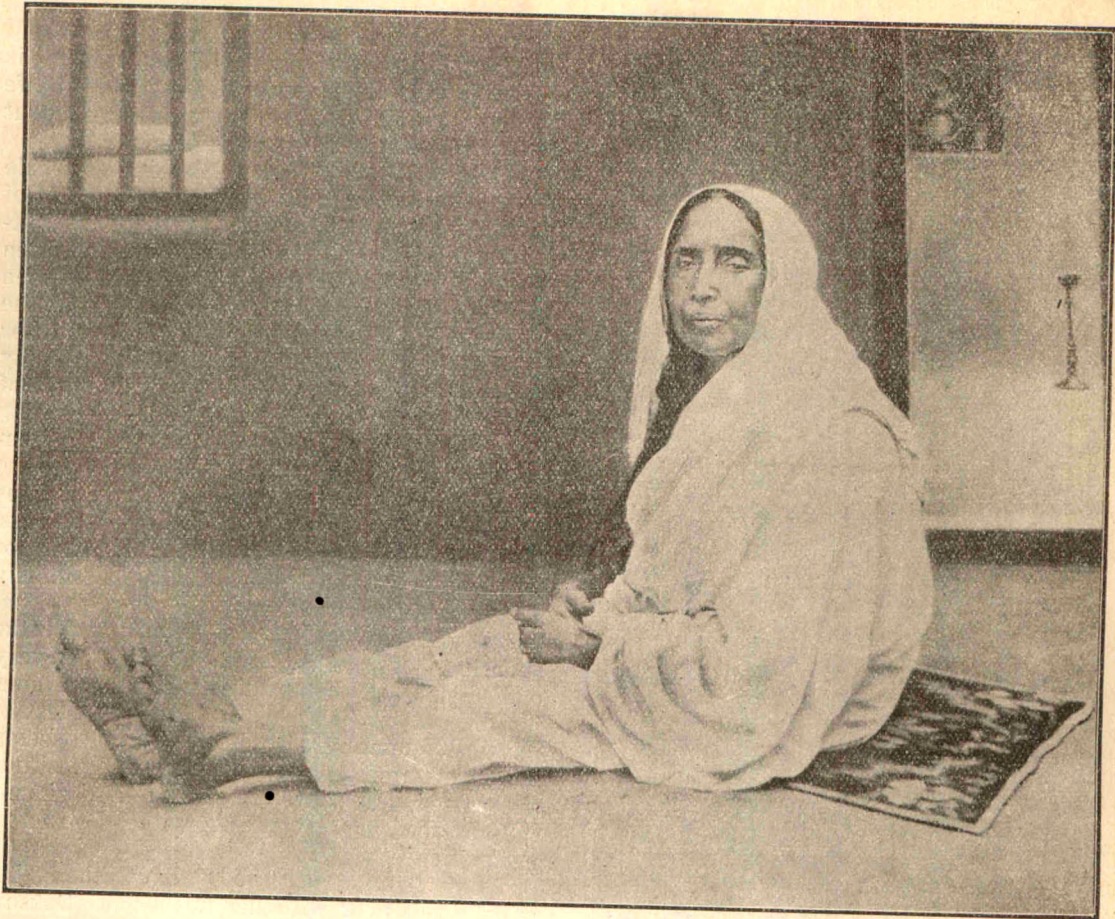
"This episode however, did not end there. The bride's uncle who happened to arrive there on that day, came to know of it and took away his niece in great dissatisfaction. Chandra Devi was naturally very much cast down at this unhappy turn. But Gadadhar consoled her with the remark that in spite of all that they might say or do, the marriage was a settled fact and could not be undone."

In the month of Agrabhayan of 1267 when Saradamani reached the seventh year, she came with Gadadhar to his house at Kamarpukur, which was four miles distant from her parental home.

After that Ramakrishna was absent from Kamarpukur for many years. He returned there in the year 1274 with the Brahmin woman who had assisted him in his spiritual practices, and his nephew, Hriday.

His return after many years filled the humble household with great delight, and the ladies of the family sent for the bride to realise the complete measure of happiness.

* All passages in this article which are within marks of quotation are taken from the Bengali book named *Ramakrishna-lila-prasanga*



Saradamani Devi

Saradamani had seen her husband but once after the marriage, when she was in her seventh year. Her only memory of the occasion was that her husband's nephew Hriday had sought her out hiding in a secret corner and worshipped her feet with lotus flowers in spite of her great fear and shyness. About six years after that, when she was thirteen years old, she was taken to her husband's house at Kamarpukur, where she stayed for a month. But Ramakrishna was then living at Dakshineswar and she could not meet him. She lived for another six weeks at Kamarpukur about six months later. But then also she did not see her husband. And then, three or four months after, the word came that Ramakrishna had come home and she had been sent for. She was now thirteen years and six or seven months old.

Ramakrishna now set himself to the fulfilment of a noble duty. He did not care

whether his wife came to him or not. But when she did come to Kamarpukur he engaged himself earnestly in her education and welfare. "His great teacher Tota Puri, knowing him to be married, had said, 'it does not matter. He alone is truly established in *Brahman*, whose dispassion, discrimination and wisdom are not in any way impaired even in the company of his wife. He alone has attained true knowledge of *Brahman*, who can look on men and women with the same eye, perceive them as identical with the *Atman* (the Soul) and behave with them accordingly. Those who make a distinction between men and women are far from the perfect knowledge of *Brahman*, though aspirants to it they may be.'"

These words of Tota Puri now came back to Ramakrishna's mind and led him to put his long-acquired spiritual knowledge to the test and devote himself to the well-being of his



Saradamani Dévi

wife. Whenever he felt anything to be his duty, he could not neglect it or leave it half-finished. In the present instance also he did not act otherwise. "When he resolved to educate his young wife, he did not do it in half measures. He saw to it from the first that she attained skill in the service of God, Guru (spiritual preceptor) and guests and in the works of the household and learnt the proper use of money. He taught her above all to live in absolute self-surrender to the Lord and behave correctly with all persons under all circumstances and in all conditions and stations of life."

Her education under her husband began in her fourteenth year. She was then naturally quite an unsophisticated girl. For, "whoever had occasion to compare Calcutta girls with their sisters in Kamarpukur and other villages, must have noted that the for-

mer attained maturity in body and mind quicker than the latter. The reason is probably that the latter live a natural life in the pure air of the country, moving about freely without unnecessary restriction."

The pure-hearted girl felt an indescribable joy in living in the divine company of Ramkrishna and being blessed with his selfless love and care. In later days, she often spoke of this great happiness to the women disciples of her husband. "Since then," she would say, "I always felt as if a pitcher filled with bliss had been installed in my heart. I cannot tell you how full I felt of that calm, steady and divine joy."

A few months later Ramakrishna went back to Dakshineswar. Saradamani also returned to her father, intensely conscious of having found a supreme endless happiness. "This did not make her giddy, flippant or selfish, but calm, thoughtful and selflessly affectionate. She forgot all her personal wants. She felt an infinite sympathy for the sufferings of others, she became the very embodiment of compassion. Her great inner joy did not let her feel even the hardest of physical sufferings or the pain of seeing her love unreciprocated by her family. Thus she passed her days in her father's home, self-absorbed and content with the barest necessities."

"But though her body lived there, her mind dwelt ever with her husband at Dakshineswar. She often felt a strong desire to go and see him; but she suppressed it carefully and patiently and consoled herself with the hope that he would call her of himself to his side in due time. For, surely, he who had loved her so graciously at the first sight, could not forget her entirely."

"Thus passed her days, waiting in full faith for the arrival of that auspicious hour. But though faith and hope flowed unabated in her heart, her person underwent a daily change till in the month of Paush of 1278 she became a young woman of eighteen years. True, the great lasting joy with which her first acquaintance with her godly husband had endowed her, kept her above the joys and sorrows of her daily life; but the world did not allow its flow unimpededly. For often the villagers would refer to her husband as a mad man, as one who roved about nude, crying out the names of God, and the village women pitied and despised her as the wife of a lunatic. These, though she endured them silently, went deep into



Saradamani Devi on the way to her father's house in a bullock-cart

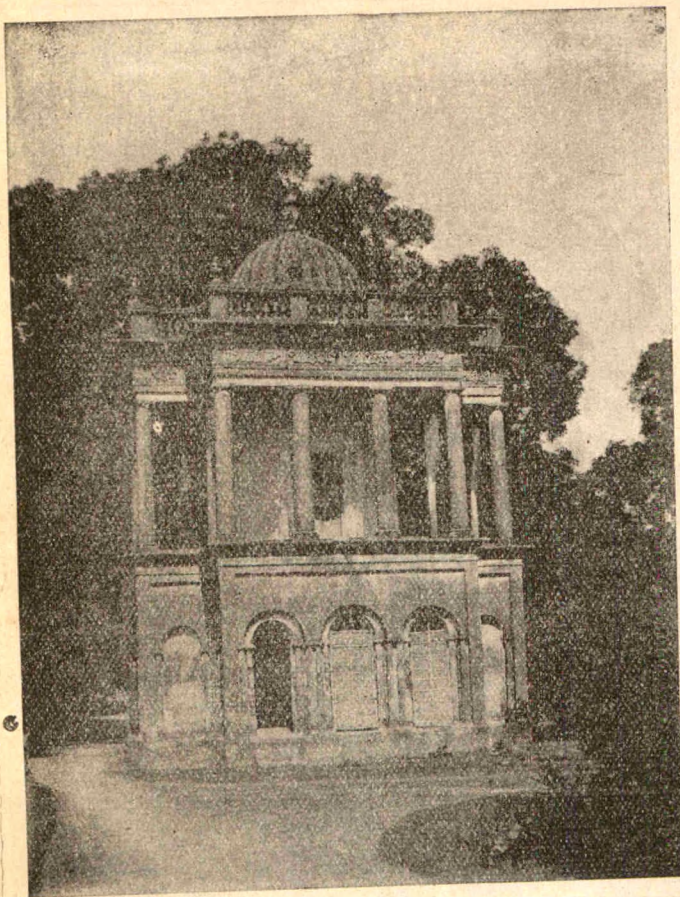
her heart. Was he really so changed from what she had seen him? Had he really become what he was reported to be? Thus she would think, and conclude that if the reports were true, then her place should not be in her father's house but by his side to serve and nurse him. After long and careful thought, she resolved to go personally to Dakshineswar to see him with her own eyes and act as circumstances required."

Some of her distant women relatives had decided that year to go to Calcutta for bathing in the holy Ganges on the occasion of the birthday anniversary of Sri Chaitanya on the full moon day of Phalgun. She now proposed to accompany them. When they asked her father for permission, he came to understand the reason of her intended visit and arranged to take her himself to Calcutta. It was not possible to reach Calcutta by

railway from Jayrambati. One had either to walk or to travel in a palanquin, but the rich only could avail themselves of the latter means. Therefore Ramchandra Mukherji started on foot with his daughter and party.

"They passed joyfully the first two days of their journey, enlivened by the sight of endless paddy fields, interspersed with tanks full of lotus flowers, and occasional rest in the cool shades of pipal trees. But the joy did not last to the end. For, Saradamani, unused to such tough journeys on foot, fell ill of severe fever on the way and caused much anxiety to her father. He found further progress impossible and took shelter in a way-side rest house."

In the morning, however, Ramchandra found her completely free of fever and thought it best to proceed slowly, instead of waiting helplessly in the rest-house. She



Nahavat at Dakshineswar Temple. Here Saradamani Devi lived on the ground-floor

also agreed with her father. They fortunately came across a palanquin before they had proceeded far, and engaged it. That day also she had fever, but it was comparatively mild. She bore it easily and did not speak of it to any one. The same night at nine, the party reached Dakshineswar.

Seeing her arrive so ill, Ramakrishna became very anxious. "He arranged for a separate bed for her in his own room, lest she should catch cold elsewhere, and said again and again sorrowfully, 'You are come at last! But my Sejo Babu* is no more to look after you properly. She was cured completely in three or four days by proper treatment and nursing.'"

* Mathuranath Biswas, son-in-law of Rani Rashmani, the founder of the Dakshineswar temple. He was the manager of the temple and was extremely devoted to Sri Ramakrishna and supplied all his wants and took every care of him.

All these days Ramakrishna kept her in his own room and himself supervised her treatment and diet; and when she recovered, he arranged for her stay with his mother in the *nahavat*.* Saradamani saw that Ramakrishna was the same as before and his love and affection for her had not changed. A great joy filled her heart and she devoted herself to the service of her husband and his mother. Her father went home after a few days, rejoicing at the happiness of his daughter.

Ramakrishna also devoted his attention to the discharge of his duties to his wife, and availed himself of his leisure hours to instruct her on the end and aim of human life and its duties. It is said that it was at that time that he said to his wife, "Just as Uncle Moon† is the uncle of all children, so is God nearest and dearest to all. Everyone has the right to call on Him. And whoever will call on Him will be blessed by His vision. If you call on Him, you also will see Him." His training did not end in verbal instruction. His method was to keep the pupil by his side and completely

master his heart with his great love. He would then give him instruction and keep a keen and constant watch over him to see how far he was carrying those instructions into practice, and would correct him whenever he found him going wrong. He followed the same method with Saradamani. Ramakrishna was so careful about even trifling details that he said to his wife, "When you get into a carriage or boat, get in first. But when you get down, get down last after seeing if anything is left behind."

It is said that one day while shampooing her husband's feet, she asked him, "Who do you think I am?" To which Ramakrishna replied, "The Mother who is in the shrine

* A small room, at some distance from the temple enclosure, intended for the temple music.

† In Bengal, children are taught to call the moon their maternal uncle.



SARADAMANI DEVI

gave birth to this body and is now living in the *nahavat*; even she is now shampooing my feet. Really, I tell you, I find you an embodiment of the Divine Mother Herself." Ramakrishna found in all women—even the most corrupt—the presence of the Mother of the universe.

"The Rishi of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* thus teaches in the discourse on Yajnavalkya and Maitreyi: 'Because the Divine Self is in the husband, therefore does the wife love her husband; and because the Divine Self is in the wife, therefore does the husband love the wife.'

During this time Ramakrishna and Saradamani used to sleep in the same bed. Ramakrishna had no consciousness of the body, and spent almost the whole night absorbed in *Samadhi*. From what Ramakrishna said of those days it is clear that if Saradamani also had not been completely free from all desires, he would not have so completely escaped the taint of body-consciousness. It is found of many great men in different fields of life that much of their noble achievements were possible through the assistance of their wives, who carefully cleared their path of worldly obstacles. Not only do the wives of many great men spare them the daily distractions of domestic life, but they also instil courage and hope into their hearts in moments of fatigue, weakness and despair. And it is doubtful if, without the noble and pure character of his wife, Ramakrishna would have reached the height of spiritual realization that he did, though it may be she appears even now rather like a shadowy figure behind the effulgent personality of her husband.

Thus passed more than a year. Ramakrishna found that his mind was not assailed by even a moment's consciousness of physical appetite and could not look upon and think of Saradamani as other than a fragment of the Mother of the universe or different from the *Atman* or *Brahman*. He felt that he had passed through the ordeal unscathed. He, therefore, arranged for the performance of the *Shodasi Puja** and worshipped Saradamani with due rites and ceremonies. It is said that during the latter part of the worship she lost external consciousness and went into *Samadhi*.†

* The worship of a young woman as the very embodiment of the Divine Mother.

† A state in which the consciousness is withdrawn from the body and partly or wholly from the mind, and concentrated on and identified with the Divine.



Saradamani Devi's Father's House at Jayrambati

But this did not make her proud or turn her head.

She spent nearly five months at Dakshineswar after the *Shodasi Puja*, during which she would, as usual, serve Ramakrishna and his mother and his guests by preparing their meals and doing other household duties. She would pass the day time in the *nahavat* and the night in the same bed with her husband. Ramakrishna could not stand all kinds of food or cooking. She had, therefore, often to prepare special dishes for him. In those days Ramakrishna "used to be in constant *Samadhi* throughout day and night" and "signs of death would sometimes be manifest on his person," and Saradamani could scarcely sleep at night for fear of his going into *Samadhi*. When Ramakrishna came to know of it, he arranged for her sleep with his mother in the *nahavat*. After such a life of sixteen months, she returned to Kamarpukur probably in the month of Kartik of 1280.

In after-life she often spoke of those days in these words to the women disciples: "Words cannot describe the divine moods in which

he used to live in those days. He would pass the whole night, sometimes talking in ecstasy, sometimes crying or laughing and sometimes losing himself in the stillness of *samadhi*. Oh those were sublime manifestations of Divine presence and glory ! I would be overwhelmed with fear and eagerly wait for the morning. I did not understand much of ecstasy or *samadhi* at that time. One night I found him lost so long in *samadhi* that I burst out crying and sent for Hriday. He came and recited the names of God in his ears, which brought him back to normal consciousness after some time. After that, finding that his *samadhi* often frightened me, he taught me which names or mystic letters should be recited in which kinds of *samadhi*. Since then, I did not fear so much ; for the recital would invariably bring him back to the normal state."

She said, "He taught me everything secular and spiritual. He taught me how to arrange the wick of a lamp, what kind of a person each of the family was and how he or she should be behaved with, and how to move in a stranger's house and, such other wordly things. He also taught me the singing of the praise of the Lord and the secrets of meditation, *samadhi* and the knowledge of *Brahman* "

Many women from Calcutta and neighbouring places would come to Dakshineswar to visit Ramakrishna, and spend the whole day at the *nahavat*. Saradamani had to cook for them also. It would sometimes happen that there would be widows among them, who do not take meat or fish or eggs, and she had to cleanse the oven as many as three times during a day and cook for them separately.

On one occasion, when about to start for Panihati to attend a famous Vaishnava festival, Ramakrishna sent a woman disciple to his wife to enquire whether she would also go there. He said to the woman disciples, "Since you are going, she may accompany you if she likes." On hearing this Saradamani said in reply, "Quite a crowd is going with him. The festival also will be much crowded. It will be very difficult for me to get down from the boat and see the festival. I will not go." Ramakrishna said afterwards with reference to this decision, "She was quite right in not going. It was so crowded and everyone was noticing me on account of my ecstasy and *samadhi*. Had she gone,

people would have said, 'See, Hansa and Hansi* have come ! She is very intelligent.' And he added the following instance of her intelligence and unavaricious nature :—

"When a Marwari devotee offered me ten thousand rupees, I felt as if he had plunged a saw into my head. I cried to the Mother, 'Oh Mother, do you want to tempt me at last ?' I wanted to know her (his wife's) mind in the matter, and when she came, I said to her, 'The devotee wants to give this money. But as I cannot accept it, he wants to give it in your name. Why do you not accept it ? What do you say to it ?' But she replied at once, 'How can that be ? The money can never be accepted. For if I take it, it will be as if you took it. If I accept it, I shall have to spend it in your service ; it will thus be practically accepted by you. People revere you for your renunciation ; this money must never be accepted.' Hearing her, I heaved a sigh of relief."

This is certainly eloquent of the unavariciousness and balanced judgment of one who, owing to extreme poverty, had sometimes to walk all the way from home to Dakshineswar—a precarious journey of about three days.

"Saradamani afterwards explained the reason of her not going to the Panihati festival. "The way in which he gave me permission to accompany him showed that it was not whole-hearted. If he had approved of my going, he would have said, 'Yes, certainly she will go.' Instead he transferred the responsibility of the decision to myself, saying, 'If she likes, she may come.' I then decided to give up the desire of going."

Saradamani Devi, being a Bengali Hindu wife, was naturally very bashful. She spent many months in constant attendance on her husband and his guests, but very few ever saw her. She would leave her bed at three, before day-break, long before any one was about, and return to her room after finishing her bath and other morning duties and would not come out of it during the whole day. She would finish all work silently and with extraordinary quickness long before others had risen, and engage herself in worship and meditation. One dark night, stepping down the stairs of the bathing ghat at Bakultala she was about to tread on a big crocodile lying on the stairs. It jumped into the river at the sound of her steps. She

* A male and a female swan. The pun is on the word Paramahansa by which he was known.

never afterwards came to the ghat without a light. But it was marvellous to see, how in spite of her habits and nature, she spent days in dutifully serving her husband in spite of all personal discomforts in an one-storeyed house in Shampukur, crowded by strangers, where he lived for sometime undergoing treatment for cancer. "As soon as she learnt that his disease might be aggravated for want of a suitable person to prepare necessary diet for him, she hastened with a glad heart to take up the charge without the least thought of her personal comfort. It was she who bore the brunt of the responsibility of nursing him." There also she would rise from her bed before three in the morning and sleep only between eleven and two at night. Though a Bengali Hindu wife, she could, if necessary, forego her habits and preconceptions and behave properly with courage and presence of mind. We quote an instance.

In those early days Saradamani Devi had often to perform her journey from Kamarpukur or Jayrambati to Dakshineswar on foot for want of money and cheap conveyance. The way lay through the plains of Telobhelo and Kaikala, extending over eight to ten miles. In those days the fields were infested by murderous robbers. Even now one can see a grim image of Kali installed in the centre of the fields, generally called the "Robbers' Kali of Telobhelo." The decoits used to worship her before engaging in murders and robberies. No travellers ever dared to pass through the plains except in large parties.

Once Saradamani was coming to Dakshineswar from Kamarpukur in the company of a nephew and a niece of Ramakrishna and a few other men and women. On reaching Arambag they found that there was still time enough to cross the notorious fields before nightfall and proceeded on without stopping there for the night. Though Saradamani was sore tired with walking, she proceeded with them without any objection. But she often lagged behind. Her companions waited for her time and again till she overtook them. But at last they declared that proceeding in that way they could scarcely cross over before it was very late at night and were sure to fall into the hands of robbers. Finding herself to be the cause of inconvenience and apprehension of the party, she asked them not to wait for her on the way but to go directly to the rest-house

at Tarakeswar, where she would meet them as early as possible. They walked fast and soon went out of her sight. She also tried hard to quicken her pace, but she was too tired, and it became dark shortly after she had crossed the centre of the plains. She felt greatly perturbed and was thinking of what she should do when she perceived a tall swarthy man coming towards her, with a club on his shoulder, and another person following him. She saw that escape or alarm was useless and stood still. In a while the man came to her and asked her in harsh tones, "Who are you standing here at this unearthly hour?" She replied, "Father, my companions have left me behind, and possibly I have lost my way. Will you kindly take me to them? Your son-in-law lives in Rani Rashmani's Kali temple at Dakshineswar. I am going to him. If you escort me so far, he is sure to show you great consideration." Before she had finished speaking, the second person came up to them. She found that she was a woman, the wife of the man. This greatly relieved her. She took her by the hand and said, "Mother, I am your daughter Sarada. I am stranded here alone, being left behind by my companions. Fortunately father and you are come, or I do not know what I would have done."

This unsophisticated behaviour, utter faith and sweet words deeply touched the hearts of the man and his wife. They were "low"-caste people. But they forgot all differences of caste and rank between them, and treated and consoled her as their daughter. Finding her tired, they did not allow her to proceed further but found her shelter in a shop in a neighbouring village. The woman spread her own clothes to make a bed for her and the man brought her some puffed rice from the shop. Thus they looked after her with parental care and affection through the night and escorted her next morning to a shop at Tarakeswar, where they asked her to rest. The woman said to her husband, "My daughter had little to eat yesterday. Finish your worship at the shrine quickly and get me fish and greens from the market. I must feed her nicely to-day."

While the man was off on his errands, Saradamani's companions happened to come there in search of her and rejoiced at her safe arrival. She introduced her kind Bagdi* parents to them and said, "I do not know

* One of the "depressed" castes of Bengal.

what I would have done if they had not come and given me shelter."

When they prepared to start, Saradamani expressed her deep gratitude to them and asked their leave to depart. To quote her: "This one night had so endeared us to one another that I began to cry bitterly in uncontrolled grief as I bade them adieu. I could part from them with great difficulty, and that only after I had made them promise that they would visit me at Dakshineswar at their convenience. They followed us for a long distance. The woman gathered some peas from a roadside field and tying them in a corner of my saree, said tearfully, 'Mother Sarada, when you take puffed rice at night, take these with it.' They fulfilled their promise to me and came several times to see me at Dakshineswar with various presents. He (Ramakrishna) also having heard of them from me, behaved with them as their son-in-law and treated them with great love and consideration. But though my dacoit father was so good and simple, I have a shrewd suspicion, he had been once or twice engaged in robbery."

Ramakrishna passed away on the 13th Shravan, 1293. Saradamani was then thirty-three years old. I had heard that she did not put on the weeds of a widow on the death of her husband. In order to ascertain the truth of it, I wrote to a disciple of Ramakrishna and Saradamani. I received the following reply:

"When after the passing of Sri Ramakrishna she was about to remove the bangles from her wrists, Sri Ramakrishna revealed himself to her in the healthy appearance of his early days, and holding her hand, said, 'Am I dead that you are removing the signs of wifehood?' After that she never bared her wrists. She always put on a cloth with a thin red border and bangles on her hands." *

* Bengali Hindu widows wear only a white piece of cloth without any coloured border. They do not wear any jewelry.



Saradamani Devi

If all had this faith in the immortality of the soul, the world would be relieved of much of its misery, sin and suffering.

She lived for thirty-four years after her husband's passing. She herself passed away in her sixty-seventh year on the 4th Shravan 1327. The Bengali monthly *Udbodhan* of the next month celebrated her austerities, renunciation, steadfast faith, self-control, universal love and service, tireless activity, complete indifference to personal comforts, simplicity, humility, patience, kindness, forgiveness, sympathy, selflessness and other great qualities. The followers of her husband and herself used to call her Mother and even now refer to her as such. May the significance of this name be fulfilled in every way.

THE HOME-COMING

By SITA DEVI

BRINDABAN had just returned home, after a day's hard toil, and sat down with his only comforter, the hookah, to enjoy a bit of rest. But his niece Katu ran out of a room, like a small cyclone, and flung herself upon his back. Brindaban was unprepared for this impact and recovered his balance with difficulty. "What is the matter, dear?" he asked the girl. "Why are you crying?"

"Auntie has beaten me," replied the child sobbing.

Before Brindaban could say anything, his wife cried out sharply from within the room, "No, she is not to be beaten! She must be carried about on one's head, good for nothing chit that she is! Have you ever given me a pice worth of anything, that you send your spoilt brat of a niece to break all my things?"

"What has she been doing now?" asked Brindaban with a little heat. "I don't know why you dislike the girl so. One does not want to return home for fear of this eternal bickering. You have no child of your own, can't you treat this one with a little affection? But there does not seem to be any, in your heart."

"Affection indeed!" flung out his wife "This girl should be beaten soundly with a broomstick. She is old enough to go to a husband's house now, but look at her monkeyish pranks! Just see, what she has done to my looking glass." She came out, with a broken mirror in her hand.

Katu had, by that time, left the shelter of her uncle's back, and was standing close by, wiping her eyes. Hearing this complaint against her, she said at once, "I did not break it. Pussy has done it."

"But who undid the latch of my room, and let Pussey in?" asked her aunt, in a tone of deep anger.

"I went in to see the picture of the goddess, in your room," said Katu non-chalantly, "but Pussy jumped down from my arms upon your mirror and broke it. What was I to do?"

"What indeed!" cried her aunt Labanga,

with subdued fury, "You have done your duty by running to your uncle and complaining against me," with this she went away. Katu ran off in search of her playmates, while Brindaban with a sigh, took up his hookah again.

Nibaran, the younger brother of Brindaban, and his wife had died of cholera, on the same day, about some six years ago. Brindaban had lost his own wife, even before that, but had not cared to marry again. But when Nibaran and his wife died, leaving the child Katu to his sole care, Brindaban found himself in a predicament. For sometimes, he carried on somehow with the help of an old maid servant, but when she too died, he found himself at a loss what to do. The neighbours advised him to marry again and after a while, he consented, seeing no other alternative. Paran Mandal of the next village had a daughter. The girl was grown up and had a good appearance; so in an auspicious moment, Brindaban married and brought the new bride home.

But though she was brought specially to look after Katu, the new bride took an intense dislike to the child from the very first. Labanga had been a spoilt child in her father's house, and had grown up lazy and ease-loving, and she did not like the idea of hard work. Besides, the child entrusted to her care had been brought up without any sort of discipline whatever, and was extremely wild and unruly, so the house was soon in a constant state of uproar, owing to the quarrels and fights of the aunt and niece. Seeing such a complete failure of his scheme, poor Brindaban, took to his hookah, but when that too failed to comfort him, he got away from his home oftener and oftener. He had no time to spare in love-making with his newly wedded wife. This did not serve to sweeten her temper further, and she got more and more furious with her husband and the hateful brat, whom he had thrown upon her shoulders.

Brindaban had only taken two or three pulls at his pipe, when someone knocked

loudly at the front door and cried out, "I say Brindaban, are you at home?" Brindaban got up, scared, and whispered, "Katu dear, please come here."

Katu came up running and shouted, "Why do you call, uncle?"

"Don't shout like that," said her uncle in alarm, "but go out and tell Nabin who is knocking, that I am not at home."

Katu went out and informed the newcomer in a loud voice that her uncle was not at home.

Nabin had lent money to Brindaban and had come to collect the interest, so he was not to be turned off so easily. "But I saw him coming home just now," he said; "how is it, that he is not at home?"

"Don't ask me such a lot of questions" said Katu petulantly "I only tell you what I have been told". With this, she ran off like an arrow. Nabin shouted for Brindaban a few minutes more, then he went away in anger, muttering to himself.

When it became absolutely certain that he had gone, Brindaban got up slowly and proceeded towards the front door.

"Where may you be going now?" asked his better-half sharply, from the kitchen. "Don't you want to eat? Gadding about the whole day, seems to be sufficient for you."

"Eating indeed!" said poor Brindaban bitterly. "I cannot even enter the house for fear of your quarrels. Outside I am insulted by Nabin everywhere, and at home you pester me to death. I don't seem to be destined to have any peace, till I am dead."

The evident distress of her husband, softened Labanga's heart a little. "Then why do you go out just now," she asked; "he may be still waiting for you in the middle of the street."

"What else am I to do?" asked Brindaban; "the girl is shooting up, like a young plantain tree. If I don't arrange about her marriage now, I shall soon be outcasted."

"True indeed," said his wife "who will believe that the girl is only ten? She is as tall as a palm tree. Girls should not be pampered and spoilt in that way. They should be given only small quantities of food and scolded and beaten well. Then only are they kept in their proper place. But where are you going now?"

"I had heard from Dibakar about a match for Katu," said Brindaban; "the bridegroom is a bit elderly, and is going to marry

for the second time; so I am going to enquire whether he is to be got at a cheap price."

He returned, with a crest-fallen air, when the lamps had already been lighted and were casting their mild beams on the outer darkness, through cracks in the mud walls of his house. Labanga ran out and asked hurriedly, "What news?"

"Nothing good," cried poor Brindaban in despair. "They want eight hundred rupees even for that sort of a bridegroom."

"Good heavens!" said his wife, placing her hand on her cheek as a sign of astonishment; "and from where are you going to get such a lot of money? Do you want to commit theft for that niece of yours?"

"But society won't consider that," said Brindaban. "Am I to die at last, outcasted like a dog? I must mortgage this house and garden and raise some money. Katu's mother, too, had left a few bits of gold and silver, and with these, I must manage somehow."

"And are we to live in the streets?" asked his wife sharply; "is your niece going to pave your way to the heavens with gold that you are proposing to turn yourself into a pauper for her? How can you think of mortgaging the house?"

"She is all I have got in this world," Brindaban replied. "If I can settle her well in life, I don't mind dying in the streets. I have very few days left."

Labanga had come out with a fan in her hand, intending to tend her tired husband a bit. But his last words made her flare up instantly, "Then why on earth did you marry me?" She cried out, throwing away the fan. "Only to torture me? Am I to be turned into a beggar?" She went away, weeping loudly.

But the person who was at the root of all this trouble, was sitting at a little distance calmly munching green guavas. Her uncle's despair and her aunt's anger did not seem to have affected her a bit. Hearing Labanga weeping, she got up and asked her uncle, "Why is auntie crying?"

Brindaban tried to tell her. But she found very little in it to trouble her. "I won't marry the old bridegroom," she announced calmly. "Nishi is a good-looking boy, I will marry him. He has promised not to take money."

Brindaban had to smile through his tears. He drew Katu to him and patted her affectionately on the back. "To whom did he make that promise?" he asked, "to you?"

"Yes," said Katu, "He called me and asked 'is your uncle going to give you in marriage to an old bridegroom?' I said, I did not know. Then he said 'Tell him not to do it. I will marry you myself, without taking any money.'"

"Now, my little darling," said her uncle "you are a grown-up girl, and you must not play with boys any more. People will speak ill of you. You will go to your father-in-law's house soon and they too would be displeased if they hear of it."

"Let them," said Katu, with a toss of her pretty head. "I don't want any father-in-law. I am not going to stop playing for any old father-in-law."

But though she did not want it, her uncle was about to give up food and drink in his attempts to secure a match for Katu. After much bargaining and entreaties, he made that elderly bridegroom consent to the match, but he was not able to reduce his price much.

"You have settled up the marriage very finely," said Labanga, "but where is the money to come from? This tumbledown hut won't fetch eight hundred rupees, even if you sell it."

"I won't get that much, if I sold myself too, in the bargain," said Brindaban.

"Then how did you dare to settle this match?" asked his wife.

"What else was I to do?" asked her husband in reply. "Once let the marriage. Be pushed through somehow, then it will depend on Katu's fate. I don't mind any sufferings or insults for myself, if the girl is happy."

"But if they come and refuse to marry, seeing the money short?" asked Labanga, "then you will be outcasted sure enough, in spite of all your efforts. Why are you so silly?"

"The bridegroom won't do that," said Brindaban. "I heard that he had taken a great fancy to Katu, seeing her playing at some neighbour's house. The girl is a real beauty you must admit that, though it is not I who should say it. If my luck had not been so atrociously bad, I certainly would not have married her to that old man. She is fit to be a king's bride."

Labanga did not evince a bit of interest in this detailed account of Katu's beauty, but went off, her heart bursting with suppressed anger.

Arrangements for the wedding were pushed on and the auspicious day drew nearer and

nearer. A few indispensable ornaments and clothings were procured somehow. The wretched mud hovel of Brindaban began to ring with joyous clamour. Hitherto, Katu had not shown a bit of interest in these proceedings. But to-day her mood changed. She could not but be interested, when she heard that all these ornaments of gold and silver, this red silk cloth, this torn canopy of red cloth—all had been procured for her benefit. She ran about, shouting and playing with the children of her own age. The old dames, took her to task, saying, as she was the bride, she must not behave in that indecorous fashion; but these did not suppress her high spirits at all.

When the bride was dressed up in crimson sari and sandal paste, Brindaban wiped his eyes again and again looking at her fair childlike face. The sole object of his affections, the delight of his declining years, was going away darkening his home. But who knew, what fate held in store for her? He had tried his hardest, but had not succeeded in procuring more than four hundred rupees. He himself was prepared to suffer anything at the hands of the bridegroom's party, but if they should ill-treat the girl for this? His tired brain could not tolerate the idea, and he collapsed on the floor. But he had no time to indulge in visionary sorrows. Just at this moment, an increasing clamour outside announced the arrival of the bridegroom's party. He had to get up and run to welcome them. The bridegroom came in and took his seat in the midst of the guests, with a very grave face. A few hookahs passed from hand to hand and a few wall lamps tried their hardest to dispel the darkness all around, though they gave out more smoke than light. And Brindaban's heart grew fainter and fainter with fear, as time went on.

A furious dispute arose on the question of the dowry. Tear and entreaties were of no avail. They had come resolved to have their pound of flesh. Failing to get it, the party prepared to leave the bride's house.

But suddenly the bridegroom ruined all the effectiveness of the well-laid scheme of his party. Katu's fair face seemed to have made rather a deep impression on his hard heart, and he refused to budge an inch without marrying her. He did not care if his behaviour was insulting to his paternal and maternal uncles.

Brindaban was standing in a corner, shivering like a leaf and taking the name of

his god again and again. He had become too dazed to understand what was happening round him. Even when his neighbours tried to make him understand the trend of events, he simply stared at them like an idiot. "Why do you stare like a sheep?" Cried one of them, giving him a push, "are not you going to give away the bride?"

Brindaban came forward like an automaton. The priest told him to repeat certain Sanskrit formulae. He repeated them after the priest, though his words had very little Sanskrit in them. But the marriage was none the less valid, for all that.

Then the bridegroom's party sat down to dinner. One of the uncle's of the groom gave out a loud affected laugh. "Well sir," he said, addressing Brindaban, "you have cracked a very good joke with us. But our chance comes next, please do remember that. Don't forget that we take along the girl with us."

Brindaban tried to smile in response, but his lips refused to open.

Next morning, the bridegroom's party prepared to depart very early. Katu had no mother, so Labanga had to do all the ceremonial weeping, at the time of the bride's departure. The girls from the neighbourhood came to dress up Katu, and to pack all her things. But Brindaban's behaviour filled everyone with surprise. As the groom and bride bowed down to him, prior to their departure, he clasped his niece closely in his arms and wept loudly like a child. It seemed, as if his sobs would break him to pieces. "This is rather too much," whispered a lady guest. "The girl is not his own daughter; besides she is but going to her husband's house. Then what's the use of such extravagant grief?"

Labanga had been looking on angrily at the goings-on of her husband. "You are quite right, sister," she assented at once, "he is such an extraordinary man! I am sick of him."

Katu departed for her new home, weeping. Her kitten went about from room to room, mewing sadly, and the doors and windows of her deserted room banged aimlessly. Brindaban's heart seemed to fill with a black emptiness. He flung himself down on the floor of his room and lay like dead. Even the sharp rebukes of his wife failed to make him get up.

The evening was dull and cloudy and it was pretty evident that a thunderstorm was brewing. Brindaban sat on the verandah of his house, fanning himself with a bit of torn towel. His home looked more wretched than ever, some one seemed to have painted it and its master's face alike, with the colour of grey cheerlessness. Katu was no longer there; so there were no laughter, no noise, nothing of youthful gaiety. Brindaban lived on somehow, bent down under the weight of care, more than that of years. Totally neglected by her husband, Labanga had become more hard-hearted and sharp of tongue than ever. An unseen fire seemed to be consuming her and she wanted to burn everybody with herself.

The half broken front door was pushed open and an old woman entered, accompanied by a girl. Both carried large baskets on their heads. Brindaban looked at them with eyes full of fear. As she met his glance, the old woman burst out in a high-pitched cracked voice. "Didn't you send me to a very good place? We are low-born people indeed, but never have I seen such rudeness and ill-manners anywhere. They did not accept your presents, here they are!" They put down the baskets angrily and sat down on the verandah.

One basket was full of cold sweetmeats, cheap toys and spices of all sorts. Another contained a chocolate-coloured sari, a pin jacket, profusely decorated with black lac, cheap striped towels, dhoti and chaddar for a man and toilette accessories of all sort. Labanga's head poked out from one of the open doors at this moment. Seeing her, the old woman cried out again: "Here are your things, madam; please see if they are all right. Everything is as you sent it, the have not touched the things even. Our legs are nearly gone, and the only return we got for our troubles were abuses. Very decent relatives you have found, we must say. They are worse than savage. These are the first presents you send, and they did not even ask us to take a drop of water at their house!"

"Why do you shriek at me, you hag!" cried Labanga in rage. "Did I send you? Go and ask him to take back his first presents," with this she shut her door, with a bang.

Insults from all quarters made the old



SARADAMANI DEVI

woman furious. Seeing that she was about to burst into loud abuse, as only one of her class could, Brindaban hastened to pacify her. "Please, don't get angry, my dear woman", he cried, "the woman is nearly off her head with worries and you should not mind her. Sit down and have something to eat. You had a long and tiresome walk."

His gentle words mollified the old woman somewhat and she checked the stream of foul abuses, that had begun to pour out of her lips. Brindaban took out the sweets from the basket and gave them to the two women to eat. Then he asked rather nervously, "What did they say?"

"They said a lot," replied the old woman. "The mother-in-law is a real terror, she is. She ran out in such fury as if she wanted to eat us up alive. 'Take away your two-penny presents,' she howled, 'else I will drive you out with broomsticks. Does not the old fool remember that he still owes us four hundred rupees? Instead of paying that, he had sent four annas worth of play-things to cheat us! We don't touch such things, even with our feet. Go back and tell the shameless wretch that if he does not pay up well at the time of the autumnal festival, it would go very hard with his niece. Tell him to remember it.'"

Brindaban's tongue felt parched within his mouth. "Did you see Katu?" he asked.

"She came back, carrying water from the tank just then; so we saw her. Otherwise, we don't think, we would have been allowed to see her. Such a pretty child she was, and now none would recognise her. Only the skeleton is left, even her complexion has become black."

"Did she say anything?" asked Brindaban.

"The mother-in-law went inside her room once, then she came up to me and whispered, 'Please sister, go and tell uncle, that he must give these people good presents at the autumn festival and take me away. Else they will kill me. They only give me one meal a day, scold me day and night and beat me sometimes.'"

Brindaban sat silent like a figure of stone. He could hardly believe that the old woman was describing Katu, his pretty and playful darling. They starved her and ill-treated her, beat her even. To what hell had he thrust the child, with his own hands!

A deep sigh escaped his over-laden heart.

He was nothing, but a pauper now; how was he going to rescue Katu from her tormentors? His lands, his house, all were mortgaged up to the hilt, to the village moneylender. He would soon have to live in the streets. The ornaments left by Katu's mother, his own scanty savings, even the gold bangles left by his first wife, which he had hidden so carefully from Labanga, all had gone to meet the expenses of Katu's wedding. He could not raise a single rupee, even if he sold himself. Now Labanga possessed a few pieces of gold and silver, but how could he ask her for these? He had never given her any presents, and even her enemies could not say that he had treated her over-affectionately. So how could he demand her ornaments of her? And what, if he did? He knew quite well that she would not give them up to him, even if he cut her to pieces.

"What is the use of sitting like a statue, and thinking?" asked the old woman. "Do something, else the child would die." Saying this, the two women went away. Brindaban sat on. After a while Labanga came out of her room and carried in the baskets, muttering to herself.

Brindaban went about the whole day, like one possessed. He asked money of everybody and everybody turned him away with insults. In the evening, he came back and sank down on the floor of his room. All Labanga's efforts failed to make him get up or to take anything.

The days passed on, one by one. The rains came down, cooling the parched earth and they too passed leaving autumn in full possession. Ponds, tanks and streams became a riot of lilies, white and red, the fields flaunted the green flag of a rich harvest. But Brindaban's condition did not change. The clouds of despair settled down permanently on his heart.

The autumn festival had nearly arrived. Brindaban became nearly insane in his anxiety. Sometimes he would fall at people's feet and beg for money, sometimes he would run to beat them. Labanga grew highly nervous and said, "Please send me to my father's house. I have no intention of dying at a mad man's hand." Brindaban went out without a reply. He was absent the whole day.

Labanga had just fallen into an unquiet slumber in the kitchen, by the side of his uneaten food, when he returned. She woke

up at the sound of his footsteps and asked, "Who is it?"

"It is I," replied her husband, "come here for a moment."

"What on earth for?" demanded his wife angrily. "Are not you going to take your food, even now? Am I to sit up the whole night for you?"

"I won't take anything, I am not at all hungry," said Brindaban. "Come here and listen." Labanga got up reluctantly and approached him.

Brindaban pulled her inside their bedroom and whispered, "Lend me a few of your ornaments I shall return them next month."

Labanga's rage and amazement nearly choked her. After a few moments, she burst out furiously, "How dare you? Are you lost to every sense of shame? What right have you to my ornaments? Have you ever given me any? I work like a slave in your house and have only one meal, which too I have to beg from others, very often. Any other husband would have committed suicide, seeing his wife in such a state. But you, great good-for-nothing that you are, come and ask me calmly for my ornaments. You will return them indeed! Your only property seem to be these broken bamboos of your house."

"That's no concern of yours. I tell you I will return them, and I will. Come and give them."

"I won't," shrieked his wife, "not even if you murder me. What do you want with them?"

"I want to bring Katu home, after paying them the money I owe. They starve her and beat her; she is in great trouble."

"And I am very well off here, am I not?" asked Labanga bitterly. "I am simply bursting with good things. Your niece may go to the devil, for all that I care, wretched little imp that she is. All my unhappiness is due to her."

"Hand over the jewels, I tell you," thundered Brindaban, "else it would go very hard with you."

"Help, help, he is murdering me!" shrieked Labanga, in such a loud voice, that Brindaban rushed out of the house in a fright. His brain seemed to be on fire. He could scarcely distinguish right from wrong. The only thing, he could remember was, that he wanted money.

He ran on aimlessly, without looking

where he was going. Suddenly a broad stretch of water, in front, stopped him. He had passed out of the village unconsciously and had come to the river that bordered it. But where was he going and why?

It was a moonlit night, and he could see very far. Nobody was in sight, only the sands lay white in front of him. He scarcely noticed anything. He wanted money, that was all, he could think of.

Suddenly a human figure glided into view. It was covered all over with cloth and was crossing the stream, towards him. A shiver passed through Brindaban. The village cremation ground was situated just at this place. But his benumbed brain could not harbour even fear for long. What if it were a spectre? Brindaban was past any harm from god, man or demon.

The figure had approached quite near by this time. In the indistinct light, Brindaban could distinguish a small cash-box, peeping from under the folds of its cloth. The figure was so closely wrapped up, that he could not determine whether it was a man or a woman.

Suddenly, with a spring, he was upon it, and had snatched away the box. With a cry of dismay, the person rolled down on the sands, and its coverings fell off.

Brindaban was busy breaking open the box, he did not pay any attention to his victim. The box opened easily, a few small gold ornaments rolled out.

As his eyes fell on a pair of gold bangles, Brindaban started as if shot. Then he left the box and all, and rushed to the side of the still figure, lying on the sands. It was a girl, and by the faint star-light he saw her eyes staring fixedly at the sky. He placed his hand on her heart; there was no beat.

Such wail of despair was seldom heard, even in that cremation ground. "Little mother, it is I who have killed you at last," he cried, "and you were coming home to me." He, too, sank on the sand by her side, and to all appearances, he too seemed dead.

People began to pass by the road, with the advent of morning. The two figures lying on the sand were soon discovered. A crowd gathered round them soon, then came the policeman, then the inspector, and, last of all, the doctor.

The doctor examined the girl's body. Died of heart failure, was his verdict.

Brindaban was not so summarily dis-

missed. They brought him round somehow and hundreds of questions poured upon him. As no satisfactory reply was received, he was beaten into unconsciousness again.

A bullock cart was brought. The dead girl and her uncle were put in it. The cart started with a jolt. In this manner, Katu came back to her village home, for the autumn festival.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHANDERNAGORE

BY HARIHAR SETT

(*Concluded*)

GEORGE Toynbee (58), Bradley Birt. (59) and some others do not speak of the 942 hectares of land, referred to above, but over that the French possession was limited to 7 Bighas only. But I have nowhere found any justification for this statement. Even the Pondicherry Council Proceedings record that the plot of land, which was free of tax, itself measured 81 acres, that is to say, about 7 Bighas (60). But I do not know if there be any error here too.

Deslande was not idle all the time he had to wait for the final sanction. Even though he had not come to any definite settlement with the Moguls and had not constructed the factory, yet he proceeded with his business, full of enthusiasm and energy. We know from English records that even in 1689 the French Company was already a successful concern in its new colony (61). In 1691, Deslande got the plans of the factory, the godown, the house, the walls etc. drawn by the Jesuit architect (aumonier) Dutchetz and pushed vigorously through their construction spending about Rs. 26,000 (62). Next year by July the whole thing was almost ready (63). In this way a spacious factory was built in Chandernagore. The "Fort d'Orleans" to which many others refer as being constructed in 1691-1693 was perhaps no other than this new factory, designated as a fort (64). The fort, however, that was actually built to protect the factory and the village must have been contiguous to the factory; but it was a later addition, built at about the same time as Fort William of Calcutta and the Fort Gustavus of Chinsura, that is to say, after the rebellion of Sobha Singh, as many historians testify (65). And then it was not quite improbable that the factory was called a fort, since it was so much bigger than what could be expected from the measure of trade it carried on (66). So it seems that those who put the date of the construction of the real fort as 1696-1697 are in the right.

We have no place here to give a detailed description of this fort (67). Although quite in-

significant in comparison with modern forts, it was far stronger than the Dutch fort at Hugli (68) and more solid and imposing than the Fort William at Calcutta (69). It was situated on the bank of the Bhagirathi, in the middle portion of the town, on the ground now lying to the East of the Laldighi (70). The fort has almost disappeared. All that remains to-day is the plinth of an unfinished wing, near by the Laldighi and the road leading to the Ganges; towards the north a portion of the moat is also just visible.

This, in short, is the history of the establishment of a factory, that is to say, of a colony by the French in Chandernagore. After this factory was established, we find no more mention made of the Hugli factory in any of the historical records. On the other hand, we come to know from British documents of the increasing prosperity of this newly established colony (71). Three names have been found till now intimately connected with the beginnings of the French Company in Chandernagore, first, Du Plessis, second, Deltor and third, Deslande. About the second of these no information is available as regards the part he played or the work he did. Du Plessis was the first man to come, he bought a plot of land and constructed the factory building; this was all he did and perhaps nothing more. The real work, however, was done by Deslande. He acquired a vast tract of land covering several villages, obtained permission for the establishment of a factory, secured the proprietary right of the place along with the power to trade there; he built the factory and the fort and founded the city. By all this, it was he who virtually created the French Colony at Chandernagore.

It is not known how the company was composed at the outset. After the lapse of a few years, it meant one Director, a council consisting of 5 members, 15 merchants and shopkeepers, 2 physicians, 1 carpenter, 2 priests and 2 'notaires'. It had an army of 103 foot soldiers of whom 20 were Indians and it possessed 3 cannons (72). Chandernagore

retains even to-day almost the same area over which Deseland secured proprietary right for his company. The area of modern Chandernagore is about 2377 acres i. e. 940-942 hectares (73). The boundaries have been modified a little, but on the whole they do not differ very much from what they were; whatever difference there is concerns mostly the western boundary, as an old map would show. The town was encircled by a moat, although not very wide. It was Durois who first attempted to dig the moat, but he failed. Then Dupleix undertook the work (74). The line of demarcation on the Southern side is not clear along the whole length. The Northern boundary stands almost unchanged. The map prepared by order of Monsieur Chevalier, the French Governor, in 1767-1769 obviously shows some modification in the boundaries since and after the moat was dug round the town during the regime of Chevalier himself. The same map (75) clearly marks out also the tract near the Ganges, lying to the North East of Chandernagore, now known as British Chandernagore, or at least that part of it which was then under French possession and which was not mentioned in the treaty of 1853 between the English and the French relating to the delimitation of the frontiers of Chandernagore nor shown in the map attached to that document (76). The English have filled up the portion of the moat that lay in this tract (77), yet vestiges of it can still be seen here and there. The tract where there was Kinkarsen's fort is also now included in British Chandernagore. Historical records inform us that Kinkarsen excavated a ditch in Chandernagore (78). Chavalier's map shows that the region round Kinkarsen's fort was within the circle of the moat, but whether on that account it was also within French jurisdiction is a doubtful point.

Only this much is known as regards the date of the map giving the earliest boundaries of Chandernagore that it is anterior to the war of 1757; but one cannot tell how much anterior, since the map itself is silent about the matter. Short of this, however, the map distinctly shows the Fort Orlean, its limits, the fort-like Factory of the Danes Laldighi, the garden of Taldanza, the road to Chinsura, the road to Garuti, the Garden, the tank and the fort on the frontier of the town. No indication is found anywhere, in any record or document, of such a nature as to enable one to locate exactly the plot of land that came first under French possession, whether it be the one secured by Duplessis or the 60 bighas traditionally believed to have been received from the Nawab. Pondicherry records, however, refer to a plot, 61 bighas in area, as mentioned in an order of the year 1690 by Nawab Ibrahim. Perhaps it is the same plot of 60 bighas which Cordier speaks of in his note (79).

Many, I see, take to mere guess-work in the matter of locating the fort and the Factory. But it may not be that there are absolutely no proofs, not even indirect ones, to help us.

Hill says that 18th century maps of Chandernagore are very rare, only two or three copies are available in Paris; and he does not know whether there is any 17th Century map at all. It is doubtful if the maps of posterior dates, found in Paris, contain any indication of the land that was purchased for the first time. I have myself

secured two different maps and I would not be surprised if one of them is found to belong to the first half of the 18th century or even earlier; even this does not specially mark out that plot. When after the war Chandernagore was occupied by the British, the town suffered so much destruction and disfiguration that it is now very difficult in many cases to reconstruct the old boundaries in accordance with old maps (80).

Chandernagore, although it claims to be French till this day, yet does not know the exact spot which was the first food-hold of the French in Bengal. It was going to become such a momentous thing for India, the little French possession on the bank of the Bhagirathi! Here Dupleix established himself and from here he thought of and planned one day for a vast and undivided French Empire! (81). It is not therefore without reason that this obscure point in history (or rather, historical geography) should have engaged the attention of an enquirer for some time past. I record the conclusions I have reached, it is for my readers to judge how far they are correct.

THE SITE OF THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT.

What we are able to gather from various sources as regards the earliest purchase of land by the French is briefly this:

(1) The area of the land or village purchased by the French Company in 1673 was about 20 arpents.

(2) It was situated in Boro Kishanpur.

(3) The first Factory established by the French was near the Dutch Factory.

(4) In 1676 a ditch or moat was dug round the land or Factory.

(5) The French were driven out of the place through the efforts of the Dutch.

(6) In 1676 Streynsham Master while coming from Hugli saw within two miles of it, near the Dutch garden, a large plot of land which was then under Dutch occupation and on which there still stood a gate belonging to an older Factory.

(7) The same person while proceeding further to the South met with a Dutch Factory.

If the several references, few though they are, to a plot of land or house or factory belonging to the French, all point to the same plot with a house or factory on it, there is an end of all difficulty. Otherwise if they mean different things, then also there can be no doubt that one or other must have been the first to come under French possession. As for me personally I regard that it is all one plot and one factory and one house that the records speak of. The proofs on which my conclusion is based do not leave me in doubt.

An exact record of the boundaries of the earliest Factory or the land first purchased is nowhere available. What we have to do is to deduce from other facts to hand. Boro Kishanpur lay two or three miles to the South of Hugli, near the Dutch garden. O'Malley says that it was quite on the northern extremity of modern Chandernagore. We know also from Streynsham Master that there was a very large Dutch Factory still further to the South; he does not expressly say "South", but since it is a description of his journey when he was coming from Hugli, the spot must naturally lie to the South.

This Dutch garden is several times mentioned in Hedge's diary; it is also called Dutch Factory in some other place (82). This Garden or Factory is difficult to locate now, since there are no remains extant nor have we any precise indication in any record. One of the two maps referred to above, show just on the outskirts of the North-Eastern limit of Chandernagore a place surrounded by a ditch. It is mentioned therein as a garden belonging to the Dutch. I take this to be what Hedges describes as the "old Dutch garden." I have measured the plot and made a comparative study of its form and area; I have also gone through whatever materials are available among the records of the Hugli Collectorate. From all this I have come to the conclusion that the plot cannot but be the old Dutch Garden. It now lies near Dharampur on the eastern side of the Grand Trunk Road and is known as "Saheb Bagan." There is a large and beautiful edifice in it over the tomb of a Dutch lady, named Madame Yeats. Besides, if the place was not particularly noted, why should it be marked with special care in a map of Chandernagore, although it is outside the town? The place has now run wild and Bamboo jungles have well-nigh covered it; the surrounding ditch is full of filthy water. As I stood in the midst of that solitude of forest-growths and gazed at the snow-white marble memorial, the certainty that this was the place where the Dutch, skilful artists as they were, raised their first edifice and planted their first garden, filled my mind with thoughts too deep for mere words to express. A tablet on one side of the monument, written in Dutch, gives some details about the tomb. From my enquiry at the Hugli Collectorate I learnt that necessary repairs in the building are done by the Government and the cost is met out of the interest of the money deposited by the lady's husband. I searched the jungles but did not come across any remains that could give an indication of the fort-like factory shown in the maps. My belief is that if the place is excavated some signs of it would come to light. At the present moment the garden is leased out by the British Government to a certain individual for a paltry sum.

If once this question of the Dutch garden is settled, it becomes quite easy to locate the large tract of land or the factory belonging to the French, which lay near the garden. In this matter also, the map I referred to above would be of considerable help. The plot is now a garden at Taldanga and is still surrounded by a ditch. People call it, *Tant* (or *Tanbi*) Khana garden. This is, in fact, the place first occupied by the French East India Company in Bengal. It was very near the Dutch garden; and indeed subsequently it came into the possession of or was utilised by the Dutch. The information is clearly written in the second map. The locality where it is situated is called Boro, formerly Boro Kishanpur. The survey map of 1870-1871 designates the locality as Boro. Also there is a place near by called Boro-Krishnapur. Besides, certain legal documents include the garden within Hugh Boro, *Hugguri* being a honorific title added to the names of all places occupied by the Europeans as I have come to know from the Chandernagore Collectorate.

The exact measurement of the garden differs according to different documents. To-day it actually measures little less than 50 Bighas. I

searched at the Collectorate and made enquires of the sons of the late Sriji Prankrishna Choudhury, the present proprietors, but I have not been able to lay hold of any document dating beyond 1819. The later documents do not give the equivalent of the measurement in *arpents* nor could I determine the exact standard of an arpent as current in the locality. The Chief officer of the Collectorate whom I asked about the matter said that he did not even know the word. Dictionary tells us that in France one arpent meant 5107, 4220 or 3419 sq. metres, different measures being adopted in different places (83). The measurement by arpent was abolished by a law of 1719. Roughly speaking, however, 20 arpents make about 60 Bighas or a little less. As I have already said the French are commonly known to have possessed 60 Bighas of land; the garden in question cannot but be this plot of land, although it does not measure exactly 60 Bighas. Historical records mention a tract of 60 Bighas in reference only to Srirampur (84); no authentic document gives that figure for the Chandernagore tract also. The Pondicherry records speak of a plot of 60 or 61 Bighas, but do not supply any clue to its location.

I have mentioned above the reference to a gate. Now the garden I am speaking of has still a gate just near the entrance which is called Taldanga gate. At the present day this serves as the entrance to the town, but it is also so close by the entrance to the garden that any passer-by may take it easily to belong to the latter. There is no evidence to show that the gate existed when Streynsham Master visited the locality; and my efforts to determine the date of its construction have all failed. It may be that the gate was erected in Chevalier's time, when the boundary of the town was fixed by digging a moat round it. But this question of the gate, even if unsolved, does not in any way affect our main contention.

Finally, Streynsham Master says that as he left behind the spot occupied by the French Factory he came across a Dutch Factory and on the way he had to pass by some thatched or mud-built houses. Now my opinion on the matter is that Streynsham Master followed the Grand Trunk Road or what is now known as Rue de Benares and he refers to the Dutch Octagon that lay in the place, called Urdu Bazar, at the present day. The Factory or Mansion belonging to the Dutch has been mentioned in several places; but it is clearly marked on a map of the Fort d'Orleans and its surroundings drawn by Mouchet in 1749. Hill says about the Factory that although it was within the French limits, yet till the French got the Farman from the Nawab, it belonged to the Dutch who always refused to sell it (85).

As regards the mud-built or thatched huts on the road-side, it is now difficult, rather impossible, to adduce any proof that they existed. All the same, if the pre-war map, that has since been discovered, be taken as illustrative of the times of Streynsham Master, the black-spots therein seem to indicate the mud houses, although the fact is not expressly so stated. For, all the constructions in brick, such as the Church, the Governor's House etc are marked in red (86); the octagonal house, the remains of which stand even to-day in the central portion of the northern limit of the Taldanga garden, is also clearly marked in red. One may naturally conclude therefore that the

spots marked in black on either side of the road represent the thatched or mud-built houses.

The ruins of the octagonal house supply also a clue to the time when the Dutch were in possession of the Taldanga plot of land. The building must have been a church constructed by the Dutch. We are inevitably led to this conclusion when we compare it with the octagonal Dutch Church at Chinsura, with the position of the several corners or angles of the old portions of the Late Sjt. Umesh Chandra Mandal's residence, named "Dutch Villa", also at Chinsura and with the "Dutch Octagon" marked on the map of Chandernagore.

I think no further proofs are necessary to demonstrate that the Tautkhana garden at Taldanga was the first property, at least, a portion of the first property acquired by the French Company in Chandernagore and therefore in Bengal. And so far as it is known, the Dutch did not possess at that time or at any subsequent time any other large tract of land in Chandernagore. We know of the great battle at Bidra, fought between the Dutch and the English. But the French were in no way connected with it: besides the incident happened long after. The struggle between the Dutch and the French that arose over the capture of the Dutch ship "Phoenix d'or" was a matter of the year 1705 (87). Thus whatever information can be gathered from either French or English sources all go to establish the fact that the territory of the French Company or a part of it was the Taldanga garden. At least, so long as we are not confronted with proofs to the contrary, we cannot but adhere to this conclusion. There is another consideration. The land-tax at Taldanga and its neighbourhood—although—the place is now covered with jungles and forest is generally higher than that of the other parts of the Town. This is as it should be; for there is no doubt that the locality was once upon a time in a very flourishing and prosperous condition. Even to-day signs exist that unmistakably point to the fact. Tradition has it that some four to five hundred families lived there. All this serves to corroborate our position.

I have not been able to trace a consecutive history of the Taldanga garden. The old maps give the idea that the entire plot had on it houses of some kind or other. There was a brick-built house in the central portion and another in the northernmost quarter. The former most probably served as the Factory or perhaps was specially constructed for the purpose; subsequently three other buildings were added, with a large tank in the middle and a well-laid garden. It was from this earliest foothold of the French, captured in March 1757, that Clive is said to have commenced his operations which finally dealt the mortal blow to French aspirations in India. Most probably it was from this place that he moved his army towards Murshidabad (on the 12th June of the same year), won the battle of Plassey and consolidated the foundation of the British Empire in India (88). We also learn that this French Factory was converted into a temporary hospital at the time of the battle of Chandernagore (89). Then it appears, in 1780, Louis Bonnaud, who was the first European to begin indigo cultivation in Bengal, took this Taldanga garden on lease and started his business here (90). Later on, we find

that a Dutch, named Berg Andres, also carried on indigo business from this place (91). But the subsequent history of the garden, how it was being utilised, whether it was all along kept merely as a garden as at present, I have not been able to find out.

However, in 1819 one Edouard le Prevost took permanent lease of the plot. Then in 1860 we see that it was sold to an individual, named Maniquet by Pramatha and Ashutosh Ghosh. In the following year it was bought again by one Garnet. Once more, in 1862 it was purchased by Musajan Badri of Srirampur who, in his turn, sold it to Prankrishna Chaudhury on August 15, 1866 for the sum of Rs. 2650. Since then it is in possession of the Choudhuris.

The origin of the word *Tautkhana* is nowhere explained. It may have come from Arabic *Tabut*, meaning, a *corpse*; and some think the name refers to the place being once used as a hospital. But one cannot say for certain that the word has not come from Arabic *Taid*. But to me it appears that the word is *Ta-at khana*, meaning, a place for worship; and this sense is in keeping with the fact that there was a Dutch Church here, as I have said already. But it must be noted that in the map of 1851-1852, the name is written as *Tairut khana* (92). I may point out here that the place when occupied by the French was also called Farashdanga, just as the places by the side of the marshes were called by such names as Haridradanga, Taldanga etc.

Thus, then Taldanga garden was the place where the French established their first factory in Bengal. This was also the place where the British had the first taste of their subsequent greatness. To-day it has the appearance of a very common place garden, surrounded by a ditch that looks almost like a gutter, overgrown with mango and coconut trees—lonely and uninviting. All that now remains of its former splendour to gratify the physical eye is a dilapidated and queerly constructed temple. And yet what glorious vistas of days gone by this simple and neglected thing would open up to the inner vision of a lover and truth-seeker of the past!

And here I would humbly entreat the government of Chandernagore and those of my countrymen who are in power and position to see that the fast disappearing relics of the past still strewn over here and there in Chandernagore are saved and preserved while there is yet time; and if this proves too heavy a task, at least, to save and preserve whatever remains of the Taldanga garden and try to recover what yet can be recovered from there—provided, of course, the conclusion reached in this paper is found correct. Otherwise the little that exists to-day of the past will before long be lost for ever.

The more important of the older buildings were more or less all destroyed by Clive. There are no signs of the Fort de Orleans. The only things that stand to-day reminiscent of by-gone days, are Laldighi—the Company's large tank behind the Fort—the meadow adjacent to the factory, the Church of the Italian Mission, the temples of Dasabhuja and Nanda-dulal the domicile of Mrs. Frances Watts wife of William Watts, chief of the English Factory at Cassimbazar and a few buildings such as the house utilised as a hospital. The Danes had a factory and the

locality round about it, which is found in later maps (93) marked as Danemark-nagar is still called Dinemar-danga. Even fifteen years ago there were some parts of the factory in ruins still visible, but to-day all that has absolutely gone. Maps also show a garden on the bank of the Ganges, by name, Chhoto Bagan, it may be that this was the place used by Bounoud for indigo cultivation, but, of course, nothing is certain (94). All old maps and sketches designate the modern Rue de Paris as the road that led to Garuti or the Company's garden. Garuti was called French garden in the very early days (95). But I have not been able to find out how and when it came into French possession. Subsequently, in the time of Dupleix, for example, the palace that was there must have been something beautiful and magnificent, according to the descriptions we have of it. Bishop Currie (96) and also Grand pre (97) state that this was one of the finest buildings in India. It was a centre of amusements and joyous festivities. Its spacious avenue used to be crowded, on occasions, with no less than 100 carriages belonging to the guests (98). A few years ago some remains of the building were still visible, but there is nothing to-day. The inquisitive traveller has to be satisfied with the fragment of a pillar lying under the protecting shade of an Aswatha tree and a very small portion of the broken embankment on the Ganges side and also a mound or two of bricks (99).

(58) A sketch of the administration of the Hoogly District.

(59) Calcutta Review, 1918—Chandernagore

(60) Procès Verbal de Conseil General de l'Inde Française, 1887.

(61) Irvine's Introduction, Storia do Mogor, Vol. I.

(62) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales

(63) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales

(64) Thacker's Guide to Calcutta, Early history and Growth of Calcutta.

(65) (a) Hooghly, Past and Present. (b) The Early History and Growth of Calcutta. (c) Old Fort William in Bengal. (d) Bengal District Gazetteers—Hooghly. (e) History of the Bengal army, Vol. I, etc.

(66) Storia do Mogor, Vol. I.

(67) Detailed information about the fort may be had from my article on Chandernagore published in the "Basumati", (monthly) of Asar, 1330 B. S.

(68) Hooghly, Past and Present.

(69) Calcutta, Past and Present.

(70) The exact site of the fort may be determined on comparing the old map of Chandernagore and the sketch of Fort d'Orleans by Mouchet.

(71) Introduction, Storia do Mogor, Vol. I.

(72) La Mission do Bengale Occidental Vol. 1.

(73) Survey Map 1870-1871.

(74) Pondicherry Records.

(75) This map was drawn long before either Rennel's or Joseph's map.

(76) Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Vol. II.

(77) Chandernagore, Calcutta Review, 1918.

(78) History of Bengal by Kaliprasanna Bandhyopadhyaya (in Bengali)

(79) Unpublished Records of Pondicherry.

(80) Three Frenchmen in Bengal.

(81) Notes on the Right Bank of the Hooghly, Calcutta Review, 1845.

(82) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(83) Dictionnaire Francais Illustre et Encyclopedie Universelle.

(84) The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company.

(85) Three Frenchmen in Bengal.

(86) A Brief History of the Hugli District. Three Frenchmen in Bengal.

(87) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(88) Bengal District Gazetteers—Hugli.

(89) History of the Rise and Progress Bengal Army. On the book the date given is 13th June.

(90) From the Title Deed of Edouard le Prevost, registered on January 1, 1820.

(91) Carey's Good Old days.

(92) Hooghly, Past and Present.

(93) Vide map in my article on "French Rule in Chandernagore", published in *Banga vani*, Poush, 1330 B. S.

(94) Survey map 1870-1871

(95) Carey's Good old Days

(96) Bolt's Map calls it "French Garden" and Joseph's Survey Map calls it "Old French Garden".

(97) Heber's Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.

(98) A Voyage in the Indian Ocean and Bengal undertaken in the years 1789 and 1790.

(99) Selections from unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767.

(100) After the paper was written I came into possession of certain facts kindly communicated to me by Monsieur Gerbinis, Governor of French India, on consultation with unpublished records at Pondicherry. In places they slightly differ from what I have said in this essay : but that, however, does not materially affect my main proposition as regards the site of the original French settlement.

I hereby tender my sincere thanks to His excellency the Governor, to Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri, to Professor Jadunath Sarkar, to mons. A. Singaravelore and to others who had the goodness to help me in procuring books and maps.

PROGRESSIVE ISLAM

By ATAUL HAQ, B.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW

Autres temps autres mœurs. Paganism is not obscurantism. It does not taboo culture and progress. It was a pagan world that nourished the genius of Socrates and Plato, Lucretius and Cicero. But pagan or Christian, Europe is always receptive; her geographical condition makes her indifferent to the finality of religion. Arabia, with its sandy deserts and cloudless sky, is not the cradle of ambition. Where Nature is invincible, man gives up the futile war, and finds comfort in stagnation. The provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire had abolished image worship; had changed their ideals—religious and secular, eternal and temporal. But pre-Islamic Arabia adhered rigidly to her *zohal* and *zohra*, entrenched herself within her doctrines and dogmas, and lamented the apostasy of her neighbours. The Messenger of God appeared, saw the evils that hindered the progress of his country, retired to the cave of *Hara*, and came out with a solution. His country must change with the times; *autres temps autres mœurs.* Change—and ultimately overshadow the glory of Rome and Persia.

Was transformation possible? Genius and heroism, love and ambition sustained Mohammed. "Always do what you are afraid to do". The sanctity that hedged ancient rituals and time-honoured customs was inviolable. Inviolable! Not for nothing had the Prophet passed his days in the grotto of *Hara* communing with angels, communing with Allah. Religion had preserved the demoralizing traditions and conventions; a religion should abolish them, supplant them, and incidentally uplift his countrymen. Hence the world saw the birth of Islam—with enough of philological significance to allay the suspicion of obstinate fatalism, and enough also of liberal conception to satisfy the sixth century rationalism. All that was necessary to strengthen a new faith it possessed, and yet it did not lack the practical wisdom that revealed the real design of the Master—revealed that Islam was but another name for progress. Through voluptuous songs the mystic poets of the East lead men to God: it was through God that the

new dispensation was to teach the sensuous charm of this life. God is great, but "sweet is mortal sovereignty".

Islam was found very accommodating. The Caliphs, the Imams and the divines, who lived near the time of the Prophet, knew what it stood for. They varied the interpretations, they retained the substance, and reconciled it with new problems of life. The process of rejection and assimilation went on—and then it stopped. It stopped because it was not possible to restore the youthful vigour that characterized the dawn of Islam. Religion like a living organism has its day of virility and senility. And it stopped because Moslem scholars and thinkers had not the courage to rebel against the limited idea of happiness that the spartan Arabs had enjoined upon the faithful. Wives and odalisques enough and to spare, a platter of meat a house of baked bricks—what a luxury for the famished and homeless wanderer! The limited idea of happiness has many objectionable features. It has, at least, two. It kills ambition when the limit is attained. It exaggerates the value of the methods that produced the desired result.

The intellectual bankruptcy—long and dismal—still persists. Islam is no longer a movement for the continual abrogation of those traditions and conventions which come into conflict with human progress. It is just the reverse. It is the deification of *statu quo*.

A creed, and, in particular, a creed which is inflexible, may very often check the imaginative and reasoning faculties of man. Very often, but not always. Those of Mustapha Kamal—it simply could not.

Mustapha Kamal is a synthesis of Peter the Great and Luther. He is a distinguished soldier, and, what a distinguished soldier, sedition is, a great reformer. Perhaps the greatest in the world of Islam, past or present. Genius is nothing but prescience, and it was prescience that raised Mohammed to the dignity of a Prophet. But eternity, which is God, is impenetrable. A glimpse of nearly one thousand years was all that was vouchsafed

fed to the great law-giver. For nearly ten centuries Islam kept pace with the progressive movements of the world. It fell behind when the *renaissance* drew athwart the darkness of mediaeval Europe, purifying and rejuvenating the political, social and religious atmosphere of Christendom. It had grown pharisaical and revelled in indolence. It was not the Islam of the Great Prophet, nor the Islam of his great followers: But a cruel and intricate system, guarded by jealousy and bigotry, shutting out fresh radiance from without, and extinguishing the ancient spark within. The Moslem world had its politics, its peculiar form of administration, its social rules and customs; but all that it had, was deeply permeated with religion. The atrophy of the religion produced the atrophy of other institutions throughout the Empire of Islam. The result was disastrous. Ferdinand and Isabella destroyed the Moorish kingdom of Granada, John Sobieski turned back the tide of Turkish invasion at Lemberg, and, on the battle-field of Plassy, Clive wrested their sceptre from the Moghuls. The triumph of the Cross was complete. The most miserable victim was Turkey, for hers was a lingering ordeal. She was not weak enough to be throttled, nor strong enough to escape the clutches of the Christian States. Even the little strength that remained fizzled out like a damp squib during the Serajevo War. Her capital was seized. Her empire was dissolved. Her rulers were imprisoned. And worst of all, the victors were inexorable. Merciful Allah, is it Thy will that the proud Ottoman should be enslaved? The will of the Deity, let cowards ascertain: Kamal has other duties to perform. He must draw his sword to reconquer his fatherland; he must turn a Peter to reclaim his countrymen. Let the portly divines resign themselves to Fate. He, at least, will follow the footsteps of the Great Master. The spirit of Mohammed travels back from the past. *Autres temps autres moeurs*; his country must change with the times.

The Caliphate was immediately abolished; was it not the insuperable barrier to progress, the nursery of corruption, the source of all weakness, the cause of all misfortunes? A modern state had no room for the relics of mediaevalism. There was a time when the Caliphate was the palladium of Islam; when it was the symbol of a united empire; when the Moors of Cordova vied with the chieftains of Bokhara in professing their allegiance in the royal court of Damas-

cus or Bagdad. But the Fatimid schism (909 to 1171 A. D.) had rent it in twain, long before it devolved upon the House of Osman. A phantom ruled at Constantinople. He was the Sultan of Turkey, but a phantom *khalifa*. It is very puzzling to the orthodox that the sphere of spiritual suzerainty should cease to extend beyond the limits of political sovereignty. It is certainly puzzling; and it is no less puzzling that the old world should give place to the new. The orthodox Muslim, however, has every right to plead ignorance. There was no Thirty Years' War to settle, once for all, the question of Religious Supremacy on national or territorial basis in the lands of Islam. But it was settled all the same. What the religious wars did for Christendom, tribal and dynastic jealousy did for the Caliphate. After all, such settlement was inevitable. The Turkish Caliph could no more enforce his edict in Persia than he could settle the doctrines of the Church in Bavaria. He could not dissuade the Moghals from introducing a semi-pagan festival into India. How could he? The independent Muslim princes would not stand any nonsense from a foreigner. Indian Moslems, it appears, must have a Caliph; they cannot do without one. If their Caliph, like a *roi-faineant*, remains inactive and in obscurity, let him, by all means, occupy the vacant pedestal. He may be left triumphant in his holy isolation. If, on the other hand, he acts up to his spiritual pretensions, if, for instance, he denounces the Suddhi movement—the movement which has for its object the re-admission of neophytes into the fold of Hindus, and asks the Government of India to stop it, or the vacillating Moslem to ignore it, he will find, to his disappointment and humiliation, that his pious zeal is reciprocated neither by the one nor by the other. The Indian Moslem lives in the past. The Caliphate reminds him of the days of Khalid and Omar, and helps him to forget his present insignificance. But the Turk, who is more practical, was not at all inclined to court disaster by resuscitating an empty show. Its preservation meant suffocation, its abolition freedom—freedom and something else—the inauguration of an era of reforms of which Turkey was sorely in need. The Turk buried it without any pomp or ceremony. It was not worth while making fuss about it. It was so effete. But India loves everything that is effete. She glories in effete political constitutions, in effete religions, and

social dogmas, in all effete institutions. Her genius lies that way. It is odd ; but it is true. The Caliph died in Turkey only to rise again, with the aureole of a martyr, in India. The adherence of the Indian Mussulman to the Caliphate was not simply sentimental ; it was profoundly diplomatic. It was very foolish of Kamal to abolish the Caliphate, and lose the moral support of the Moslems ; at least, of the Moslems of India. It may be that the moral support of the Indian Moslems did not amount to much, did not prevent them, during the Serajevo War, from joining the British Expeditionary force to fight the Turks in Mesopotamia. But here the diplomatic argument becomes too subtle to be followed by any reasonable man. A Pontifex Maximus is an anomaly in Islam, and yet, nobody knows why, he is an integral part of the system. He alone can protect the holy places in Arabia ! He will succeed where the combined strength of Moslems fails ! Jerusalem may change hands, Benares may be defiled, but Mecca and Medina—what an idea ! Are they not under the protection of the Caliph ? Faith is blind, and so is the ostrich when it buries its head in sand. Happily for Turkey the man at the helm was far beyond the sphere of superstition. He knew the merits and defects of the Caliphate ; they were obvious. It had little prestige, but it exercised a good deal of pernicious influence. The weakness lay in the duality of the Office. The Sultan was not merely the ruler of Turkey ; he was also the Spiritual Head of Islam—and he put the second above the first. Reforms were essential if the Ottoman Empire was to retain her independence, if his country was to go abreast with the other countries of Europe, if his people were to find a place among the civilized nations of the world ; and reforms meant subversion of all that was dear to the formalist. How could he, as a Caliph, as the champion of the orthodox section of Mussalmans, introduce reforms that were likely to uplift his country, and were more than likely to wound the prejudice of his followers ? He found himself in a cleft-stick, and he adopted the policy of hibernation. But if the instinct of self-preservation was natural in an individual, it was laudable in a nation. The interest of one should not interfere with the life of many. The individual had to be sacrificed, so that the nation might be saved. And so the Caliph went out and Kamal stepped in.

The Rubicon was crossed.

The admission of one evil leads to the admission of other evils. "The admission of error is the commencement of disruption"; disruption and a novel orientation, very often for the better, when the society is organic. The Caliphate was, no doubt, the chief obstacle to progress, but its abolition did not, at once, usher in the reign, so eagerly looked for by the reformer, so bitterly resented by the reactionary. The country was thickly sprinkled with those poisonous growths which thrive in the dark and kill ambition. The most formidable of these were, certainly, the *Khankas*. Now a *Khanka* is an excrescence in Islam. The ascetic ideal of monasticism was never encouraged by the Prophet. But as centuries rolled on, his followers grew wiser and set up a complex mimicry of the monastery of the West and *math* of the East. They could not overcome the influence of Christianity and Hinduism. Like a monastery, the *Khanka* had its lands in mortmain, its schools and charities ; and unlike a monastery, it was ruled, not by the monk—the vow of celibacy repelled the amorous Moslem—but by a secular priest. Some writers, including Shaw and Wells, are never tired of praising the complete detachment of Islam from the priest and the temple. But Islam cannot truthfully claim it. The religion of Mohammed is as much priest-ridden now as the religion of Christ. Rousseau, while discussing the conflicting jurisdictions of the ruler and of the priest, says, "*Mahomet eut des vues tres saines ; il lia bien son systeme politique . . . ce gouvernement fut exactement un, et bon en cela. Mais les Arabes, devenus . . . mous et laches, furent subjugués par des barbares ; alors la division entre les deux puissances recommença ; laquelle soit moins apperente chez les Mahometans que chez les, Chrétiens, elle y est pourtant . . .*" The Moslem priest is no worse than the Christian clergy, but his power of doing mischief is unlimited. It is easier to foster ignorance, superstition and intolerance among men, most of whom are illiterate, or, at best, ill-educated. He does not devise any sanbenito for his victims ; his methods are different. Obey him ; he is the voice of God ; no earthly consideration should make them lose sight of the traditional truth, the eternal truth ; or else, he will invoke the wrath and vengeance of the Almighty and bring down chastisement, which time cannot mitigate, nor remorse soften. As for the priest,

he is a confirmed epicure; he loves good cheer; he has his four wives and a few *affaires de coeur*; and, while he longs for the ardent embraces of the seventy *houris* in the Garden of Paradise, he gives himself the illusion of being the incarnation of piety and continence. And yet, he is an incarnation, an incarnation of the friar of the 15th century with all his vices. But the principal reason for the suppression of the *khankas* was that the superiors of the houses—the Sheikhs or Mullahs had an instinctive aversion for reforms. Modernism? Progress? Reforms? They consulted their ponderous tomes and found no precedent. It was not true that they were nourishing the very evils that caused the decline of Turkey; but their books were silent! Their disciples should not be misled by Kamal. He was an infidel or as good as an infidel, he with the Western culture. Thus the sombre hierarchs of misology functioned—*imperium in imperio*—in the shade of their strongholds—the *khankas*. The dens were forthwith destroyed, and the dwellers went the way of their patron—the Caliph.

What has given the greatest shock to the Moslem, is not the religious reforms of the new republic; it is something which affects him individually, intimately and in this life. It is the campaign against the veil; the emancipation of Turkish women; the end of a tyranny hitherto exercised by husbands or fathers. How the veil came to be connected with Islam is not known—not even to the Moslem. But there it is, growing in thickness with age and sacred by custom. In a primitive society the repressive power of law was not sufficient to protect the person of women. Ravishment and seduction could not be punished when men were constantly engaged in family feuds, internecine wars and revolutions. It was probably then that the veil came into vogue. The portion of the body, which was at once the curse and blessing of women, was covered with the veil, so that it might serve as an armour against the lust and insolence of men. Or did it owe its origin to some ancient religion, which, by making love a sin, endeavoured to hide the fatal charm behind the muslin screen, and, unconsciously, raked up the temptation of the forbidden fruit? Or, again, was it the invention of the fertile imagination of a refined voluptuary who knew that "beauty undraped was no beauty and what men loved the best was always

the unknown?" Or, lastly, was it a badge of equality designed by those jealous women, who, lacking grace and beauty, made a virtue of the wearing of it, and gained the advantages enjoyed by their more fortunate sisters? The scholars of Europe did not make any attempt to delve into its past; the veil did not interest them; it was a nuisance. But the Moslem hailed it as a boon; henceforth his wives were safe—wives who were safe enough in the cells of his *harem*. The daughters of Islam suffered both in mind and body, and made posterity pay for the cruelty of their ancestors. That the position of their women had anything to do with the intellectual and physical degeneration of Moslems, they would not admit. It was the fickle wheel of Fortune, and still.... the evil was so obvious. But their courage failed. The veil and the *purdah* have been banished from Turkey, but then Turkey had its Mustapha Kamal. The rest of the Moslem world clings to them with all its might.

So long as biparental reproduction continues women are bound to have influence on the development of humanity. The Woman's Movement is a protest against the myopic tendency of men to retard the progress of evolution. The cult of feminism has been anathematized by men, and, sometimes, by women. A female biologist has actually brought to bear all the wealth of her erudition to prove, what common sense and experience cannot support, that emancipated mothers have only weaklings for their sons. But it is a cult which has for its object, the redemption of womanhood—and therefore of mankind—by cultivating the masculine potentialities dormant in women. Is it not a fact that they guide the destiny of the nations; directly, when they are in power, and, indirectly—always? Few have escaped the fascination of love or the torments of infatuation. To complete the independence of women, only one thing was wanting; the industrial civilization. It is in full swing now. Their economic dependence on men is almost a thing of the past in civilized countries. Their new liberty is perfectly secure.

Polygamy was an anachronism where the rights and obligations of both men and women were equal. If a woman was forbidden to marry more than one husband, there was no sense in allowing a man to marry more than one wife. The marital proclivities of the Sultans did not appeal to Kamal. He would

be satisfied with one wife, nay, he could do without one. He banned polygamy as he had banned the veil. The whole thing was cruel and preposterous. Many a polygamous family has suffered from contested succession, family dissension, poverty and distress. It is true that it contributed, to some extent, to the numerical strength of the people; and numerical strength was the principal factor in deciding the political life of a nation, not many centuries ago. But in this age of science strength is identified with intellectual attainments, commercial enterprise, and—poison gas. Monogamy has triumphed over polygamy; the higher type of manhood has prevailed over the lower type; have not a handful of Europeans conquered millions of Asiatics? Only the old Pasha does not seem to be satisfied with the new arrangement—Kamal is a faddist: how happy would have been his last days—and they were so few—if he could add another to his harem—just another—But it is not to be; really Kamal is a faddist!

The Turk had been in Europe for six hundred years, and still he was not European; at least, he was not so, before the reforms of the Kamalist regime. He was an Asiatic, every inch an Asiatic, Asiatic in culture, in language, in dress, in his inner life and its outer expressions. In the Ducal Palace of Venice, there is a picture by Vicentino representing the battle of Lepanto. On the foreground stands a Turk in the folds of his voluminous pair of trousers, wearing a tunic of wool, a red waist-coat spangled with brocaded flowers, and an enormous turban. He looks like a harlequin in this national dress of his, amidst the Venetian soldiers, who are themselves dressed in their fantastic costume of the sixteenth century. The Turk lost his naval supremacy in the battle, but he retained his dress. He discarded it only when his tarboosh and turban had cost him an empire. The Turk was defeated in Europe because he was a Mussalman, and he was a Mussalman because he had a tarboosh. His dress was his ruin. The invisible faith did not so much remind the natives of his alien origin as his visible costume. The gifted children of Israel, however, understood the

European better; they knew how to humour him. They gave up their gaberdine, donned the frock coat, and virtually became the rulers of the continent. The Turks, of course did not like, at first, any change in their dress, and especially in their head-dress—was not the hat the ugliest thing that one could deck oneself with? But Kamal was firm. I was ugly, frightfully ugly, but it had the hall-mark of civilization. The Turk would not play the Asiatic in a bowler or top hat. It would end his Oriental passivity, and produce an intellectual ferment, which might combine the artistic genius of Italy with the commercial abilities of America.

At Angora, the newly built capital of Turkey, groups of people are seen of an evening discussing the absorbing topics of the day; and as they talk they mention, from time to time, in a subdued voice, the name of Mustapha Kamal—the most remarkable figure of the age. And they proceed to dilate upon the perfections of their hero upon his magnetic charms, his prodigious industry, his love for the fatherland, his past exploits, and his future schemes. These little tributes do not reach him; but he knows that the eyes of the Moslem world and, for the matter of that, of the Christian world as well, are upon him. Perhaps in the modest residence which he occupies, one can hear, at midnight his muffled footsteps while he paces up and down his study, lost in profound reflection. Perhaps in the silence of the hour he conjures up rose-coloured visions of his country—visions that unfold the glittering destiny of the New Republic; and then suddenly, awaking to the realities, is appalled at the magnitude of his task. Will he succeed in his mission or fail? The torch that Kamal has lighted in one corner of Asia may multiply, with a bewildering speed, in every city that resounds with the *muezzin's* call of "*Allaho-Akbar*" and once more guide the mighty followers of Islam "from the Indus to Spain"; or will it, like a gorgeous display of the streaming *aurora* that dissipate, for a minute or two, the gloom of the ice-bound poles shine for a moment, and pass away with the flame of his life? We shall see.

AN OUTLINE OF INDO-JAVANESE HISTORY

By BIJANRAJ CHATTERJEE, PH. D. (London)

THE material on which Sir Stamford Raffles based his history of ancient Java, viz., comparatively recent Javanese tradition, has but little historical value. We have to go back to the ancient inscriptions of the Malay Archipelago, contemporary notices in Chinese annals and Kavi chronicles, like the *Nagarakrtagama* and the *Pararaton*, in order to reconstruct the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history. Within the last thirty years Dutch scholars like Kern, Brandes and Krom have accomplished much in this direction.

The mention of Java in the *Ramayana* where Sugriva sends out searching parties in quest of Sita to the four cardinal points, is well-known. Professor Sylvain Levi would ascribe to this passage a date not later than the first century A. D. Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography about the middle of the 2nd century A. D., refers to Java as *Jabadieu* (*Yavadvipa*)—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley. Thus the Sanscrit name of the island was already known to foreigners. Chinese chronicles mention that about 132 A. D. Tiao Pien (*Deva Varman?*), the king of *Ye-tio* (*Yavadvipa*), sent an embassy to China. The Emperor presented to Tiao Pien a seal of gold and a violet ribbon.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered come not from Java but from eastern Borneo. They are not dated, but on palaeographical grounds they have been assigned to the fourth century A. D. The script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and that of the earliest inscriptions of Champa and Kamboja. The language is tolerably good Sanscrit. The inscriptions tell us of one *Ashvavarman*, the founder of a noble race. Foremost among his sons was *Mulavarman*, the lord of kings, who had celebrated a *bahusuvarnaka* sacrifice, for which ceremony stone *yupas* (sacrificial posts) had been prepared by Brahmans. Fragments of these stone posts have been discovered along with the inscription.

The next series of inscriptions tell us of *Purnavarman* of Western Java. These, too, are not dated, but, on account of their archaic character, have been ascribed to the middle of the 5th century A. D. The script is the same Pallava *grantha* character as is found in early Borneo and in the Indo-Chinese epigraphy of Champa and Camboj. *Purnavarman* calls himself the lord of the *Taruma nagara* (near Batavia), and one of the inscriptions refers to the construction of two canals, *Chandrabhaga* and *Gomati*. It is to be noted that both the names are those of rivers of North India. On two of the inscriptions the foot-prints of *Purnavarman* himself are carved and compared with those of *Vishnu*, while on a third the footmarks of the king's elephant are cut into the stone.

It might have been during the reign of *Purnavarman* or one of his immediate predecessors that the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-hien* reached West Java from Ceylon. *Fa-hien* writes that in this country there were many Brahmans but that the Buddhist religion here was not of sufficient importance to be worth mentioning. Then he mentions that after a short stay he sailed for Canton (in 413 A. D.) in a merchant vessel which had 200 Hindu traders on board.

Buddhism was probably first preached in Java by *Gunavarman*, a prince of Kashmir, in 423 A. D. From Java *Gunavarman* proceeded to China in a ship belonging to a Hindu of the name of *Nandi*.

The next mention of Java is also from a Chinese source. We learn from the history of the first Sung dynasty that, in the year 435 A. D., the king of *Ja-va-da* whose name was *Sri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo* (*Shripada Dharavarman?*) sent an envoy to the Chinese court to present a letter.

Another Chinese chronicle, which covers the first half of the 6th century A. D., describes a kingdom of the name of *Lan-ga-su* on the N.-W. coast of Java. "The people say that this kingdom was established more than 400 years ago. It once happened that one of the kings of this country was very unsatisfactory in his rule. One of his relations

was a clever man and therefore the people began to turn towards him...The king drove him out of the realm, whereupon his kinsman went to India and there married the daughter of a ruler of that country. When the king of Lan-ga-su died, the exiled prince was called back by the nobles to be their king... The son of this king sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor which is characterised by a fervent Buddhist tone.

It seems that towards the end of the 6th century Western Java fell into decay and Central Java rose into prominence. The new history of the T'ang dynasty mentions a kingdom of the name of Kalinga in central Java and describes embassies which came from this kingdom and from Bali in the period 637-649.

"In 674 (A. D.) the people of this realm took as their ruler a lady of the name of Sima. Her rule was most excellent, even things dropped on the road were not picked up. An Arab chief (an Arab colony existed on the Western coast of Sumatra from an early date) sent a bag of gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people avoided it in walking and it remained untouched for three years. Once the crown-prince stepped over that gold and Queen Sima was so angry with him that she wanted to have him executed. There was however a compromise and the prince's toes, which had touched the bag of gold, were cut off."

We hear no more of this kingdom of Kalinga in Java. Our next source of information is the Janggal inscription of Central Java, of the Shaka year 654 (732 A.D.), the first dated record which we have got as yet from Java. The script (Pallava Grantha) and the language (Sanskrit) both closely resemble the characters and the style of the Han Chey inscription of Bhavavarman, the king who reigned in Kamboja about the middle of the 6th century. This central Javanese inscription is a Shaiva document and refers to the reconstruction of a Shaiva temple on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kunjara Kunja. Probably this Kunjara Kunja is to be identified with the ashrama of Agastya of that name in South India. Two kings of Central Java, Sannaha and Sanjaya (father and son), are mentioned here as having ruled long on this earth with justice like Manu. Perhaps the Shiva temples on the Dieng plateau should be ascribed to this period. A later Javanese

chronicle describes extensive conquests of Sanjaya beyond the boundaries of Java. Princes of Sumatra, Bali and the Malay Peninsula are said to have yielded after severe fighting and acknowledged his supremacy.

Another Shaiva inscription discovered at Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated 682 Shaka (760 A. D.), describes the construction of a blackstone image of Agastya Rishi. This was done by the order of king Gajayana, the benefactor of Brahmans and the worshipper of Agastya, who had seen an image of the Rishi constructed out of Devadaru wood by his ancestors. "In order to get rain this image of Agastya Kumbhayoni was consecrated in kumbha-lagna by the strong-minded king in the fine Maharsi-bhavan."

It may be mentioned in this connection that Agastya is referred to again in another inscription which is dated a century later (785 S = 863 A. D.) and which is partly in Sanscrit verse and partly in Kavi. Kavi is a mixture of Sanscrit and a Polynesian dialect. There Agastya is also invoked under the Javanese name of Valaing. A temple of the name of Bhadrалока is mentioned in this inscription as having been built by Agastya himself and in the concluding lines there is a prayer offered for the peace and prosperity of the descendants of the Maharsi who, it seems, had settled down in Java.

In the meantime, however, important political changes had come over Central Java, which had passed, about the middle of the 8th century, from the hands of the Shaiva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra. Chinese records tell us that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang existed in Sumatra in the 5th century A. D. A learned French savant, M. Coedes, has made a most remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient history of Further India by identifying Palembang with Shri Vijaya, the San-fot-si of the Chinese. We now know that the Shailendra dynasty of Shri Vijaya ruled over a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam (near Madras) at the expense of a king of this Sumatran dynasty with the permission of a Chola prince. A Nalanda copper plate of Devapala records the grant of some villages by the Pala sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a Monastery at Nalanda which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Shailendra dynasty of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra)

out of his devotion for Buddhism. Evidently therefore Shri Vijaya or Palembang in Sumatra had become a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism since the days of I-tsing, who towards the end of the 7th century described it as a great centre of Hinayana learning.

To come back to Java, an inscription found near the lovely temple of Kalasan in Central Java and dated 700 Shaka, (778 A.D.) tells us that this temple of Tara was built at the command of the Shelendra king of Shri Vijaya in his own kingdom. Apparently the Javanese possessions were governed by viceroys on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. A remarkable fact is that this inscription is not in the Pallava script of South India but in a North Indian alphabet. In my work on ancient Cambodia I have tried to show that the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism and a North Indian script in Cambodia should also be associated with the dominating influence of Shri Vijaya. Moreover, this North Indian script of Java and Cambodia is obviously more akin to Bengali than to the Deva-Nagari characters. This feature and the curious combination of Mahayana Buddhism with Tantric elements and Shaiva doctrines to be found henceforth in Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, has led me to suggest in the above-mentioned work that from the 8th century onwards, South Indian influence seems to be on the wane in Further India which, in religion and in art, comes more and more under the sway of Pala Bengal and Magadha.

Central Java did not languish under the rule of the Shri Vijaya kings. This is the classic period of Javanese architecture. Borobudur—that epic in stone—is also to be ascribed to this period. The image of Avalokiteshvara in the Chandi Mendoot is one of the happiest efforts of Javanese sculpture and can stand comparison with the best specimens of the Gupta school. Again, by a Shailendra king, as a proof of the study of Sanscrit, was edited a Sanscrit glossary in Kavi (Old Javanese). The Sumatran rule in Java probably lasted up to the beginning of the 10 century.

About this period the Shaiva princes, who had been ousted from Central Java and who had settled down in the eastern portion of the island, appear to win back their lost territory from the governors of the Shailendra kings of Shri Vijaya. The great building activity continued in Central Java; for to this period of Hindu revival belongs the famous Prambanan group of temples with its

magnificent reliefs depicting scenes of the Ramayana. Shortly afterwards occurred a great disaster, probably a volcanic eruption, and Central Java was abandoned.

The scene now shifts to Eastern Java where rose a powerful state under Mpoo Sindok. His great grand-daughter Mahendradatta (महेंद्र दत्ता) was married to Udayana, the governor of Bali—which island had already come under the sway of the East Javanese princes. The offspring of this union, as we are told in an inscription, was the great Erlangga. While only 15 years of age, this prince had to fly from his enemies and take refuge in the forest of *Vanagiri*. He and his followers lived with the ascetics in the forest clad in the bark of trees and partaking of the same food as these hermits. He then made a vow that, if he was ever restored to his throne, he would build an ashrama in the forest—a vow, which the inscription tells us, he carried out on a magnificent scale. In the Shaka year 957 (1035 A.D.), after having overthrown his enemies in the east and west and like a fiery dragon having burnt the *anarya* (non-Aryan) south, Erlangga was enthroned as the overlord of Javadvipa. It was during his reign that some of the most renowned Kavi (Old Javanese) poems were composed—Arjuna-Vivaha, Virata-parva and a translation of the Mahabharata. The Ramayana may also have been translated into Kavi during this reign.

In 1042 King Erlangga again took to a hermit's life after dividing his kingdom between his two sons. The partition was effected by a learned sage, Bharada, who had acquired 'siddhi.' With a pitcher of water which came down from the heavens by the magic power of the great master, the boundary line between the two kingdoms of Kediri and Jangala was marked out.

Of Jangala little is known; but Kediri or Daha has made itself illustrious by the contributions its poets have made to Kavi literature. As a Dutch scholar has written: "The Javanese of today still looks back on Kediri's golden age as the most perfect realisation of his romantic dreams." About 1104 A.D. flourished at the court of king Varshajaya the poet Triguna, who was the author of the Kavi poems Sumanasantaka and Krisnrajana. About 1120 A.D. reigned Kameshvara who has been identified with the famous hero Raden Panji of the Panji romance, still so popular in Java. He was married to Chandra Kirana—a princess of

Jangala—"with whom the king always sat on the golden lion-throne," and he was the hero of all sorts of adventures. His court-poet was Mpu Dharmaja, who composed the *Smaradahana*. (The burning of the Love—God).

Between 1135 and 1155 A. D. Jayabaya, who is remembered to this day in Java, was on the Kediri throne. During his reign the poet Penooloh wrote the *Bharata Yuddha* and the *Harivamsa*. Later on *Mahabharata* episodes were adapted in such a way that the scene of the great battle was shifted to Java and the heroes were transformed into Javanese princes and thus became the ancestors of noble Javanese families. King Jayabaya is described in the *Bharata Yuddha* as a great conqueror who succeeded in overcoming even the ruler of Sumatra. The tradition still exists in Java that Jayabaya will come back and restore the golden age. He was a Vaisnava prince.

The rulers of Kediri also made their influence felt in foreign relations. In 1129 A. D. Kameshvara received from the Chinese Emperor the title of king. We learn from Arab sources that Javanese merchants traded up to the vicinity of Sophala (on the south-east coast of Africa) opposite Madagascar. There were numerous Negro slaves at the court of the Javanese princes. Indeed M. Gabriel Ferrand has been led to the conclusion by linguistic evidence and by the accounts of Arab and early Portuguese travellers that Madagascar was colonised in the first centuries of the Christian era by Hinduised emigrants from Sumatra and Java. In the 10th century, he states, there was a new migration to Madagascar from the Malay Archipelago.

Early in the 13th century Kediri had to submit to the adventurer Ken Arok with whose romantic career we have now to deal. We have ample material for the history of Java from the 13th century onwards for both the *Nagarakrtagama* and the *Pararaton*, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, cover the Singasari and the Majapahit periods. The *Pararaton* continues its narrative up to 1478 A. D. (i. e.) the end of the Hindu period of Javanese history), while the *Nagarakrtagama* stops in the year 1365 during the reign of Hyam Wuruk—the author Prapancha being the court-poet of that great monarch.

The *Pararaton* begins with the story of Ken Arok—the ancestor of the rulers of the Singasari and Majapahit kingdoms. He is

described as the issue of Brahma, the incarnation of Visnu and a near relation of Shiva. Being thus a superman, he hesitated at nothing. He was guilty of theft, murder and of every conceivable crime. One day while he sat in a gambling den, he met a Brahman who had come from India for the sole purpose of seeing him. This Brahman had come to know from supernatural sources in India that Visnu had incarnated himself in Java in the person of Ken Arok. With the Brahman's help Ken Arok gets into the service of the prince of Singasari (or Tumaple), a vassal chief of Kediri. Then he falls in love with the wife of the prince, Dedes—the most beautiful woman in Java, of whom had been foretold that her husband would be a Chakravarti monarch. After a series of disreputable adventures the prince is disposed of by means of a dagger which is destined to prove fatal to Ken Arok and his descendants down to the 7th generation. Ken Arok ascended the throne of Singasari in 1220 A. D., married Queen Dedes and soon reduced the neighbouring principalities of Jangala and Kediri to submission. He assumed the title of Rajasa Sang Amurvabhumi and had succeeded in consolidating his conquests before he was murdered in 1227. The celebrated image of Prajna-paramita, perhaps the most exquisite specimen of the Indian school of sculpture, is ascribed to his reign, and is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

The reign of Krtanagara (1268-1292 A. D.), the fourth ruler of Singasari after Ken Arok, was full of events which formed a turning point in Javanese history. Krtanagara, even in his life-time, was adored as Shiva-Buddha, but in reality he was weak and frivolous and brought disasters on his state. Without taking care to make his position secure at home, he frittered away his resources in expeditions to Malaya (in Sumatra), Bali, Bakulpura (in S. W. Borneo), etc. His inordinate pride led him to insult the envoy of the Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan. Meanwhile a vassal of his, Jayakatong of Kediri (or Daha), rose in revolt against him. Krtanagara's son-in-law, Raden Vijaya tried in vain to resist the rebel chief, who made his entry into Singasari. Krtanagara was slain and Vijaya escaped to Madura (the island to the north of Java). He came back again, however, entered the service of his former enemy Jayakatong and served him with a carefully

feigned faithfulness. With that prince's permission Raden Vijaya founded a new town on a waste land which came to be known as Majapahit (Bilva-tikta) from a bael tree with bitter fruit found growing on the site. Vijaya was all the while biding his opportunity, which came in 1293 A.D., with the arrival of the Chinese troops sent by Kubilai Khan to avenge the insult offered to his envoy. At the instigation of Raden Vijaya the Chinese generals moved against Jayakatong of Kediri, who perished in the conflict. His enemy being thus disposed of, Raden Vijaya then attacked the Chinese troops, who, astonished at this treachery, retreated to their ships and sailed away to China without having accomplished anything. Kubilai Khan was highly incensed at the failure of this expedition and condemned one of his generals, a Mongol, to receive seventeen lashes.

Raden Vijaya, having got rid of all his foes, ascended the throne of Majapahit, in 1294 A. D., the town which he himself had founded, and assuming the title of Krtarajasa Jayavardhana made himself the overlord of East Java. A fine statue of this first sovereign of Majapahit, erected in the temple built over his ashes, represents him as Visnu with all the sacred symbols. This practice of identifying deceased monarchs with the divinities they worshipped in their life-time was common in ancient Cambodia as well as in Java.

The son of Krtarajasa, who succeeded him, was a worthless ruler. The third sovereign of Majapahit was the great queen Tribhuvanottungadevi Jayavishnuvardhani—the eldest daughter of Krtarajasa. She shared her royal position with her mother Gayatri (a devout Buddhist) and her sister Rajadevi. Her husband, the Prince-Consort, was the chief justice of the realm. It was, however, Gajamada, the prime-minister, who was the most masterful personality at her court. One day in a cabinet meeting he declared that he would not touch the income from his estate till West Java, Bali and the chain of islands to the east of it, Bakulpura in S.-W. Borneo, Palembang or Shri Vijaya in Sumatra and Pahang and Singapura (Singapore) in the Malay Peninsula were conquered by Majapahit. This solemn vow was received with jeers and contemptuous laughter. Gajamada, keenly feeling the insult, laid his complaint before the queen. The scoffers

had to clear out and Gajamada received the royal permission to carry out his policy.

Bali was over-run in 1343. The powerful prince of Badahulu in Bali was slain and as he was the over-lord of the chain of islands to the east of Java and of Madura and a portion of the Celebes—this was a great triumph for Majapahit.

Probably the other conquests were achieved during the next reign, that of Hayam Wuruk, under whom Gajamada continued to serve as prime-minister.

To this period belong the curious inscriptions of Adityavarman—a prince of Sumatra who was a relation and a vassal of the queen of Majapahit. The language of these inscriptions is very obscure but they clearly show the prevalence of Tantric doctrines in Sumatra and Java. De Heer Moens, in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1924 (3 and 4), thus interprets these stanzas, which were obviously meant to mystify the reader :—"In 1269 Saka in the month of Jaisthya, prince Adityavarman received on a cremation ground the highest consecration, thereby gaining salvation, becoming a Kshetrajna, under the name of Vishesa Dharani—Enthroned in solitary state (on a heap of corpses), laughing violently and drinking blood while his Mahaprasada (i.e. the human sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around an awful smell, which however to the initiate seemed like the perfume of a million flowers." After his death Adityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokitesvara.

In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to Krtanagara (*the last King of Singasari*) by Prapancha—the author of the *Nagarakrtagama*—who was living at the court of Majapahit at this time. We have already mentioned that Krtanagara was supposed to be an incarnation of Shiva-Buddha. He also received consecration on a cremation ground and thus became identified with the Jina Akshobhya. The *Nagarakrtagama* also refers to the Tantric Chakra rites diligently carried out by Krtanagara, who was also an adept in still darker practices.

The Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, which belongs to this period and which calls itself a text of Mantrayana Mahayana, also bears the impress of Tantrism. A passage in it refers to Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva as the emanations of the Dhyani Buddha Vairochana.

• This digression on the prevalence of

Tantric doctrines in Java and Sumatra would serve to show how the decadence of both Hinduism and Buddhism paved the way for the success of Islam in these islands.

To return to Queen Jayavisnuvardhani, she withdrew from the affairs of state when her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the "young cock") became of age in 1350 A. D. The reign of Hyam Wuruk (his royal title was Sri Rajasanagara) saw the great expansion of Majapahit. This was due mostly to the genius of Gajamada, who, till his death in 1364, continued loyally to serve the king. Both the Nagarakrtagama and the Pararaton give us a list of the countries which, during this reign, belonged to Majapahit and this list is of a quite respectable length. According to it the empire of Majapahit included at this time all the islands between Java and New Guinea—the south and western part of the last mentioned island also acknowledging the sway of Majapahit. Moreover Borneo, South and West Celebes, Buton, Burn, Ceram (Ambon), Banda, Banggai, the W. Molucca Isles, Talant, etc., are all included in this list of dependencies. Then we come to the petty islets between Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. On the Malay Peninsula itself Kedah, Kelang, Singapore, Pahang, Kelantan, etc., belonged to Majapahit. Finally the great island of Sumatra, including Palembang or Shri Vijaya, formed part of this powerful empire. Thus was carried out the scheme of Gajamada on a larger scale than he had planned at first. A part at least of these extensive conquests was achieved by an admiral of the name of Nala during the reign of Hyam Wuruk's mother.

After enumerating the conquests the Nagarakrtagama mentions the countries in alliance with Majapahit. Ayodha and Rajapuri (both in Siam), Marutma (Martaban), Kambuja, Champa and Yavana (North Annam) were steadfast allies (*mitra*) of Majapahit. Madura, it should be noted, was not regarded as foreign territory—it was reckoned as part of Java itself.

These islands brought their tribute regularly to the court of Majapahit. Owing to the desire of H. M. Hyam Wuruk to further the general welfare, Mantrins and Bhujangas (learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after state affairs in these distant possessions. Shaiva Bhujangas, besides their political work, were allowed to introduce the Shaiva cult wherever they went so that

it might not dwindle away. But for the Bhujangas of the Buddhist faith the whole of the West of Java was forbidden ground, as in ancient times there were no Buddhists there. But as regards Eastern Java and the islands to the east, the Buddhist Bhujangas were permitted to visit them. Two eminent Buddhist monks, Bharada and Kutaran, established a system of land tenure in Bali on the Majapahit model.

The efforts of the Bhujangas, Prapancha tells us, met with great success. Whatever region dared transgress the royal ordinances were attacked and severely punished by the admirals (*Jaladhi-mantri*) of Majapahit—several of whom won great renown.

"Five is the number of the blameless ministers," to quote the Nagarakrtagama, "who protect the realm." Members of the royal family ruled over many of the different parts of the kingdom but they appeared very often at the court of Majapahit to pay homage to the king. The principal queen, with the title of Shri Parameshvari, was Sushumna Devi who is described by the poet Prapancha as an incarnation of Rati.

The Nagarakrtagama gives a detailed account of the capital Majapahit (*Bilva-tikta*) with its deep tanks, avenues of *Kesar* and *Champak* trees, public squares, bazaars, palaces and the royal pavilion (the *bitana* hall) where the prime-minister (the *pati*), the Aryas and the "trusted five" (the cabinet) approach the king of Tikta-shriphala (Majapahit). In the eastern part of the capital dwelt the Shaiva Brahmans, of whom the very reverend Brahmaraja was the chief. In the Southern part lived the Buddhists—the head of the Sangha being the Sthavira Rengkannadi. In the western part there were the houses of the Ksatriyas, ministers, etc.

As far as we can gather from contemporary sources, Buddhism flourished in aristocratic circles. That would explain the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which rose during this period. But it did not enter so much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is overwhelmingly Brahmanic. Even Buddhist poets wrote on episodes of the Hindu epics during the Majapahit period.

Dr. Vogel states that at this time Javanese plastic art presents a type which is much more Polynesian than Indian. This is to be noted especially in the highly fantastic sculptured panels of Chandi Panatarana in Eastern Java representing Ramayana scenes. Here we find strange figures of warriors,

demons and monkeys mingled with decorative clouds in the quaintest possible way. But this Polynesian style is confined to the exterior decoration of the temples of this period. The images inside the shrines are still of the genuine Indian type of Central Java, and many of these images bear inscriptions denoting their names in North-Indian characters which, from the specimens I have seen, resemble Bengali more than Nagari.

After the death of the great Hyam Wuruk in 1389 A.D., a rapid decline set in. A civil war between the son-in-law and the son of the deceased monarch proved disastrous for Majapahit. North Borneo, Indragiri in Sumatra and Malaka took this opportunity of shaking off the Javanese yoke. A terrible famine wrought havoc in Majapahit itself.

Of the last rulers of Majapahit we know but little, as the Pararaton gives but the most meagre information. During the reign of Suhita, the grand-daughter of Hyam Wuruk, Kediri or Daha became independent under a rebel chief of the name of Bhre Daha. She was succeeded by her younger brother, Krtavijaya, who married a princess of Champa. This queen favoured Islam which must have strengthened its foothold in Java during this reign. She died in 1448.

According to the tradition still current in Java, the generosity of the last monarch of Majapahit, Bra Vijaya V, towards the Mahomedans met with ingratitude. The last words of the dying king, after he had seen the overthrow of his kingdom in 1478, were that foreigners would come some day from far over the seas and avenge him; and the Dutch claim to have fulfilled the prophecy.

But according to an inscription discovered by Dr. Krom, it was a Hindu prince, Ranavijaya, who dealt the death-blow to Mahapahit in 1478. Ranavijaya belonged to Kediri and was probably the son of Bhre Daha who revolted during the reign of Suhita. The city was not however destroyed, as in 1521 we find it still mentioned as an important place. But after 1478 Majapahit ceased to be the capital, and the more important families fled to Bali. Ranavijaya or his successors must have been swept away ere long by the rapidly rising tide of Islam.

For the Muslim period of Java begins from the end of the 15th century.

Before I conclude, a few words on Bali would probably be not out of place. According to Javanese accounts, a number of Shaiva Brahmins came (probably from India) to Majapahit just before its fall in 1478 and then fled to Bali. The Balinese Brahmins trace their descent from Padanda (Pandit) Vahu Ravuh—a name which means "the newly arrived." The five existing subdivisions of Brahmins in Bali are supposed to be descended from him and his five wives. Buddhism still survives in Bali, but Hinduism is in the ascendant. At great feasts a Buddhist priest is invited to join four Shaiva pandits. *Ida* is the title of Brahmins, *Deva* that of Kshatriyas, *Gusti* of Vaishyas, while the Shudras are given a name of courtsey—*Bape* and *Meme* (*बाप* *मे*). The Kshatriya princes of Bali trace their descent from Deva Agung—a Majapahit prince who settled down in Bali. For a long time the Balinese chiefs did not forget Java. Easternmost Java and Western Bali have been rendered desolate by continuous wars between Java and Bali. Unsuccessful in Java, the Balinese princes conquered some of the islands to the east, Lombok, etc.

Only certain portions of the Vedas have survived in Bali. The Brahmanda Purana is probably complete. Under the heading of Triturs we have a miscellaneous collection of Sanscrit texts on Rajaniti, etc. This is almost all the Sanscrit literature Bali still possesses.

The Ramayana (which has not got the Uttara Kanda) exists in Bali in the Kavi language. The Uttara Kanda forms a separate work by itself. The name of the Mahabharata is not known in Bali but six of its parvas exist in a complete form in Kavi. The rest are incomplete.

Then there are the chronicles or Ballads—e.g. the *Usana Java* and the *Usana Bali*. The last calls the island *Bali-anka*,—the lap of the strong and valiant—thus fitly expressing the bold, warlike spirit of the Balinese.*

* A paper read before the Greater India Society.

IF OTHER NATIONS SHOULD BE FREE, WHY NOT INDIA?

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

IF Freedom and Nationhood are the acknowledged right of all civilized nations in the world, why are they denied to India?

It was declared throughout all the Great War in Europe that one of the chief objects of that war was to give freedom to oppressed peoples. This more than any other was the slogan which took America into the conflict. Said President Wilson: "We are fighting for the liberty and self-government of all peoples." The Treaty of Versailles proposed to carry out that idea. This was why Poland was restored to her old freedom and nationhood. This was why Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and other much smaller new nations were created.

Then why was not India, by far the greatest of all the subject nations of the world, given her freedom? Why did not age-long subjection, not to mention her contribution of vast sums of money and more than a million men to help the allies to win the war, win for her some consideration at Versailles?

In justice India should have been the first of the subject peoples to be set free. The nations in Europe that were given their freedom, all combined, had a population which was only a fraction of that of India. All were very young compared with her. None of them had occupied anything like so important a place in the world's history as she. None of them had been deprived of their liberties so completely, or reduced to such dire poverty, as had India. Yet so shamefully unjust was the Versailles Treaty that it did not give a word of consideration to this great suffering nation, but left her as absolutely under the heel of foreigners as if the war had never been fought.

It will help us to understand whether India has a right to freedom, and whether she possesses a just claim to the sympathy of mankind in her struggle to obtain it, if we make some comparisons.

Beginning at home, we in America may very fittingly consider first the case of the American Colonies of 1776. Was their right

to freedom greater than is that of India to-day? We well know that those Colonies had many sympathizers, even in England. Their cause was defended over and over in the British Parliament in great speeches by eminent public leaders. Pitt "rejoiced that America had resisted." Horace Walpole "thanked God" for the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Fox went so far as to declare that the British ministers for waging war against us ought to be sent to the scaffold. Great numbers of the common people of England took our side.

France not only sympathized with us, but furnished us with indispensable financial and military help. She loaned us money. She sent a strong fleet to aid us by sea. Lafayette came with his great influence and ability and threw himself with all his soul into our cause.

From Germany came Baron von Steuben, bringing his important military assistance.

Was the cause of our Colonies, which thus found so much sympathy abroad, even in England itself, any more just than is that of India to-day? Had they suffered any deeper wrongs than India has suffered? Were they any more worthy of sympathy than is India? On the score of population and importance in the world, how do the two compare? The number of the people of India to-day is almost exactly a hundred times as great as was that of the revolting American Colonies. Has a very great people less right to freedom and nationhood than a very small one? Furthermore, Great Britain had herself actually created most of those Colonies, populating them with her own sons and daughters, transporting them to their new homes in her own ships, and giving them their language, their religion, their whole civilization. Therefore, was it strange if she felt she had a right to rule them? But as for India, she had nothing to do with creating it. She did not give it any part of its permanent population, or any of its languages, or its religions, or any part of its real civilization—the civilization which it had enjoyed for 3,000 years. She was and

is simply a conqueror and intruder, camping as it were on a foreign soil.

Moreover, wrongs and oppressions inflicted on the American Colonists, as enumerated by Jefferson in our Declaration of Independence, are far, far exceeded in number and in the seriousness of their injustice, by any true list of the wrongs and oppressions inflicted on the people of India, as abundantly shown in any true history of India. If, then, our forefathers were justified in throwing off the yoke of England, even at the cost of war, why are not the people of India justified in their struggle by peaceful means to free themselves from the far, far heavier yoke of their foreign rulers ?

In any attempt to make comparisons between India and other subject peoples, a case that comes naturally to mind is that of Italy, last century, in her long and finally victorious struggle to free herself from the domination of Austria. Probably there is not a lover of liberty in the world who does not regard that struggle on the part of Italy as just and noble. Yet her domination by Austria was very limited as to both the extent of territory and the population involved, as compared with Great Britain's domination of India. Nor were the Italian people domineered over or humiliated to anything like the degree that was and is true of the people of India ; nor were they compelled to witness anything like such contempt for their institutions, their ideals and their whole civilisation, or to submit to any such ruthless and persistent exploitation of their country, as has been and still is the case in India.

Still further, in the very nature of the case, the Austrians were far better fit to rule the Italian people than the British are to rule the people of India, and this for clear reasons. The two nations were neighbors, and of course, had always been, and therefore to a considerable degree were acquainted, and knew each other's needs ; whereas Great Britain and India are separated by more than a quarter of the circumference of the globe, and have never known anything of one another until very recent times when the British went to India as traders and conquerors. Also, what is highly important, the religion of Austria and that of Italy is the same, as also is the whole civilization of the two nations ; whereas the religions and the civilization of Great Britain and India are well-nigh or quite as different from one another

as any historic religions or any advanced civilizations in the entire world. If, therefore, Austria was not fit to rule Italy, is Britain fit to rule India ? And if Italy was justified in driving out the invader and gaining her freedom, why is not India justified in struggling to be free ?

Let us compare India with China, although China is not in the full sense a subject nation. All the better public opinion of the world is recognizing that great wrongs have been inflicted by other nations on China, and that the time has come when these wrongs should be righted. But are the wrongs of China greater than those of India ? Let us see. Great Britain, in connection with her opium wars, seized a number of China's most important commercial cities as "treaty ports," and holds and controls them to-day as virtually her own. Public opinion in America condemns this, and the better public sentiment of all nations is more and more doing the same. How about India ? When Britain went there, did she stop with seizing half a dozen Indian cities ? She seized every Indian city and all the country besides, and still holds and controls all.

Half a dozen European nations, by the use of pressure and force of one kind and another, have secured "spheres of influence" in China, by means of which they get various unjust railroad, mining, manufacturing, shipping, and other concessions and monopolies, which are a form of tyranny over the land and an insidious means of robbing it of its resources and wealth. Impartial judges in all nations recognize this as wrong. How about Britain in India ? Did she stop with obtaining by forceful means mere local spheres of influence here and there ? She seized by force the whole country, over all of which she exercises to-day unhindered monopolistic and exploitative control.

European nations have insisted on extra-territorial courts and legal regulations in China, by means of which they free all persons of their own nationalities in the country, whether residents or transients, from control of the Chinese government and from submission to Chinese law. The public opinion of the world is demanding the abolition of this injustice. But in India a very much worse form of virtual extra-territoriality exists, and on a vastly larger scale. There, not only are all Europeans in the land free from control by laws made by the Indian people, but all the Indian people themselves are compelled

to submit to a legal system imposed upon them by foreigners.

Foreign nations have forced unjust tariff regulations on China and so manipulated and controlled her customs as to rob her of more than half her revenue. But Britain controls all of India's revenue. Not a rupee of it can the Indian people expend without the consent of their foreign masters. True, these foreign masters use part of it for India's benefit; but how small a part! They consume more than half in carrying out their own imperialistic and militaristic ends.

For years we in America made a great ado over Japan's having taken possession of Shantung, a province or part of a province, of China. Yet Shantung is very small and relatively unimportant compared with great India. Nor did the Japanese rule the Chinese in anything like the way in which the British rule the Indian people. Why did we lift up our voices against Japan's wrong, when at the same time we said not a word about Britain's far greater wrong? Indeed our Government was so much concerned about Shantung that our President called a great International "Disarmament Conference" in Washington, one of the principal parts of whose business was to insure the return of Shantung to China and to arrange conditions for effecting the same.

Let us suggest one more comparison. It is not unnatural to think of the case of Ireland, in connection with that of India. If freedom in a large measure has been given at last to Ireland, why has it not to India? It is true that England's tyrannies and wrongs against Ireland were of longer standing than British rule in India, but British rule in Ireland was in no sense worse than British rule in India. The wars she fought to conquer and hold Ireland were bloody; but the Irish blood shed in all the 700 years of England's dominance was as rills to rivers compared with the blood of India's sons shed by

Britain in the long wars required to conquer the country and in the sanguinary war of the Mutiny (of 1857) required to hold it. Ireland is located close to England, and many Englishmen have always claimed, and with some degree of plausibility, that England's safety demanded that both countries should be under one government. But India is located on the opposite side of the globe from England, and nobody could ever without absolute lunacy claim that holding such a land in subjection was necessary for England's safety. If then England ought to have given Ireland freedom, why should she not give freedom to India?

From the above facts, it will be seen that nothing can be more inconsistent, more unfair, or more unjust than for Americans, after having extended their sympathies freely and nobly, as they have done, to all the oppressed nations which have been named above (and others which might be mentioned), to *refuse to do the same to great India*, the most conspicuous example in the entire world of a civilized, historic and honored nation conquered by foreign force; robbed without cause of its nationhood, disarmed so that no citizen without special permission from his foreign masters may even possess a rifle with which to shoot a tiger attacking his home from the jungles; exploited in order to enrich its conquerors; and, in face of its constant protest, held in subjection by battleships in its harbors capable of levelling its cities to the ground; by cannon, forts and armed forces at every strategic centre in the land watching with eagle eyes for disaffection; and by bombing aeroplanes ready in a good many places to drop death and destruction on its villages at the first sign of revolt. For Americans not to sympathize with such a nation struggling for freedom, can mean only one of two things, either that we are amazingly ignorant of the facts as they exist, or else that we are unworthy of the freedom which we ourselves enjoy.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

THOUGHTS ON THE POLICY OF THE CROWN TOWARDS INDIA: By John Malcolm Ludlow, *Bar-at-Law*, London, 1859. Reprinted and published by Major B. D. Basu, Bahadurganj, Allahabad, 1927.

This well-printed volume of 330 pages, written immediately after the Mutiny, deals mainly with the annexation policy of the East India Company which reached its climax of iniquity in the time of Lord Dalhousie. The book is full of instructive passages which would go to show that most of the arguments in the armoury of Indian Nationalists were used by English sympathisers three quarters of a century ago without producing much result in the course of all these years. They have thus a depressing effect on the mind, for they show how little influence human reason has on the affairs of the world when self-interest is concerned in perpetuating the reign of unreason. As for human suffering, injustice, and crimes against humanity, the book will furnish ample records of all this, leaving one to ponder how far moral qualities, and therefore civilization as a whole, can assert themselves in the absence of a strong public opinion backed by physical force. But cynicism apart, Major Basu has done a very useful service in bringing out a reprint of this book, for it contains valuable material for a true history of India in the nineteenth century.

POLITICS.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN SILPASAstra WITH THE TEXT OF MAYASAstra: By Phanindra Nath Bose, with a foreword by Dr. James H. Cousins. The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1926. The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series No. XI. Pp. 4+90+18+4.

This is a very welcome contribution to our knowledge of a subject of which very little is known to Indologists in general. It is only in quite recent times that some of the more important Silpasastra texts have been published, chiefly in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Besides the technical works treating of architecture, sculpture, and painting, we also find treatises on image making in some of the Puranas, in the Brhatsamhita, and in the Sukraniti. Our author is probably right in dating this literature, of which he gives a short account in chapter II, from about the 6th to the 12th century A.D. It is, however, difficult to say anything definite about the date of the Sukraniti.

In its present form it is certainly quite a modern compilation, though parts of it may be much older. The Silpasastra texts are chiefly practical manuals for the Sylpins, not so much for the great and gifted, as for the common artists. They give for the sculptor the rules of measurements, of the conventional postures, ornaments, and decoration of images and for the painter the canons of painting. For the architects they give directions for choosing sites, for building houses, palaces, halls, stables, forts, temples, etc., and for the laying out of villages and cities. But, as Professor Bose shows, the Silpacaryas have also contributed to the science of aesthetics, and tried to give expression to the idea of the beautiful. As art in India was never separated from religion, the idea of the beautiful is closely connected with religious ideas. Images of the gods or of divine beings (and any other images are rare in India) are considered to be beautiful only, when they are helpful for Yoga or contemplation. Yet it would be wrong to say that art in India was the handmaid of religion. It is not that art was in the service of religion, but rather religion and art were yet inseparable, they existed only as an unseparated whole.

Both Indian and Western Indologists have every reason to be thankful to Prof. Bose for the useful information on the Silpasastra given in this book. In the Appendix the author has given the text, in Nagari, of the Mayasastra, which has been printed in Madras (1916) in Telugu characters. The title of the work in the Telugu edition is "Mayavastu", yet its subject is not architecture, but image-making. He also gives descriptions of certain Silpasastra MSS., found in the Visvabharati Library, of which he had been able to avail himself for his work. It is to be hoped, that Professor Bose will in time publish these hitherto unknown texts. I am pleased to hear that one of them, the Pratimamana-laksana, is to be published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, shortly.

M. WINTERNITZ.

SHIVAJI SOUVENIR: Edited by G. S. Sardesai, (K. B. Dhawale, Girgaum, Bombay.) Rs. 2-8. Pp. English VIII+198, Marathi-Hindi 212, Gujarati 34. 24 Illustrations.

The Shivaji Tercentenary Celebration Committee of Bombay acted wisely in entrusting their memorial volumes to the tried and capable hands of Govind Sakharam Sardesai, the author of *Marathi Riyasat*. The present volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Shivaji, and contains some excellent portraits of him as well

as four rather conventional but spirited panels designed by Mr. Karmarkar illustrating four famous incidents in the hero's career.

Some of the pieces, included in this volume are naturally of a topical interest only; others are of enduring value to the student of Shivaji's history. Among the latter must be mentioned, a literal English translation of the *Jedhe Chronicle* by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (which he had no time to correct or annotate), Sardesai's English version of the *Jedhe Karina* (which throws new light on the youth of Shivaji), Shivaji and the Portuguese (by Senhor P. S. Pissurlencar) and six original historical letters. The Marathi section is enriched with Sardesai's accurate and methodical lists (with descriptions) of the Maratha forts and of Shivaji's contemporaries and seven historical letters (only three of which are translated in the English section). There is an interesting study of the battle of Pratapgod by Captain G. V. Modak of the Gwalior, which is probably the first technical study of a campaign by an Indian military officer.

The alleged letter from Shivaji to Jai Singh is a late fabrication like the popular stories about Kalidas and Birbal. The volume was compiled and printed under very great pressure, in order to be published punctually on 3rd May. Misprints must abound in such circumstances, but the editor and printer both deserve the cordial thanks of the public for this valuable work.

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615-19: Edited by Sir W. Foster, (Oxford University Press), new and revised edition. Pp. LXXX+532. Price 18s. net.

Foster's scholarly edition of Roe's Journal was first issued in 1899 as a volume of the Hakluyt Society's Series. It was very costly and has been long out of print. Our thanks are due to the Oxford University Press for issuing this new and cheaper edition.

It is a new edition and not a mere reprint. In preparing it, the text of the old edition has been collated with the sources and thirty new letters of Roe have been incorporated, the notes have been carefully revised, and new and clearer photographic illustrations have been substituted for the old.

It is impossible to over-estimate the value of Roe's *Journal* as a life-picture of the India of Jahangir and equally impossible to over-praise Sir William Foster's deep and accurate scholarship and care for relevancy and conciseness. The result is that one of the first-rate "sources" for Mughal India has now been brought within the reach of the reading public. Quotations from the journal of Terry (Roe's chaplain) which are profusely given in the notes, help to complete the record.

Sir Thomas Roe's personality comes out vividly in his own diary and letters as well as Foster's introductory biography. He was one of England's worthies, with the grand Elizabethan air about him—a happier and more successful Dufferin in oriental diplomacy.

LEAVES FROM A VICEROY'S NOTE-BOOK: By Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Macmillan). Pp. X+414, and 39 illustrations. Price 28s. net.

We are not surprised that a costly *and

sumptuous volume should have been published in England containing such poor stuff as these 414 pages,—for the English are a rich people and may spend their money in any way they like. But that a responsible Viceroy, a Cabinet-minister and might-have-been Premier should have been at pains to note these things down year after year, and that his high-placed executors should have considered it proper to print them, makes us, (to borrow Macanlay's phrase about Southey's *Colloquies*) "despair of human nature."

What Lord Curzon cherished in his note-book as humour is the mere cracking of thorns under a pot and would hardly have been accepted for their Sunday's issue by the better type of daily papers. Curzon is, as might have been expected, at his best in his descriptions of travel; but even these are mere journallese and do not make the least approach to literature of the type of *Eothen*. The plates are exceptionally distinct. But there is not a line in this volume of any use to the politician or the historian.

THE LAST BATTLE OF PANIPAT: By Caji Raja Pandit, translated into English by Lt. Col. James Brown, 1791, and now edited with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices by H. G. Rawlinson, (Oxford University Press), Rs. 2.

Kashiraja, a Deccani Brahman, and a trusted clerk of Safdar Jang (Wazir of Oudh), was present at the battle of Panipat, the events of which must have burnt themselves into his memory,—so that his Persian narrative of the battle and the events that led up to it, though written long after the event, is of the highest value, as an eye-witness's record. His original work, in Persian, is no longer traceable, but Col. Brown, a distinguished Orientalist, made a simplified English translation of it in 1791, which was published in Vol. III. of the *Asiatic Researches* (1799).

Principal Rawlinson has done a good thing by making this translation easily accessible to us, in a cheap reprint, which is adorned with 3 plates an introduction, notes, and four useful appendices viz. (A) the itinerary of the Maratha army (from Sardesai's *Riyasat*), (B) Nana Farnavis's account of his experiences in that fatal battle (from Briggs's translation), (C) Two letters of the Bhao, and (D) a Bibliography.

Mr. G. S. Sardesai has read the proofs and suggested many corrections and additions, besides translating passages (from Marathi) and collecting materials for Mr. Rawlinson. A map of the country from Delhi to Kunjpura would have been more helpful than the small sketch facing page 52. By the way, what is Mr. Rawlinson's authority for translating *Kunjpura* as crane's nest?

GEORGE NATHANIEL CURZON: By D. G. Hogarth from the Proceedings of the British Academy. (Oxford University Press). Pp. 23, price 2s.

Lord Curzon's greatness and defects both come out in this obituary notice, though one has to read between the lines for the latter. He was a man of wonderful vitality, energy and variety of interests, but not a statesman, not a good man nor even a great man,—taking the last two phrases in their broadest sense. He was a vigorous administrator, a glorified head clerk, who spared neither himself nor others, but the illuminating touch of genius, the sacred flame of the true

philanthropist and citizen of the world were absent in his constitution. It is no wonder that he could not realise his life's dream of becoming England's prime-minister. Within his natural limits he did much good work. Indian archaeology will remain for ever indebted to him, and there is no denying the fact that Indian life was greatly quickened in his time, both by, and in opposition to, him.

S.

THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORY OF THE GWALIOR STATE (1927): *Published by the Dept. of Economic Development of the Gwalior Government. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review would be of great value to the British Indian public and the public of other native states in India who desire to be acquainted with the possibilities of commercial enterprise in the Gwalior State which is making rapid strides at commercial progress.

EARLY MARRIAGE: *By Pandit Anand Koul. Printed at the Kashmere Central Jail Press. 1927.*

In this pamphlet our author condemns the practice of Early Marriage among the Kashmiris and its pernicious effects on the Kashmiri Pandit community.

P. C. S.

BUDDHA: HIS LIFE, HIS DOCTRINE, HIS ORDER: *By Dr. Hermann Oldenberg. Translated from the German by William Hoey. Published by the Book Company Ltd. Calcutta. (Reprinted) 1927. Rs. 17-8.*

We have every reason to be grateful to Messrs. Book Company Ltd., for the republication of this very excellent work on Buddha and his tenets. It is a classical work on the subject and was long out of print. By its republication a real want has been removed. The general get-up and execution of the reprint are in no way inferior to those of its original. It is a reprint *in toto*, without any abridgement, curtailing or alteration. Indologists will surely be glad on the republication of such an important work as this.

S. KUMAR.

HINDI

BHAVABHUTI: *By Jwaladatta Sarma. The Ganga-Pustakmala Office Lucknow. Pp. 103.*

This is the Hindi translation of the critical work on the great Sanskrit poet by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan.

BHAGAWAN MAHAVIR: *By Kamtaprasad Jain. The 'Vir' Office, Bijnor, Pp. 49.*

A popular tract on the Jain Tirthankar and his tents.

VARAMALA: *By Govind Ballabh Pant. The Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. Pp. 84. 1925.*

A puranic drama in three acts. There are a few illustrations some of which are in colour. A novel feature is the notation of the songs.

USHA: *By Shivdas Gupta. 'Kusum,' The Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. 1925. Pp. 67.*

The old puranic tale of Usha and Aniruddha is told in Hindi verse. Mr. Gupta makes the laudable attempt to introduce a sort of blank verse called 'arillachhanda,' which though not yet flexible in its movement, has yet some promise in the future. This may give new force and flow to the still waters of traditional Hindi verses. There are some illustrations.

VIR MARATHE: *By Bhimsen Vidyalkar. Editor, The "Satyavadi," Naya Bazar, Delhi. 1925. Pp. 212.*

The work under notice is a collection of tales of heroism and adventure of the Marathas of the 17th and 18th centuries, and is based on authoritative historical works. Mr. N. C. Kelkar has written the Foreward in English.

SANGIT-SAMUCHCHAYH: *Edited by Mr. Shivendra Nath Basu. Published by the Bharat-Kala-Parishat, Benares. Pp. XXII...226.*

In consideration of the paucity of musical literature in Hindi, this well got-up publication will be welcome to the lovers of music. The general plan is simple, and both the songs and notation are useful. The introduction by the editor traces the history of musical notation in Sanskrit, Bengali and Gujrati, and Hindi, but preference is reasonably given to that of Pandit Vishnunarain Bhatkhande. We are also informed that Dulhsen alias Buddhiprakas, a descendant of Tansen invented a notation. Mr. Lakshmandas Munib, the compiler of the work, gives a short account of some of the best known musicians of modern Hindustan.

MERI GERMAN-YATRA: *By Swami Satyadevi Paribrajak. Published by the Satya-grantha-mah Office, Almora, U. P. Pp. 224.*

These tales of travel are very interesting. I gives a little account of post-war Europe, and the Indian living in Berlin. The letters of Har Daya add to the importance of the book.

AZAD-KATHA, PART I: *Translated by Mr. Premchand. Published by the Ganga-pustakalaya Office Lucknow. 1925. Pp. 548.*

This Hindi version of the voluminous 'Fisana-Azad' by the celebrated Urdu novelist Pandit Satna Nath Dar 'Sarsar' is presented in an abridged form. The work is a veritable epic of Lucknow life and written in inimitable Urdu prose. Mr. Premchand has done a service to Hindi knowing people by translating this most humorous book.

PUNARJANMA: *By Pandit Nandakishor Vidyalankar c/o Govila & Co., 8/2 Hastings Street, Calcutta. Pp. 166+9. 1925.*

The doctrine of reincarnation is studied in the light of ancient Hindu scriptures and modern science and philosophy.

RAMES BASU.

ITALIAN

CARLO FORMICHI: IL PENSIERO RELIGIOSO NELL'INDIA PRIMO DEL BUDDHA: *Bologna. 1926.*

This is a book which has been recently printed in Italy and which deals with Indian religion. The author, Professor Carlo Formichi, Professor

of Sanskrit in the University of Rome, is well-known to Indian scholars as he spent some months in India, having been invited as Visiting Professor to lecture at Santiniketan during 1925-1926. The book is not a very large one. But it is so important, and so new in its ideas, that it has been already judged as one of the most original researches into pre-Buddhistic religious thought.

Ordinarily books on Indian Philosophy or religious systems give us an outline of the various spiritual *strata* as they appear to us in this or in that sacred book, in this or in that age. The consequence is that we have a static and a fragmentary vision of what on the contrary is eternally *becoming* and moving, as the world of spirit is everywhere. Human thought is never constrained in stiff formulas, neither does it progress in a uniform and straight line. Therefore, the task of the historian must be just this: to find out the forces which have acted and counter-acted on the soul of a people, giving birth gradually to its philosophical as well as to its religious creations. Professor Formichi, following this line, has shown that the forces with which we meet in India since the Vedic times have been two: an orthodox tendency specially represented by the priests which is traditionalist, conservative, and against every form of progress; and a new dynamic one, to the impulse of which we owe the most important speculative creations of India. It is in other words the eternal struggle between the *Vedapanthis* who recognize as their master the *acarya* typifying the authority the sacred text, and the *Yogapanthis* who instead of the books substitute the *guru* and the spontaneous and immediate realisation of Truth and God in one's own soul. Professor Formichi begins his researches with the Rigveda, but rightly emphasises upon the importance of the Atharva-veda, many of the most important passages of which have been newly translated and brilliantly interpreted by him. I shall point out for instance the high interest of what he says about Atharva XI, 8. It is useless to insist on the light which can come to many a problem from a more accurate study of the Atharva-veda, where we find for instance, those allusions to the Vratyas which are of such importance, and some of the Vratya hymns which represent quite a new world largely imbued with non-Aryan conceptions and permeated with a high mystic spirit.

Although the Brahmanas specially represent the orthodox speculation of the priests on sacrifice and rituals, yet the author following his enquiries succeeds in finding traces of the new current in them also. It was too important to be neglected or ignored even by the priestly schools of the most orthodox traditionalistic outlook. In this connection many a precious hint can be given by the *Aitareya Brahmana*, the *Brahmana* by the son of a *Sudra* who received initiation from Mother Earth, according to Pauranic tradition. The Upanishads in which we meet with the fullest and most unchecked development of the most vital and speculative currents of thought of India are the result of centuries of struggle between the two opposite forces. Buddhism itself, in its original form, could not help largely borrowing from the Upanishadic seers.

All previous studies on the same subject have been carefully examined and discussed, and very often the author has been compelled

to show how the interpretation of many a Vedic or Upanishadic text proposed by the most eminent Sanskrit scholars have failed to be exact. Very often the author differs from Deussen who without any doubt made a pioneer work in studying the Upanishads that is still very valuable even to-day, although in very many points his interpretations cannot be accepted any more. Our author does not refrain from criticising the too stiff philological laws and rules established e.g. by Hertel in finding out the various *strata* or the so-called interpolations in the ancient texts. It is therefore evident that it is most impossible to give a summary of a book like this, which represents in fact a brilliant synthesis of philological precision and critical understanding of facts which has permitted to the author to write a real master-piece throwing so much light on a field of research which is so important,—representing as it does the real basis of all the spiritual and religious experience of India.

Fortunately, Indian scholars not knowing Italian can become acquainted with the results of the researches of Professor Formichi; they can read the lectures on the same subject which he delivered at Shantiniketan, and which are being regularly published in the *Vishvabharati Quarterly*.

G. TUCCH.

MARATHI

SHIVA-SAMSMRITI: Edited by G. S. Sardesai. (K. V. Dhavle, Bombay). Pp. 154; 2 portraits and 2 plates; eight annas.

This volume, like the *Shivaji Souvenir* (in English, Marathi and Gujrati) has been issued by the Bombay Committee for the celebration of the Tercentenary of Shivaji's birth, under the able editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai. The contents are of a varied character and of varied kinds of use or uselessness, including a short story (48 pages), rhapsodies (in the familiar Chauvinistic vein), a modern ballad (very long), etc. What historical students will value is compressed in 28 pages, and consists of 5 historical letters, Captain Modak's study of the Pratapgad campaign, and Sardesai's account of the early career of Shahji.

The Commemoration Committee would have been better advised if they had issued a volume of containing all the historical papers of Shivaji's time, for which no abler editor than Sardesai could have been found. It is still a great desideratum and we urge that it is not yet too late to set him on this task. The Committee has members who can easily provide the necessary funds.

J. S.

ORIYA

BARUNI—An Oriya Magazine published once in two months. This is the first time in the history of Oriya literature that an illustrated magazine on most up-to-datelines has been brought out. The promoters therefore deserve credit for it. It is hoped that the magazine may continue to live long to render a substantially good service to the Oriya literature.

REX.

MALAYALAM

PRASANGA-TARANGINI, PART III : By Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai B. A. B. L. Published by the B. V. Book Depot, Trivandrum. Pp. 192. Price Re. 1.

Mr. Narayana Pillai is one of the widely known writers in Malayalam. His six scholarly essays which make the 3rd part of the *Prasanga-tarangini* complete deserve to be studied by all students of Malayalam literature. 1. Three Malayali Poets, 2. Unnunili-sandesam, 3. History of Vijayanagar, 4. Kumaran Asan, 5. Huuayi Warrior, 6. Nilakantha Tirthapadar: of these six essays the second is the longest, and we think the best thought out. This does not however mean that our estimation for his scholarly criticisms contained in the other essays is in any way less.

Not being able to see the 1st and the 2nd parts of the *Prasanga-tarangini*, we are not in a position to pass any remarks on the comparative merits of them. We heartily welcome the book, and hope to find its successive parts appear in no distance of time.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

GUJARATI

MATSYAGANDHA AND GANGEYA : By Balubhai Lalubhai Umarvadiya, B. A. Printed at the Aditya Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 176. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1925).

These are fine plays, mostly one Act plays, a novelty in Gujarati Literature, written on the style of modern English drama-writers like J. B. Shaw. The work of Mr. Umarvadiya, a rising young writer of note, has wafted into our old, antiquated atmosphere a breath of new life, and protests have been raised against it because it has come with unexpected suddenness. The thoughts are novel, the language vigorous: the outlook broad and unconventional. These in short are the features of this remarkable performance.

MONTESSORI AND KINDERGARTEN : By Gopalji Katherji Delvadakar, Printed at the Union Press,

Bombay. Thick card board. Pp. 80. Price Re 1-8-0. (1926).

Mr. Delvadakar has made a life-long study of the Kindergarten system and he has now turned his attention to the other one. He has expounded its principles in this book, and has relied on previous writers in doing so.

RAM SAMHITA, Part I : Translated by Nagor. Mansukhlal Maganlal Jhaveri. Printed at the Jain Bhaskarodaya Press, Jamnagar. Cloth bound. Pp 174. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1926).

This collection of Sanskrit Shlokas with this Gujarati translation is called Ram Samhita because Brahmcheri Shri Rameshwar Dutt Sharma (now dead) had collected them. They bear on different subjects, such as, Dharma, Niti, Itihas etc. The translation is well done.

MY TOURS OUT OF BOMBAY : By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modia Printed at the Jame Jamshed Printing Works, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 502 (1926)

Dr. Modi, the well-known Oriental Parsi Scholar requires no introduction. He wrote 101 letters from Europe and Persia to the Jam-e-Jamshed about the various places he visited during his tour in 1925, undertaken to attend the Moscow Conference of Orientalists. The wealth of information and details conveyed by these letters is illimitable, and the many personal touches in them make the reading full of interest. The veteran scholar is to be congratulated on undertaking such strenuous tours at this advanced age of his :

ASHO JARTHUSTRA : By Prof. Erach J. S. Taraporevala. B.A., Ph. D. of the Calcutta University. Paper cover. Pp. 20. Price as. 3. (1926).

The Dakshina Murti Vidyarthi Bhavan o Bhavnagar, which had undertaken to publish short lives of the prophets and saints of the world could not have selected a better scholar than Dr Erach to write the life of Zoroaster. He has done so in simple language, and has brought out all the elements in the holy life of the prophet very prominently.

K. M. J.

WHERE ARE THE 'BENGALIS ?

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE RAVAGES OF MALARIA

AS a student in Calcutta and before I left for Sind I used to pay occasional week-end visits to Halisahar, our ancestral village. Part of the old house was then standing and occupied and there was another house close by built by one of my granduncles. At one time Halisahar was a

township of considerable size and is named with other towns in *Kabikankan Chandi* by the poet Mukundaram Chakravarti in the account of the voyage of the trader Dhana-pati to Ceylon. Halisahar is well-known as the birth place of Ramprasad Sen, the famous worshipper of Kali and composer of the wonderful songs addressed to the goddess.

I first saw Halisahar when I was a little boy of about five years living at Serampore and yet the impression I retained enabled me to judge when I saw the place again after ten or eleven years that in the contest between the forest and man the former was steadily winning. Sometimes also I visited Kanchrapara the birthplace of my mother and a little over a mile to the north of Halisahar. The house belonging to the parents of my mother adjoined that of Jagadish Nath Roy, the first Bengali District Superintendent of Police and a particular friend of Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Jagadish Nath was my mother's uncle and I had always a warm welcome in his house in Calcutta. When going to Halisahar we usually alighted at Naihati from the railway train and proceeded by boat to Sivatala Ghat below Halisahar. I went once or twice to Kantalpara and saw the room, standing apart from the family house, in which Bankim Chandra Chatterji did some of his literary works. I visited Gourifa, Somra and some other places, and once I saw Kanchannagar, a village to the west of Burdwan. Everywhere were visible the effects of the terrible ravages of malaria. I saw deserted houses crumbling into ruin, peepul trees growing out of the cracks of pucca houses, jackals prowling in the daylight, dense undergrowths infested with leeches and deadly snakes and the fruit-bearing trees smothered by the wild-growing jungle. The tanks and ponds were neglected and covered with moss and water hyacinth, and were the breeding places of mosquitoes and malaria. The terror and tragedy of it all were heightened by the occasional glimpse of an old woman or an anaemic, emaciated man standing in front of an almost untenanted cottage or house—figures scarcely in keeping with the surrounding rank vegetation and the scenes of desolation that brought tears to the eyes.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE BENGALIS

Outside the railway station of Naihati and on the road leading to the riverside there were shops kept by Bengalis where one could have the milk of green cocoanuts, parched rice and the homely village *sandesh*. The boatmen were Bengalis and managed their crafts with considerable skill. The boats themselves were graceful, light, and easily steered by the helm, which was frequently merely an oarblade. I knew an old boatman named Raghu at Halisahar. He had somehow

escaped the scourge of malaria and was a fair, old man of nearly seventy years of age with incredible strength in his arms and loins. I saw him, when the tide was low, putting his back and hips to the hulk of a large boat amid-ships and pushing it up high and dry on the slimy bank with ease, a task which would have ordinarily taken three men of average strength to accomplish. I saw Raghu's clean little hut of a cabin with fishing nets and fishing tackle spread out on bamboo poles out in the open. I saw him caulking the seams of his boat with oakum and the tannic juice of the green *gab* (গাব) nut, and I listened with unfeigned pleasure to his stories of the good old days when there was plenty in the land and malaria had not made such deadly havoc, and the village *chandimandaps* (চণ্ডীমণ্ডপ), (places of public resort) were crowded with the village gossips who discussed gravely the affairs of their neighbours in the intervals of smoking their *hookahs*. There were Bengali porters available at the railway stations, itinerant Bengali vendors of all sorts, Bengali blacksmiths, carpenters and other artisans.

In Calcutta we had Bengali servants, maidservants and cooks. The streets were resonant with the street music of Bengali hawkers. In the morning peddling green-grocers with baskets of vegetables and fruits on their heads went up and down the streets and lanes advertising aloud the things they had to sell. At midday and the earlier part of the afternoon when the men were away to their places of business the *churicallis* with their bangles penetrated the sanctum of the zenana unrebuked. Women with flimsy metal vessels, hand mirrors and other gewgaws went about bartering them for old cloths. Gipsies (বেদেনী) announced in a monotonous singsong their ability to cure rheumatism and extract maggots from the teeth. Vendors of metal utensils announced their ware by ringing a peal on a metallic vessel with a piece of wood. Urchins bore testimony to the wonderful fecundity of the literature of Bat-tala by reciting the contents of some new masterpiece. Anything going, a sensational case, a street accident, a reported miracle by a faquir, brought grist to the mills, or printing presses, of Bat-tala. There were laureates galore in the dim alleys and by-lanes of Chitpure to whom nothing came amiss and who reeled

off poems with the ease and dexterity of spinners of yarn on the *charkha*.

In the summer evenings the vendors of ice-cream (কুলফি মালাই) plied a brisk business, sellers of flowers and garlands (বোটা কাটা বেল ফুল) hawked their fragrant offerings at every street corner, fried gram and cereals (চানাচুর, সাড়ে আঠারো ভাজা), beloved of children, were hawked to the accompaniment of wonderful rhymes. Among street beggars there were Baools (বাউল), with their one-stringed instruments (গোপীবন্ধ) and fantastic clown caps, their devotional songs and dances, singers of *Madhukan* (মধুকান) songs, Vaishnavas with *Kirtan* (কীর্তন) songs, and Kali-worshippers singing the songs of Ramprasad Sen. In the season of the Durga Pujah the streets and the houses were filled with heart-stirring *agamani* (আগমনী) songs, heralding the advent of the goddess. During the winter house-holders were aroused in the early dawn with songs celebrating the holy name of Hari, accompanied by the *miridanga* (drum) and cymbals (করতাল).

Most of these familiar figures and associations have now disappeared. Residents of Calcutta and the suburbs scarcely take note of the changes that have been taking place; but an occasional visitor like myself, with a treasured memory of the past, cannot fail to be struck with the marked changes noticeable everywhere. During recent years I have more than once revisited Halisahar, Gourifa and other places, but looked in vain for any signs recalling the old times. Not that I expected to see the old faces, for the debt of nature has to be paid everyday and the sweeping scythe of Time is never at rest, but it was not unreasonable to expect some sort of continuity of the old surroundings. Getting out at the Naihati railway station after a lapse of something like forty years, I found everything in the possession of Beharis. They owned all the shops and were selling stale aerated waters and unwholesome, unclean sweets. The porters, the hackney carriage drivers, the ferrymen were all Beharis. And yet an association of the past confronted me in the shape of a Bengali gentleman who had also alighted from the train and accosted me by name. I could only stare at him and tell him that he had the advantage over me. He

smilingly explained that he did not expect me to remember him as he was a youthful student when I used to visit Halisahar periodically and he used to come to me to have difficult passages in his text book of English explained. It was only then that my struggling memory came to my help and I could place the young boy now grown into a staid, middle-aged man. He was very kind, and obligingly helped me to get a gharry to drive to Halisahar. As I passed I noted that the houses on the roadside were for the most part tenanted by Beharis, men and women employed in the mills and doing anything else that came to their hands. For all that I saw I need not have come to Bengal at all and might just as well have revisited part of Patna or Chhapra. In the deserted towns and villages the gloom of the wild woods had deepened and the number of the residents had diminished.

In Calcutta the changes are quite as startling. Bengali servants have become very scarce and the few that are to be found are usually seen in the houses of zamindars who bring their servants from their estates. Hawkers from Behar have replaced the indigenous Bengalis. They sell vegetables and fruit, they are the street vendors of metal ware, they hawk flowers in the streets and occupy many of the stalls in the markets. Punjabi and Hindustani sweetmeat-sellers have opened shops in every part of Calcutta and are doing a thriving business. Nearly all the taxi and bus drivers are Sikhs. The porters with baskets (বঁকাযুটে) are all Beharis and Hindustanis, the rickshaw-wallas belong to the same class of people, and almost all sellers of tobacco, and *biris* come from Lucknow and Patna. The taxis, buses and rickshaws have driven out the Oriya palki-bearers from Calcutta. Not a single Baool is to be seen anywhere and Bat-tala has fallen on evil days, because one seldom hears the topical, classical poems of that neighbourhood chanted in the streets. The Kabuliwalas are more numerous in Calcutta than in any other large Indian city and they are Shylocks who rely on their brawny muscles to realise the pound of flesh from their unfortunate victims, who are bleb white.

THE SERVANT PROBLEM

The servant difficulty is not peculiar or confined to Calcutta or Bengal. It is far worse

in Bombay. There is no such thing as an old servant to be found anywhere in this great city on the west coast of India. Millionaires are in the same boat with humble, middle-class people; for nothing will induce any servant to stay very long with the same master. I have heard some of the wealthiest men in Bombay complaining bitterly of the difficulty they find in getting obedient, respectful servants, who can be persuaded to stick to their jobs for any length of time. I have seen a Madras servant, when not on duty, wearing shorts, hoses and excellent shoes, and sporting a pair of eyeglasses! In Sind, Sindhi servants have become as rare as the dodo. In the Punjab the entire servant class was drawn from Kangra. After the terrible earthquake of 1907 these servants are rarely available. In Allahabad wages have doubled and servants have become slippery as eels. But there is no reason for lamentation, for it is a good sign that our humble countrymen are giving up menial service and finding other work. People who cannot fasten their own shoes or feel it derogatory to carry anything in their own hands will be all the better for a little lesson in self-reliance. We are very good servants ourselves so far as the office white boss is concerned. We industriously wear out the office stool and at home discuss the saheb as a son (पुत्र) with affectionate concern not unmingled with a slight fatherly contempt. Why should we be squeamish about serving ourselves? In the diary that General Gordon kept there is a striking passage in which he records the difficulty he had in getting a servant when he was going to Khartoum or somewhere else. He grimly adds a sentence to this effect:—"But there is one servant upon whom I can always rely, who cannot disobey me or shirk his work, and that is—myself." There is also the illuminating legend about the English nobleman who was on a visit to the United States of America. He put up at a fashionable hotel and when retiring for the night put his boots outside the door in accordance with the custom in England and on the Continent. Getting up leisurely the next morning he opened his door and was horrified to find his boots just as he had left them the previous night, and innocent of any fresh polish or touch of a brush. On enquiry he learned that there were no "boots" in the hotel and none in the country. A few days later this disillusioned specimen of the British aristocracy called at

White House to see the President, for whom he had letters of introduction. After an exchange of the usual polite banalities the President asked his visitor how he liked this country across the 'pond'. "Oh, it is quite all right, but I have noticed something very funny in this country." "What's that?" asked the President with a slight upward movement of the eyebrows. "Well, you see, in England we—er—don't have to black our own boots." "Then whose shoes do you black?" countered the President gravely. History does not record whether the President winked at some one unseen when he put this question.

THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM

A far more serious question is the steady displacement of Bengalis as houseowners in Calcutta by people belonging to other parts of India. Politically Bengalis and others think they are fit to take over the administration of the country, but is it a proof of their fitness that they are losing what little they have and for this loss the foreign Government is no wise responsible? A Bengali has nothing to gain by belittling his own people, but is it not only too obvious that, whatever the other aptitudes of the Bengali people, they have so far displayed none for trade? What has been the result? The bulk of the quite considerable trade of Calcutta and Bengal has passed to the shrewd Marwaris, who, intellectually inferior to the Bengalis, are superior to them in the instinct of commerce and dogged perseverance. While Bengali boys are watching a football match or loitering about in the *Goldighi*, you will find Marwari boys in Burrabazar busy from morning till night selling cotton goods, working as brokers, or picking up information useful for business. Sindhis from Hyderabad, Sind, have opened curio shops and they have elbowed out Bengali jewellers and suppliers of *saris* and other articles. Having amassed enormous wealth the Marwaris are naturally investing it in land. The whole of Burrabazar is practically a Marwari colony with hardly an appreciable sprinkling of a few Punjabis, Delhiwallas and Bombay people. During the land boom which possessed the whole country like a fit of madness in the latter part of the World War, the Marwari profiteers in Calcutta made a determined effort to acquire as much land as possible at any price. As things turned out, many of them burned their fingers badly, but the great land drive is blatantly notice-

able up to the Chittaranjan Avenue and even beyond. These large houses of the new-rich have snobbishness stamped upon them and offend every rule of artistic architecture. They are helping to make Calcutta hideous to the eye. As for the original owners of houses and lands, they have gone under in the pitiless struggle for survival. The descendants of wealthy Bengalis in Calcutta have become impoverished and have neither the capacity nor the energy to rebuild their impaired fortunes, and they are being relentlessly sold out of house and home. In many old houses in Calcutta, founded by men of outstanding ability and resourcefulness, the enervated heirs are clinging to the past, nourishing memories of their distinguished forefathers, waiting unresistingly for the push that will send them over the precipice. For the rest, the multiplication table is at work adding to the number of lawyers without clients, physicians without patients, clerks without office stools, and the University pouring out its annual quota to swell the ranks of unemployed graduates and undergraduates. Bengal has been simultaneously invaded from Behar and Marwar, the first ousting the Bengalis from labour and petty

trade and the second monopolising capital and spreading out in every direction in Calcutta as land- and houseowners. What chance have the Bengalis got in this unequal contest ?

If it were merely a compensatory adjustment, there would not be much reason for complaint. What is happening in Calcutta and Bengal is unheard of in any other large Indian city. Bombay is much nearer to Bikanir and Jodhpur than Calcutta, but very little either of the trade or the house property of Bombay has passed to the Marwaris. In trade the people of Bombay can hold their own against all comers. There is no Chowringhee in Bombay and Europeans have to shift for themselves wherever they can find room. In Madras the Chetties are invincible and I have seen no large places of business owned by outsiders. There are no large colonies of other people in Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore or Karachi. In the case of Calcutta it is not only a city of the Bengalis, but it is the refuge of the people who have been driven out by malignant malaria from the surrounding villages. The loss of Calcutta means the loss to the Bengalis of the healthiest city in Bengal.

INDIAN NAVY—WHAT FOR ?

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

THE *London Times* of March 23, 1927, printed the following report regarding the Indian Navy Bill:—

"The Government's Bill for amending the Government of India Act, with a view to facilitating the provision of an Indian Navy, came before a Standing Committee of the House of Commons yesterday and after minor amendments, was ordered to be reported to the House for third reading.

"Commander Kenworthy moved an amendment stipulating that where any naval forces and vessels raised and provided by India are placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, the revenues of India shall not be used to defray the expenses of such vessels or forces, and so long as they are not employed on Indian naval defence, without the consent of both Houses of the Indian Legislature. He commented on the happenings in China, and characterized it as a 'great scandal that Asiatic

troops should be used for the purpose of suppressing Asiatic nationalities.

"The amendment was resisted by Earl Winterton and rejected by 12 votes to 9.

"A further amendment of Commander Kenworthy providing that where the Governor-General declares that a state of emergency exists the consent of both Houses of the Indian Legislature shall be required before any of the Indian naval forces and vessels are placed at the disposal of the Admiralty was defeated by 13 votes to 8."

On April 3, 1927, this Bill was further discussed before Parliament, when Mr. Pethick-Lawrence (Labour) proposed an amendment to the Government's bill to the effect that the use of the Indian Navy be confined to the shores of India. Among other things he argued that

"If India were a self-governing Dominion, it

would be quite reasonable that the Indian Navy should be available as a part of the British forces in any part of the world, but during the present transition stage, it would stimulate the patriotism of the Indian people if the use of the Indian Navy were limited to the defence of India itself."

Lord Winterton, opposing the amendment, said:—

"...The proposal in the Bill with regard to the Indian Navy would place it in the same position as the Indian Army; it could not be used outside Indian territorial waters, just as the army could not be used outside of India, *except on the declaration by the Governor-General in Council that a state of emergency existed, and if it was so used, the Indian revenue could not be applied to its maintenance except upon a resolution passed by both the Houses of Parliament.* From an administrative point of view, it would be extremely inconvenient to have the Indian Navy on a different basis from the Indian Army... It was outrageous to say that Indian opinion had such a limited opinion of patriotism as suggested. It was unlikely however that the Indian Navy, in the size in which it was contemplated, would be widely used outside Indian waters, in the event of war."

"Mr Pethick-Lawrence's amendment was defeated by 254 votes to 131."

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy proposed another amendment to the effect that

"Where the Indian Navy was used for other purposes than Indian naval defence, the cost should not fall on the revenue of India."

Mr. Wheatley (Labor, Glasgow) in supporting the amendment, expressed very frankly what he thought about the attitude of the Government. He said:—

"If the Government did not accept the amendment, then the title of the Bill was a misuse of words. The supreme control of the Navy surely indicated its ownership, and if the supreme control was to be vested in that House then the navy ceased to be an Indian Navy and became for all practical purposes, a British Navy. But in this the Government was only carrying out what had been the traditional policy of the Conservative Party in the treatment of India generally. They are in India for the purposes of robbing the toilers of that country, and they were only carrying to its logical conclusion that policy when they laid it down as a Governmental principle that, although India was to have a navy and pay for it, whenever that navy was wanted by this country we should seize it and use it, and would not even undertake to pay for it during the time we had it in our possession."

Many other members of the British Labor Party supported the above amendment, while Earl Winterton successfully defended the position of the Government; and the amendment was rejected by 294 to 126.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy again moved another amendment to the effect that

"where the Indian naval forces were employed by the Admiralty outside of Indian waters the cost should not fall on the revenues of India until both Houses of Indian Legislature had given their consent." Earl Winterton made a remarkable statement in resisting the amendment. Every Indian statesman should carefully note the tremendous significance of the following statement made by his lordship:

"There was nothing in the clause which would offend the susceptibilities of the Indian people. It had never been intended in the present transition stage of the Indian Constitution, that India through the Assembly should have control over revenue, and, except for a few people, there was no demand that that control should be given at this time."

The Members of the British House of Commons agreed with Lord Winterton and defeated the amendment by 272 votes to 126.

When the Bill reached the third reading stage, Mr. Wheatley gave expression to his judgment, which may give food for thought to many Indians. He said:—

"No case could be made out for an Indian Navy which was not under Indian control. The House was being asked to subscribe to a situation in which there would be an Indian Navy that might be taken away by the very people who, in certain conceivable circumstances, might be India's chief enemy, and used by those people while they retained the right to say who was to pay for the Navy during the time that it was being used without the consent of the Indian people. Whatever blessings we had brought to India, we had not brought the benefits of prosperity, and yet it was on these poor people that we, the richest part of the world, were attempting to impose what was obviously unjust financial obligation, and, while pretending to give them a say in their own affairs, were depriving them of the most elementary part of local government. Britain should not always be availing itself of the opportunity to impose its individual will on every part of the Greater British Empire. In their hearts, the party opposite did not believe there was anything like the spirit of brotherhood or equal intellect between these various parts of the Empire. They believed in holding India by the sword, as they always held it, and in imposing their will, which they believed to be superior, on the people whom they regarded as a backward section of the population."

Mr. Maxton (Labour) supported Mr. Wheatley's contention, and added that the Bill would be looked upon with suspicion by the Indian people; and various nations in the Orient would regard it to be provocative. The view-point of the British Admiralty was aired by Lt.Col. Headlam, Financial Secretary to the Admiralty. He said:—

"The opposition to the Bill was based on something that was wholly inaccurate. The whole point

of the Bill was to carry out the acknowledged policy of the Government and the British people to give the people of India, by degrees, more and more self-government and more and more interest in their own affairs. Its object was to take from the British Admiralty, by degrees, the responsibility for looking after the naval defence of India and to give it to the Indian people. By degrees, it was no doubt the intention of the British people to give the Indian people self-government, but they could not do that in the twinkling of an eye. How long it would take us to look on the Indian Empire as a self-governing Dominion depended very largely on the caution and care with which we took each step in the process of change."

Mr. Barker (Labour) answered the representative of the British Admiralty and said :—

"It was the most hypocritical statement that could possibly be made to say that the Government were creating this Navy in order to give India self-government. *They were creating this Navy because it was a long way from this country to Singapore. The object of the creation of the Indian Navy was to defend this country against Japan*".*

However, the motion for the third reading of the bill was carried by 256 votes to 122. The Government's Bill regarding the Indian Navy will be passed without any serious opposition. The very fact that the amendments mentioned above were defeated and so strenuously opposed by the officials who represent the Government of India in England and the British Admiralty, raises the question—Indian Navy—What For ?

When Earl Reading made the announcement regarding the inauguration of the policy of establishing a so-called independent Navy for India, as a beginning of India's assuming the responsibility for her national defence, many Indians felt sceptical about it. It is interesting to note that the alert Japanese Press began to ask the pertinent question of the possible relation of an Indian Navy to the Singapore Naval Base and British Far Eastern World policies.

From the substance of the debate in the British Parliament, it is now clear that India will have to bear the burden of maintaining the Indian Navy, when it might be employed without the consent (and at times in direct opposition to the will) of the Indian people, for purposes other than Indian national defence, and for the purpose of the aggrandisement of British Imperialism. The British Imperial Government will have the full legal (not moral) right to use the Indian Navy against Turkey or Egypt in the Mediterranean,

against Persia and Arabia in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, against France, Holland and Siam in the Indian Ocean and against Russia, China, Japan and France in the Pacific. That is not all,—it can be used against any nation in any part of the world against the wishes of the Indian people and for which Indian tax-payers will have to bear the burden. Secondly, it is clear that the Governor General may use the Indian Navy even in Indian waters, as a matter of emergency, against the Indian people, without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. A bombs from aeroplanes, maintained by India and machine-guns of the Indian army have been used against the Indian people, under the so-called "state of emergency", so the Indian Navy may be used against the Indian people.

Since the termination of the World War and elimination of Germany as a naval competitor, Great Britain has only two possible rivals in the field of naval supremacy, they are the United States of America and Japan. Astute British statesmen recognized the fact that the United States of America with her economic and industrial supremacy vast man-power and raw materials, would not submit to take the second place to any nation in matters of naval strength. In the Imperial Conference, held just before the inauguration of the Washington Conference it was decided by British Imperial statesmen that it would be to the advantage of the British Empire to have a definite understanding with the United States, even if it meant that Britain might have to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It is well known in all informed circles that even before the opening of the Washington Conference, it was agreed between the United States and Great Britain that the United States would have naval strength in battle ships equal to that of Great Britain, and Britain was to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and America was to extend her co-operation to Britain in the Pacific. It is manifest to all who are impartial that the present Anglo-American intervention against the Chinese nationalists is the expression of Anglo-American co-operation in the Pacific.

Even before the termination of the World War, British authorities realized that, the next theatre of war, that might be staged to maintain British naval supremacy and pre-dominance, would be in the Orient; and thus

* *The Times* (London), April 6, 1927.

they decided to augment Britain's naval power and offensive action by adopting a programme of enlarging the Singapore Naval Base. It was agreed upon, at the suggestion of the British Admiralty, that the Singapore Naval Base be enlarged to such an extent that the major part of the British navy could be mobilized there. The British Imperial Government asked co-operation and financial aid from the dominions and colonies. Australia, New Zealand, Hongkong and the Federated Malay States contributed handsomely and promised to aid further in completing the project. Canada and South Africa did not want to contribute any money to this project, as they wanted to build their own naval crafts to be used for their own national interests. The question of substantial contribution from the Indian treasury was discussed. Although the policy of the Indian Government was never made public, it is safe to assert that the Government of India felt it wise not to ask openly any contribution from India, at a time when the Non-Co-operation Movement was at its height. They realized that, with the increasing opposition to the British military policy in India, any additional burden on India for the Imperial navy in which India will have nothing to say, will be most unpopular. They also felt that it would not be possible to exact regular annual contributions from India, without rousing the opposition of Indian politicians. Thus the most ingenious plan was developed by the British Indian Government, under the leadership of the master-mind of Earl Reading, that India should have her own navy to suit her own national dignity!!!

Earl Winterton and Col. Headlam have declared that the Indian Navy would be administered and used by the British Government in the same way, as the Indian Army is now used. It is needless to point out that the Indian Army is being used as the training ground for British officers and to protect and extend the British Empire. We find that Australian officers are taken into greater confidence regarding the question of Indian National Defense (and some of them are being attached to the Indian Army in high positions) than the people of India.

I am one of those who believe in a strong Indian navy and a strong Indian army. I am an advocate of India assuming full sovereignty over her Finance, National Defense, and Foreign Affairs. Those

who wish to see that the Indian navy be not an agency to train British and Dominion naval officers, excluding Indians, should demand that, *for the creation of an Indian Navy to be officered and manned by Indians and for Indian interests, it is imperative that there should be a Naval College for India to train chosen Indian youngmen to qualify in Naval Engineering, Naval Construction, and allied subjects. The Naval Academy at Annapolis, U. S. A., should serve as a model for the Indian National Naval College.* Then again, I wish to emphasise the point that no nation can develop an adequate naval power without its own merchant marine. India should adopt steps to build up her own merchant marine. In this matter, it is very necessary for Indian statesmen to study how post-war Germany and Italy are working to build up their merchant marine.

In conclusion, let me point out that, according to the report from London, published day before yesterday, there are 76 British naval vessels and 14,000 British marines, under two British Admirals, in the Chinese waters. These floating fortresses of Great Britain are to aid more than 30,000 British soldiers (some Indians as well) who are contesting Chinese national sovereignty on Chinese soil, under the garb of protecting British lives and property. The last Imperial Conference has decided, to the humiliation of India, that India, not being a self-governing Dominion, will not have equal say in determining British Imperial Foreign Policy. It cannot be over-emphasised that the army and navy are generally needed to enforce the foreign Policy of a nation, as well as for national defense. *India should have her own Army and Navy, under Indian control for Indian National Defense and to enforce Indian Foreign Policy.* It is my humble prayer that, all the political parties of India, forgetting their superficial differences and communal narrowness, will adopt a programme, for securing Indian Freedom, which will give legal right to the people of India to assume full sovereignty, in matters of Finance, National Defense and Foreign Policy. *Until India assumes her rightful control over her Finance, National Defense, Foreign Policy and all internal affairs, an Indian Navy, like an Indian Army, will be a tool in the hands of British imperialists to subjugate other Peoples of Asia and Africa, as it has been in the past. It is expected, from all Indian representatives in*

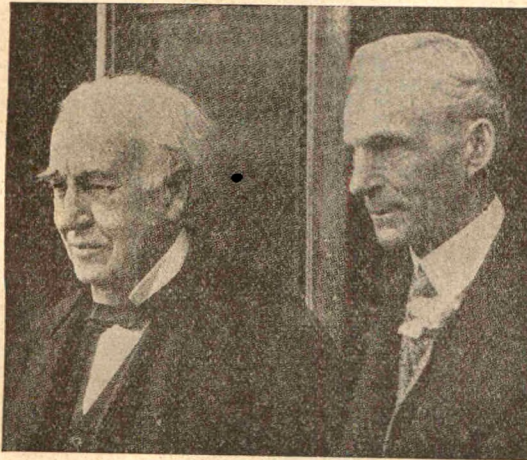
the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, that their demands should not be any less honorable than those suggested by the amendments presented by the Labour

members of the British Parliament on the question of the Indian Navy Bill.
Munich, Germany.
April, 15. 1927

GLEANINGS

Edison's Eightieth Birthday

It was the busiest of birthdays. Life, death, the atom, radio, television, wireless power, the movies, marriage, the crime wave—all these and many other topics, timely and timeless, profound and frivolous, were patiently responded to by Mr. Edison, armed with his usual stubby pencil.



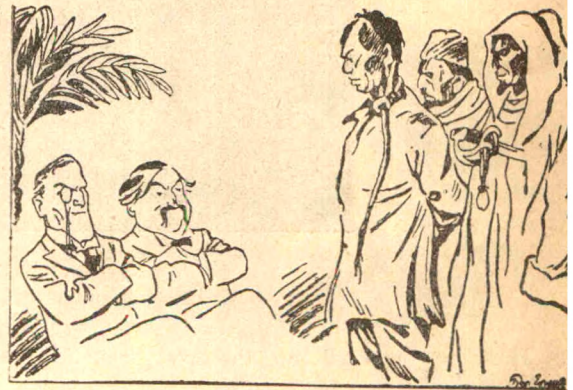
Edison and Ford—Two Inventors
[Photo Taken on Edison's Eightieth Birthday]

The wizard's head looked "half again as large as Ford's," to the eyes of one shrewd observer. Standing side by side, the two celebrities "differed oddly." Edison, we are reminded, was once a man of large bulk, but now "his body has settled in and his massive head looks all the larger." It is pictured for us, seen from the rear, as broad and domelike, while Ford's appeared long and narrow, of far smaller capacity than of his former employer and lifelong friend, whose birthday he had come to celebrate. The impression made by the creator of the electric light and the phonograph was one of "substance and repose and granitelike immobility, like an heroic statue," whereas the father of the flivver seemed "more a creature of motion."

Peace Movements of Today



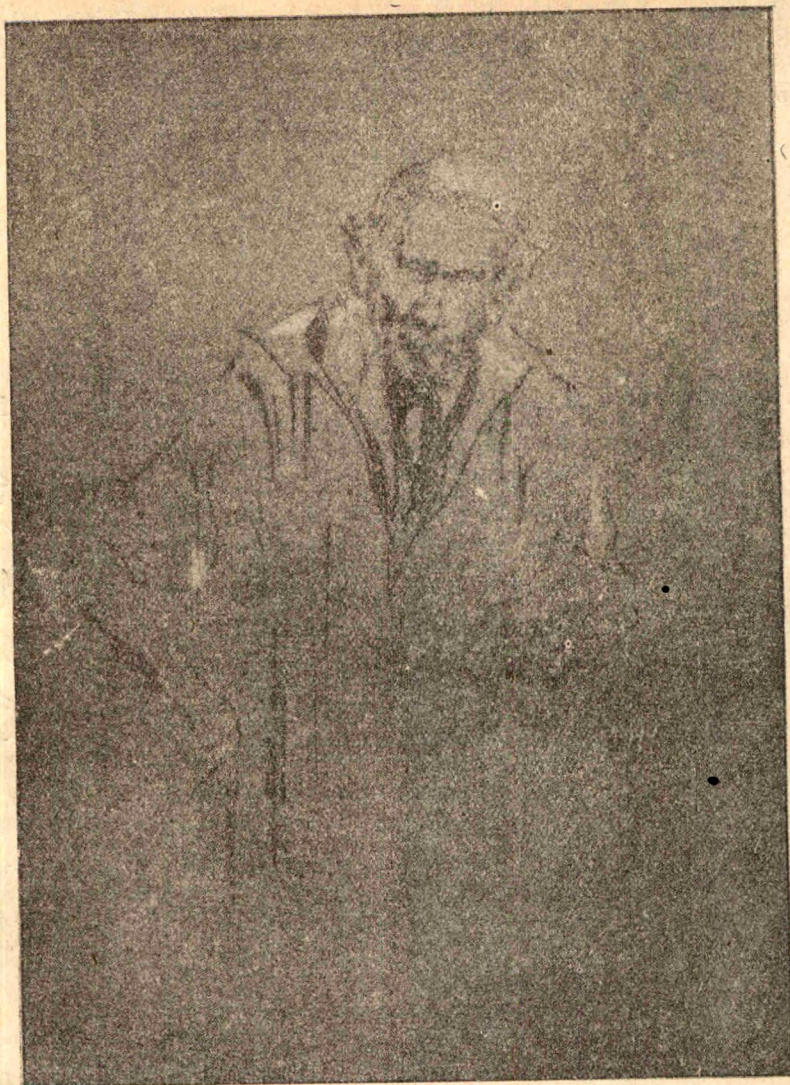
The Nobel Peace Prizes.
Mussolini: "And what about me?"



Tireless Peace-Workers.
The lucky inhabitants of China, Morocco and Syria
send their congratulations to Chamberlain and
Briand on being awarded the Nobel
Peace Prize

Joseph Pennell

Joseph Pennell has gone into the shadows and the notices of him printed since his death on April 28 read almost like a second obituary of Whistler.



A Strange Combination of Opposites.
This portrait is by his pupil, Henry Ziegler

Thus is connected up the great friendship and admiration of his life; but no one calls him an imitator. His art was his own and remained individual; his temper was also his own, though it may have matched his elder in force while it held to his own kind.

He was a native of Philadelphia and always remained a Quaker of sorts. He lived abroad many years, providing the travel books of many writers with drawings of the picturesque centers of Europe. Since the war he had lived in America and the story of America's industrial life has an imperishable representation in his lithographs and etchings. He would travel in Greece and bring back a vivid sheaf of the impressions of the classic monuments.

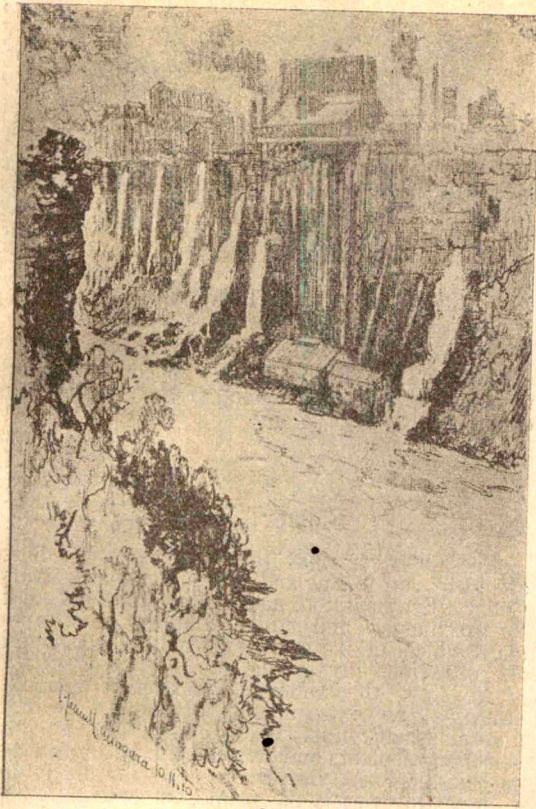
Too much of an Academician to be a 'Modernist, and too much of an individualist to be an Academician, the late Joseph Pennell was a strange combination of opposites.

Pennell on Bernard Shaw was interesting and typical. It is a pity that there is no satisfactory pendant to it, in the shape of Bernard Shaw on Pennell. The latter would have been as readable as the other.

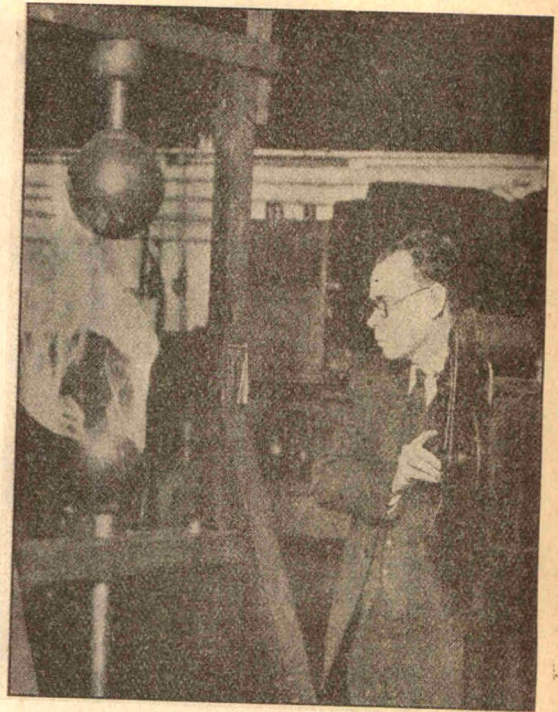
As an illustrator of the travel books of Henry James and many others, of work in the Great War, of the building of the Panama Canal, and finally of New York—'my New York,' as he saw it from the studio window on Brooklyn Heights—Pennell has left valuable, if sometimes literal, records.

Lightning Now Imitating Corkscrews

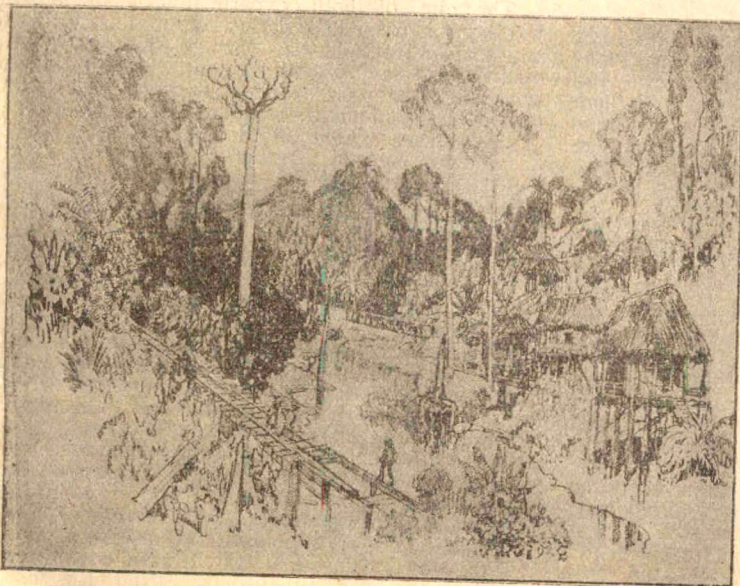
Stereoscopic photographs of electric flashes, taken with a new kind of superswift movie camera, have shown that the electric discharge moves in



"The American Tivoli". By Pennell.



Photographing an Electric Flash



The Native Village, Panama. By Pennell.

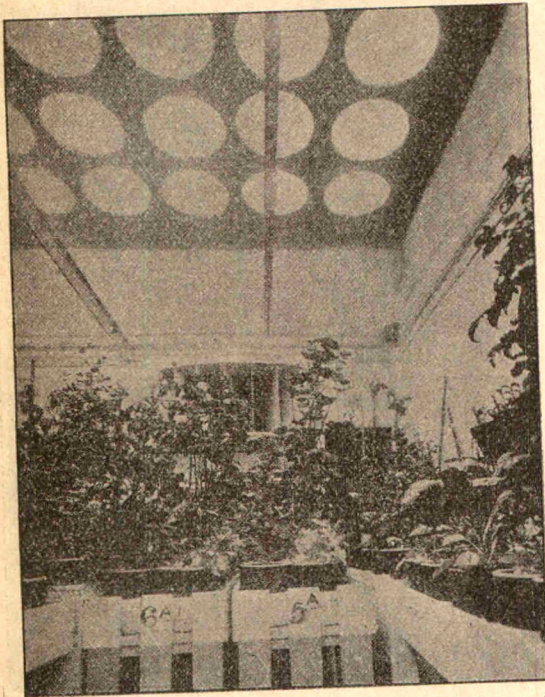
irregular corkscrew spirals. With the aid of this camera, which takes pictures at the rate of 2,600 a second, J. W. Legg, a research engineer of the Westinghouse Company, has succeeded in revealing facts about electric flashes never previously suspected.

This newly invented high-speed camera, is so fast that it will photograph the birth, growth, and extinction of a flash of lightning and show its shape.

Plant-Growth by Artificial Sun

How modern scientific students of plant life have emulated Joshua and made the sun stand still, in order to see what a few more hours of sunlight will do to the growth of agricultural crops was one of the novel^{ies} described recently by Dr.

William Crocker, Director of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research. In the greenhouses of the Institute, at Yonkers, New York, there has been erected a great steel framework carrying forty-eight electric lamps, each more powerful than fifteen or twenty ordinary household lamps.



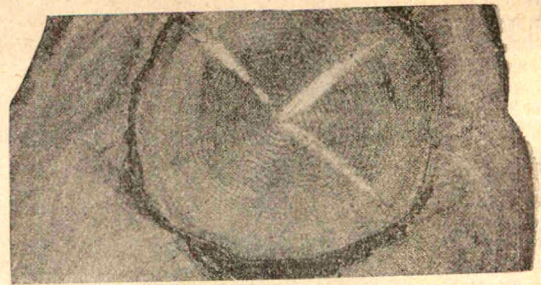
Where Plants Grow In Artificial Sunlight

In the picture we find a view in the constant light room of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research at Yonkers, New York. It shows the lights at the top of the room, and just below them the ray filter, a plate of glass over which water is continuously circulated. The plants may be given artificial daylighting up to twenty-four hours.

How Tree Ate Tree

An outstanding example of the survival of the fittest, or the crushing of the weak by the strong is recorded by Richard E. McArdle, of Portland, Oregon, in the *Four L Bulletin*.

"Mr. McArdle tells the story of a Douglas fir, a small and weak specimen, which was literally swallowed up by the growth of a largertree. Murder will out, and the old saying is borne out by this case. Perhaps the cannibal tree meant to hide its crime, says Mr. McArdle. But nature's methodical ways could not be escaped, and for this reason we can read back through the years and picture how the little tree was first choked to death and then swallowed up by its stronger neighbor. The photograph furnishes indisputable evidence of the imprison-



Cross-Section Of A Tree Within A Tree
Revealing how a large tree had swallowed
up a little neighbour

ment of one tree within another for more than a century.

Flower "Derby"

Races between rival "teams" of plants and flowers are to be run in England this summer at University College, Southampton, and at Kew Gardens to test for greenhouses and garden frames a new type of glass which, unlike ordinary window glass, admits the ultraviolet rays of the sun.

At Kew the Office of Works have decided to equip half an experimental greenhouse with the glass and half with ordinary glass, and a typical selection of plants and flowers will be duplicated in each section. A similar course will be followed with a wide variety of plants, including radishes, sunflowers and beans, in the large glass corridor with a southern aspect fronting the new botanical research laboratory at Southampton which has cost £5,000.

The aim of both experiments is to find out whether it is possible by the use of vita glass, to obtain any such advantages as earlier cropping, better quality, heat saving, better colour, harder constitution, and greater resistance to disease in plants grown in greenhouses or indoors.

The glass which is the invention of Mr. F. E. Lamplough, M. A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is made in the works from which all the famous Crystal Palace glass came.

The New China Revealed

The Rebirth of the Chinese Nation in the throes of civil war, with troops of foreign Powers guarding their people and property in Shanghai—the country's richest city—while foreign war-ships lie within striking distance of Chinese ports, recalls to the world that China, whose legendary period of history dates from 2800 B. C., in its latest development of Westernization and republicanism dates only from February 12, 1912, when it became a republic. An additional climax in this drama of 4,700 years of Chinese history, it is noted in various quarters, is the role played by Soviet Russia, the newest and most radical republic of modern times

While nations other than the Chinese fear the Red influence in China, Chinese authorities point out that China can never become Bolshevik but will always remain essentially Chinese. It is claimed by Chinese writers, also, that tho the Cantonese Army of the South battles with the forces of the North for control of the country, both North and South are fundamentally imbued with the same ideal—namely, the abolition of all semblance of foreign control.

In order to understand how matters have come to the present pass in China, it is perhaps well to let a Chinese authority, S. Yui, Assistant Professor for Political Science in Tsing Hau University, Peking, state the case of New China as he does in an article contributed to the London *Daily Express*, in which he says:

"The period in China to-day is a period of fighting for emancipation. The Chinese revolution, which began in 1911, is a fight for emancipation from despotic rule. This fight will continue till the Republic is firmly established.

"The Chinese renaissance movement, which began in 1917, is a fight for emancipation from illiteracy and for freedom of thought. This fight will continue till illiteracy vanishes.

"But the most important fight to-day is the fight for emancipation from the 'unequal' treaties which have bound China hand and foot for over eighty years. And this fight will continue till the Powers realize the gross international injustice they have done to China, and give China her legitimate place in the family of nations.

"What China aspires to to-day is not any concession from any of the foreign Powers, but merely the restoration of her lost independence—no more than that, and no less than that."

Four hundred million people, by word and deed, are echoing in China the phrase of Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, when he said officially for the Kuomintang party that "the time has come to speak to foreign imperialism in the language it understands."

SUN YAT SEN AND KUOMINTANG PARTY

What is the Kuomintang?

"The English translation of 'Kuomintang' goes a long way toward explaining the movement. In Chinese, 'Kuo' means country, 'min' people, and 'tang' or 'tong' association. 'Kuomintang' means 'association to bring the country into the hands of her people.' It is half a patriotic organization and half a political party. It has three basic principles.

"1. People's Nationalism—The freeing of China from foreigners who have tied up the country by treaties dictated at the cannon-point.

"2. People's Sovereignty—Development of education and political democracy.

"3. People's Livelihood—Better opportunities for Chinese business men; better conditions for Chinese labor. (In China women and children work fifteen hours a day for a few cents in foreign factories.)"

The man who put forward these principles was the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, its first President, organizer of the Kuomintang, and the prophet of Nationalist China.

"Not only is he looked on as the Father of his Country—the Chinese Washington—but he is

regarded by millions of ignorant farmers, and also by many among the educated, as a sort of super-human being. The paying of respect to his memory can hardly be given any other name than worship.

"The cult of Sun Yat Sen in South China, like that of Lenin in Russia, probably has more followers than any other single 'religion.' Every home in Canton has its picture of the great revolutionary leader, reminding one strongly of the 'Lenin corners' in workers' dwellings throughout the Soviet Union. On Monday mornings, in every office under the wing of the Nationalist Government, there is a fifteen-minute service in memory of Sun Yat Sen. After a revolutionary hymn, everybody bows three times before the giant portrait of Dr. Sun, whose last will is then read aloud in staccato monosyllables. In conclusion there are three minutes of silence, while the gathering stands with heads bowed in meditation.



TROOPS THAT HAVE MADE THE WHOLE WORLD
WAKE UP TO CHINA

When the Chinese Nationalist Government was removed from Canton to Wuchang, a review was held of the pick of Cantonese troops by Mayor Sun Foo, who is the son of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuomintang party, the chief aim of which is to make China over for the Chinese

"Anything with the imprimatur of Sun Yat Sen needs no other indorsement to insure the whole-hearted loyalty of the South. So it is with the Russian advisers. They were invited by Sun Yat Sen. He gave them his confidence. To Borodin he gave three years of devoted friendship. Millions of ignorant farmers and coolies, who could not understand the issues involved if they wanted to, think it sufficient recommendation for a man that he was a friend of Sun Yat Sen, and for a doctrine that it can be connected, however vaguely, with Dr. Sun's political principles."

A born reformer was Sun, it appears.

Having formulated his platform, Sun began to organize the Dare-to-Dies for warfare against the Manchus, and—

"Built up a secret fraternal organization compared with which the great American efforts appear, indeed, small. Ramifying eventually into all parts of the globe, the nerve network of this tremendous power centered in his own leadership and moved with him as he wandered about the world during those long thirty years.

"About the only times that he felt he was fully safe during that long generation of playing against the enemy in the dark was when he was haran-

guing his followers, at home or abroad, in the secret chambers of their Chinese lodges. When the paraphernalia of the lodge and the emblems of its order were put aside, he knew that beyond the portal of that refuge of safety there might be an enemy waiting to do him to death."

This silent man had, nevertheless, great oratorical powers.

The long struggle freed China from Manchu tyranny, but not from factional tyranny or from the danger of foreign aggression, and the China of Sun Yat Sen's idealistic hopes is still a dream. Toward the end of his life, he wrote "The international Development of China," in which he observed :

"China, a country possessing a territory of 4,289,000 square miles, a population of 400,000,000 people, and the richest mineral and agricultural resources in the world, is now a prey of militaristic and capitalistic powers---a greater bone of contention than the Balkan Peninsula.



SOME BRITISH DEFENDERS IN SHANGHAI.
Punjab troops from Hongkong arriving in Shanghai for the protection of British lives and prosperity

"Unless the Chinese question can be settled peacefully, another world war, greater and more terrible than the one just past, will be inevitable. In order to solve the Chinese question, I suggest that the vast resources of China be developed internationally under a socialistic scheme, for the good of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular. It is my hope that as a result of this, the present spheres of influence can be abolished; the international commercial war can be done away with; the internecine capitalistic competition can be got rid of, and the struggle between capital and labor avoided. Thus the root of war will be forever exterminated so far as China is concerned."

Development was to "be along the following lines :

"1. Development of a Communications System.

- (a) 100,000 miles of Railways.
- (b) 1,000,000 miles of Macadam Roads.
- (c) Improvement of Existing Canals.
- (d) Construction of New Canals.
- (e) River Conservancy.
- (f) Construction of more Telegraph Lines and

Telephone and Wireless Systems all over the country.

"II. Development of Commercial Harbors.

(a) Three largest Ocean Ports, with future capacity equaling New York Harbor, to be constructed in North, Central, and South China.

(b) Various small Commercial and Fishing Harbors to be constructed along the coast.

(c) Commercial Docks to be constructed along all navigable rivers.

"III. Modern Cities with public utilities to be constructed in all Railway Centers, Termini, and alongside Harbors.

"IV. Water Power Development.

"V. Iron and Steel Works and Cement Works on the largest scale in order to supply the above needs.

"VI. Mineral Development.

"VII. Agricultural Development.

"VIII. Irrigational Work on the largest scale in Mongolia and Sinkiang.

"IX. Reforestation in Central and North China.

"X. Colonization in Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kokonor, and Thibet."

"In order to carry out this project successfully, I suggest that three necessary steps must be taken : First, that the various Governments of the Capital-supplying Powers must agree to joint action and a unified policy to form an International Organization with their war-work organizers, administrators, and experts of various lines to formulate plans and to standardize materials, in order to prevent waste and to facilitate work. Second, the confidence of the Chinese people must be secured in order to gain their cooperation and enthusiastic support. If the above two steps are accomplished, then the third step is to open formal negotiation for the final contract of the project with the Chinese Government."

"The Kuomintang spread over the country, until it totaled a membership of a million, mostly students and professional men. Capable administrators took over the Government at Canton.

"When Dr. Sun died in the spring of 1925, the situation was ripe. T. V. Soong, a young Harvard graduate, had taken over the Finance Ministry at Canton and attacked the problem of 'squeeze,' the tremendous graft which prevents Chinese Governments from collecting enough money to pay their expenses. By introducing honesty into administration, Mr. Soong raised the Canton Government revenues from nine to forty-eight million dollars a year---and without increasing a single tax.

"The Whangpoa Cadet School had graduated Chiang Kaishek, a brilliant young military leader, still in his thirties, capable of handling an army. It had also produced enough officers to train large bodies of troops."

"Dr. Sun dead was of more value than Dr. Sun living. The call for his active abilities had ceased. His reputation as a saint carried the Kuomintang principles over China as no propagandist could,

"Last spring the Cantonese marched. The military leaders they hit first did not know what had struck them. When the Kuomintang Army won a victory, there was no time wasted looting : captured positions were consolidated, plans for the morrow matured. The public in captured areas were not only conciliated, but aroused. Labor-unions and chambers of commerce were organized, Mrs. Sun Yat Sen followed the army, dramatizing



A CHINESE JOAN OF ARC

The befurred figure at the left is that of Mme. Sun Yat Sen, widow of the first President of the Chinese Republic. She is an inspiring propagandist of the Cantonese cause.

Her companion is her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sun Foo, wife of the Mayor of Wuhan

for civilian populations the legend of her dead husband.

"And when a Kuomintang army suffered a defeat, its soldiers did not go over *en masse* to the other side, according to the custom of Chinese civil wars. They retreated only to advance again.

"After shattering all the military leaders in the South, the army ran against Wu Pei-fu, one of the three leading generals in China. Wu's army collapsed, and his soldiers, by the tens of thousand, went over to the Cantonese.

"Chiang Kai-shek took Hankow and Wuchang on the Yangtze and swept down toward Shanghai. When Wu and Chang Tso-lin combined against the Cantonese, Feng, 'the Christian General' whom they had driven from Peking in the spring, announced an alliance with the Kuomintang and hung on their right flank. Feng's army is the only one besides the Cantonese which has received the advantage of Russian instruction."

Another view of the rise of Chinese Nationalism is afforded by the fact that the present revolution

is of more enduring significance than the one that established the Republic in 1911, because,—

"It is winning the independence from the West. One may even say it has won. And the recent British note, on the surface a request to the other Powers that they join Great Britain in announcing a more conciliatory policy to China, is in effect admission of Chinese victory.

"Denied their appeals at the Washington conference for partial relief from the obligations which the treaties with the Powers forced on China—extraterritoriality, a tariff dictated by the Powers, collection of its revenues by foreigners, numberless cities governed by one European country or another, foreign war vessels in its inland water—the Chinese nursed their wrath only a short time. But they talked less humbly. Then after the strike and antiforeign boycott in Shanghai two years ago, they dropt all pretense of concealment. They demanded outright that the 'unequal' treaties be revised.

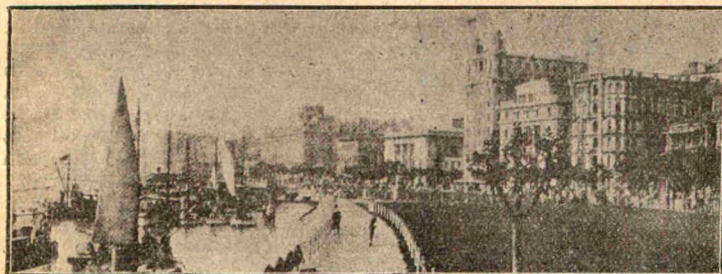
TREATIES AND CONCESSIONS

As a Chinese writer says in an American newspaper, nothing short of absolute abolition of the concessions and extraterritoriality will satisfy the aspirations of the Chinese people.

It is Mr. Chi Chen-wang who strikingly set forth in the New York *Herald Tribune* what the Chinese think on this point. He admits that Americans unfamiliar with the situation may view

the insistent demands of the Chinese for the restoration of the concessions and the abolition of consular jurisdiction as nothing more than the rapid vociferations of Nationalist propagandists, and he then goes on to show that concessions are in reality small sections of a foreign country set down in the middle of a Chinese city.

These concessions are lands set apart in certain Chinese cities for the residence of Americans, British, or other foreigners, for the conduct of their business, the establishment of their courts, and so on. Beginning with those in the five original Treaty Ports, these concessions have increased steadily in number, as new ports were opened from time to time to foreign trade. "As these concessions were granted, individually to various Treaty Powers," says the China Year Book, "a number of them may be found in one and the same port, for example, at Tientsin or Hankow. In Shanghai the British and American concessions were amalgamated in 1854 into one concession, which is now called the International



ONE OF THE GREAT BUSINESS CENTERS OF THE WORLD.
The Bund in Shanghai, which is guarded by American, British and French troops in defence of foreign lives and prosperity

Settlement. The French concession there still exists as a separate entity."

The various special privileges that have grown up in connection with foreign concessions, and that have proved most galling to the Chinese, were made the subject of a memorandum submitted by China to the Peace Conference after the war. In submitting these questions to the Conference the Chinese delegates characterized them as "hindrances to China's free development," and asked that they be removed "in conformity with the principles of territorial integrity, political independence, and economic autonomy which appertain to every sovereign State."

RED HAND IN CHINA

In an interesting volume on new developments in China, "Why China Sees Red" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), the author, Putnam Weale, who has lived many years in the "Flowery Land" and written extensively about its life and customs, tells us that Bolshevism has been actively engaged in fomenting trouble between John Chinaman and his Western friends. As he informs us:

"The Chinese, who probably of all people in the world are the least concerned about anything taking place beyond the limits of their own territory, had in 1919 and again in 1920 been surprized out of their indifference by a Bolshevik offer that seemed in curious contrast with what Soviet Russia was doing elsewhere. Briefly, Soviet Russia had offered to abolish all those things which had prest on China in the past and had been imposed on her by Czarism, and for no other reason than that Soviet Russia loved China and wished to show her that the world-republic had at last arrived. In return for formal recognition Moscow promised to give up the Boxer indemnity, the settlements in Chinese treaty-ports, extraterritoriality and tariff restrictions, besides converting the Chinese Eastern Railway into a purely commercial enterprise which China would be able to buy out entirely—not at once, of course, but in a future always slightly removed from any suggested date."

Mr. Weale then details how the wily Reds proceeded to get in touch with many quarters that had been neglected by the other nations, carrying on their propaganda both by pen and by word of mouth. He declares that: "Altho exaggerated stories have been set in circulation regarding the all-pervasiveness of this work, there is no doubt

that China has been the scene of a maximum Bolshevik effort" He tells how "the Russians frequented the tea-houses and restaurants and by daily conversations with the well-drest multitudes" instilled the idea of the near approach of momentous events. He shows further how Karakhan made himself the friend of radical students and professors and "from the vantage ground of the diplomatic quarter" was able to deal smashing blows at the policies of other Powers." Meanwhile the Soviet was not idle in the South.

That the work of Christian missions has in some degree paved the way in China for the doctrines of Lenin is one of the conclusions reluctantly arrived at by Mr. Weale.

WHO'S WHO IN CHINA

Feng Yu-hsiang

Feng Yu-hsiang, commander of the "People's Army," writes Anna Louise Strong in *Asia Magazine*. is "A stolid man, tall and strong: he recited his program with a bored but courteous air. I knew from his secretary that he had been up since four in the morning; for he works like a horse, steadily, methodically and apparently without excitement or high tension. Somewhere beyond the little reception-room in which he received me—a room with mud walls and a mud floor covered with matting, created in the past few weeks by Feng's own soldiers—the morning's pile of telegrams awaited him, from Chang and Wu, from advisers in Peking and from semisubordinate generals in allied provinces. For all China behind me was seething with the beginnings of the latest civil war. Wu had locked horns with Chang, and the burning question in every one's mind was "What will Feng do?" To the peasant army of Feng the possession of Peking is not essential, tho it may give prestige; the essential thing for Feng, as his action showed, was to finish communications across the great roadless spaces, and thus build a self-subsistent domain.

"The first need of China," Feng told me, "is to push popular education till every man can read. The second thing is to build good roads and railroads; we built this summer four hundred miles of road to Kansu, fifty feet wide with four rows of trees and eighty bridges. Now the peasants of Kansu can have a market. Next we must reclaim waste lands by irrigation and flood-protection, and settle on them the surplus population. We must give loans to these new colonists; already I have started three credit-loans, bureaus, one in each province that I am assigned to control." The naivete of Feng's peasant mind was shown in his insistence to me, that these credit-loan associations should lend money "without any interest."

"Outside in the clear sunlight of that desert country I saw thousands of Feng's soldiers digging roads, building irrigation ditches, carting the dirt sway in the loosely woven baskets from which it piled so easily—the endless, inefficient work that the Chinese peasants are accustomed to. Each wore

an arm-band with the words; "Die for country; love the people; don't disturb the people."

"He himself had explained to me his theory of organising an army. When we need new soldiers, we take them from the peasantry, not from the town hoodlums. We ask each young man who applies, 'Have you ever been a soldier?' If he has, we don't want him. All soldiers that ever before were bandits.

"We teach him to read and write; we teach him some simple trade. We teach him also loyalty to his country, which is something peasants do not know. We work him very hard, building roads and reclaiming lands. Some day, the soldier knows, after three years of soldiering, he will have the first choice of those lands. Then we shall have a population of soldier-farmers, who can read and write and defend themselves. They will be citizens—the first citizens China has ever known.

"Many nationalist students are now applying to join us. This is something new in China: always a student has held the highest place, and a soldier the lowest in our social system. These students we put into the ranks as common soldiers; we give them hard treatment; we give them officers who are peasants—without culture. If the students have patience, and not merely enthusiasm, then they will endure and become officers. This is the plan we have for building our 'People's Army.'

In addition, he is a hard disciplinarian, punishing looting with death. In contrast to Chang's multitudinous harem, he has one wife only, a former Y. W. C. A. secretary, who follows him into the hardships of camp life and helps organize welfare work for his soldiers. And he is building an army that can be trusted to go on without him, since it is organized around an idea and not a person merely. The idea is of a People's Army supporting the nationalist cause, showing its loyalty to the people by the suppression of looting and by the utilization of its spare time for land improvement.

Wu Pei Fu

"Always the news about Wu has its own classic Chinese flavor. When leading politicians visited him during his 'vacations,' to solicit his aid on one side or the other, it was announced that they were to visit Wu 'to spend a week in discussing ancient Chinese literature.' No doubt they did this also, between more modern topics of conversation.

"A large barracks-like building, with many delegations coming and going, leaving behind them disorder of papers and cigarets—such was the environment in which I found Wu. His fifty-four years were obvious. He bore, whispered a 'hard-boiled' reporter to me, the scars of his earlier drinking life. Yet his secretary testified that he never gets sick, but goes at seven each morning to field or office. All the time he talked to me, he was reading a pile of telegrams and making notes on them. In manner he was far more like some kindly, slightly shabby college professor than a great general.

"Wu, it was clear, was the literary man and the spokesman of the merchants in his ideals.

Chang Tso-lin

Of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, then known as the "Strong Man" of China, Miss Strong relates:

"Is it Chang's fault—or his misfortune—that he has become the agent of foreigners?

"Chang openly states that the only solution of the trouble in China is for the Powers to back the strongest man and let him subdue the land. Doubtless there will remain Chang, or one like him, holding sway in Manchuria, and from time to time extending his influence down the seacoast, in the regions where foreigners have trade to be protected, and are willing to support the man of discipline who will keep law and order with a hard hand.



THE RUSSIAN BRAINS OF THE CANTONESE. Left to right the Russian, Michael Borodin, chief adviser of the Cantonese Army and Government; another Russian adviser, name unknown; General Stallen, Russian Army officer; and, next to him, bareheaded Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army.

"In spite of social laxity among his officers, Chang has a disciplined force of soldiers well able to hold Manchuria and the seacoast. Moreover, he has plenty of money. His territory is very rich and yields a large revenue. But most important of all, he has foreign support; the Japanese especially cannot afford to let him be beaten."

Chiang Kai-shek

Of Chiang Kai-shek "China's New Strong Man," an account runs on:

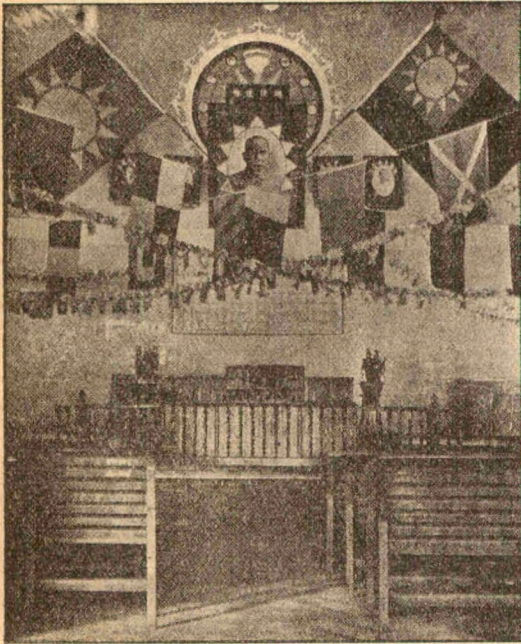
The General ate nothing, and instead of tea, he sipped hot water. Most of the time he sat erect, his folded hands on the table before him. There was no bombast about him, hardly any gesture, but he had a quiet dignity, and—a quality rare in Chinese, rare enough anywhere—he smiled as he spoke. A tall, slight man under forty, there was nothing in his appearance to mark him as a leader of men; his high forehead, which seemed higher because of his close-cropped head, his delicate features, and small-boned hands seemed rather to indicate the scholar type.

Chiang's relations with Russia are an object of anxiety to most foreigners in China. We are told

that it was with the aid of General Gallant, one of Borodin's assistants, and a small subsidy, that Chiang "trained a corps of boys, to be officers in China's future Nationalist Army."

Eugene Chen

Eugene Chen, Canton's Minister for Foreign Affairs, who now seems to have the British Foreign Office in a tight place, and whose dynamic State papers and notes have aroused so much attention during the last few months, is one of the most picturesque figures in the kaleidoscopic China of to-day.



HIS PORTRAIT DOMINATES HEADQUARTERS. Sun Yat Sen's portrait dominates this assembly-room of the Kuomintang National Headquarters in Canton. After Dr. Sun's death it became the custom to hold a memorial service here every Monday morning; indeed, the Sun Yat Sen cult amounts almost to worship.

Chen, one of the most violent haters of Great Britain, and one of the most ardent of Chinese patriots, was born a British subject and educated in England. Moreover, he is not all Chinese in blood.

Canton's Foreign Minister was born in Trinidad, and his mother is said to have been South American. In appearance he is not typically Chinese. A small-boned, slight, nervous man, he might easily pass for a Latin if divested of his flowing Chinese clothes—and it is only recently that he has adopted Chinese dress.

Chen was born into a wealthy family and was educated at Oxford. When he came to China he began working here and there as a newspaperman.

For a time he was on a Canton paper; then he was an editor in Shanghai. Later he edited a paper in Peking, and his writings were so radical that he was arrested. His execution had been decided upon, but he saved his life by claiming and proving his British citizenship and extraterritorial privileges. Since then, however, he has become a citizen of China.

Even his political enemies admire Chen's brilliance, his incisive mind, and his handling of words. He is admitted to be the best writer of English living in China to-day.

During the Customs Conference last winter while Mr. Chen was in Peking, vigorously writing for Chinese independence, he attacked some of actions of Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian war-lord. One night between midnight and dawn he was suddenly waked up by armed men, who seized him, carried him bodily out of the house and put him into a closed automobile. Driving hurriedly the ninety miles from Peking to Tientsin, then under control of Marshal Chang, they locked him up. Each day during several months he was told that he was to be shot some time during the day.

Finally, one morning, he noticed that the door of the room in which he had been confined was open. Fearing that it was left open to trick him into stepping outside, in order to give the sentry a chance to kill him for trying to escape, he waited some hours before he decided it was safe to leave. Some of Marshal Chang's troops had revolted. This had caused the guard about his prison to desert.

Chen promptly returned to Peking and resumed his editorial work. His hair, formerly a dense black, was now heavily streaked with gray as a result of his second imprisonment. Shortly afterwards Chang Tso-lin seized Peking and Chen again had to flee for his life. He then went to Canton, where he was made Foreign Minister of the Southern Government.

He never has advocated anything in any way approaching Bolshevism or Communism. His liberal ideas of government would make him welcome in either of our political parties. He is no more internationalist or Communist than George Washington or Thomas Jefferson was.

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen

"Almost a Queen" among the Cantonese, Mrs. Sun Yat Sen is pictured as riding in the van of the revolutionary army. "in her American-made sedan." The widow of China's first President was a student at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, before her marriage.

Chang Tsungchang

Another Chang, not to be confounded with Chang Tso-lin, has lately moved into the foreground of the cable news. Chang Tsungchang, present dictator of Shantung, is a picturesque figure, perhaps the most hated and feared man in the country. Imposing personally because of his height of six feet two inches and his enormous strength, he is able and ruthless. Shanghai remembers his stern rule for about eight months in 1925, and all classes have opposed his return. While he is supposed to be a subordinate of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Northern commander, even that decisive personage has never been able to control him.

—*The Literary Digest*

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

IX

ONE morning at Geneva when I was returning from Hotel Beau Rivage, where I had gone on some business, I was accosted by two Swiss gentlemen. Coming to know that I was an Indian editor who had come to Geneva on the invitation of the League of Nations, they wanted to include my portrait in an Album which they were going to publish. So by appointment they called the same evening at my hotel. When the drawing had been finished, I was asked how many copies of the Album, and of my portrait, printed separately, I would purchase. I subscribed for some copies of both, which have been recently received. These people know how to make money! The Album contains 111 portraits of ladies and gentlemen who had come to Geneva as delegates, or are officials of the League, etc. Those who have seen me most often say that my portrait is not faithful. The name of the artist is Oscar Lazar.

The meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations being over, I began to get ready to leave Geneva. Many important meetings of the League Council were to be held in October, as in fact they are every now and then throughout the year. But not having hitherto had any fascinating or encouraging experience of League meetings of any sort, I did not feel tempted to prolong my stay in Geneva.

I had brought with me many summer suits and other things which I did not require any longer. I wanted to send them back home, as it was very inconvenient to travel with so much luggage. I was making enquiries about the cheapest and quickest means of doing so, when an unexpected opportunity presented itself. I learnt from Dr. and Mrs. R. K. Das that a friend of theirs, Mr. Surendranath Bose, had come to Geneva on his way back home from America after fifteen years' sojourn there. When Bose came to see me, he told me that he was one of my pupils at the Kayastha Pathshala College, Allahabad. He was a good student, noted particularly for the high character he bore. He was returning home after securing a good appointment at the

Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur. He readily agreed to take my things with him, which he very kindly made over to my sons in Calcutta long before my return. He would not allow me to thank him, but I do so nevertheless.

It takes about 22 hours to reach Berlin from Geneva. I left the latter town one morning at about 11, and reached Berlin the next morning at about 9. The conductor of the train helped me to get down at the station nearest to Kaiserhof Hotel, where I wanted to go. Mrs. V. Chattopadhyaya had kindly volunteered to take me from the railway station to the hotel, but as she had gone to a different station, we met only after my arrival at the hotel. The poet Rabindranath Tagore and his party were staying at this hotel. On the day of my arrival, which was Saturday, the poet was not at Berlin. He was to lecture at Dresden on the Monday following.

At Venice, Paris, London and Geneva my baggage, as well those of other travellers, was examined by customs officials. At Berlin there was no such examination. I went straight from the station to the hotel. It was wise on the part of the Germans, I thought, not to put travellers to any inconvenience. For they are good customers. Moreover, on account of their manufacturing skill and large scale production, the Germans do not, perhaps, apprehend that mere travellers would smuggle goods into Germany in their hand-bags, etc., to undersell them!

The German language, as printed, has a rather forbidding appearance to strangers on account of the length of its words and the abundance and juxtaposition of consonants. But as spoken, it did not seem harsh-sounding.

As mentioned above, Rabindranath Tagore was to lecture and recite poems at Dresden on Monday, and his dramatic piece, *The Post Office*, was also to be played there. So I started for that town in the morning in the company of Mrs. Rathindranath Tagore and Mr. Arabinda Bose. Arriving there at about 1 p. m., we did not go at once to the poet's hotel. He was to lecture in the evening, and

the play was to come off after the lecture. So, we wanted to see the town first. It is an old town, the capital of Saxony, situated in a charming valley on the Elbe. It occupies both banks of the river, the parts of the town on the left and right banks being united by several bridges, of which the Albert Bridge is a master-piece of architecture. On account of its architecture and splendid art collections, its artistic and educational reputation, public squares and gardens, and its charming promenade on the Elbe, Dresden is a pleasant and attractive town. From the railway station we went to see the famous picture-gallery, which forms part of the museum. When we had almost reached its entrance, a photographer snapped us—perhaps because there was a Hindulady in our company clad in the graceful sari. The picture-gallery is one of the finest collections out of Italy and contains about 2,400 paintings, mainly by Italian and Flemish masters. Raphael's Sistine Madonna is considered the gem of the collection. It is kept in a separate room by itself, in a sort of shrine, and is visited by large numbers of persons. The appreciation of some of them is purely aesthetic; but many almost adore it. Other master-pieces are Titian's 'Tribute Money' and Corregio's 'Magdalene' and 'La Notte'. I did not like the fat nude women in some of the large Flemish paintings. I do not speak here as a puritan. The nude figures were not at all even artistic. As Mrs. Rathindranath Tagore is herself an accomplished artist, she would often draw my attention to some particularly fine specimen of painting. While we were going the round of the rooms, a German woman accosted me and said in English: "May I have your permission to speak to you for a few minutes?" I replied at once: "You have made a mistake. I am not Rabindranath Tagore, I am only a countryman of his." Thereupon she said, pointing to her companions, who also were women: "I also thought so, but they insisted that you were Tagore." From the picture-gallery we went to see the palace, an imposing building. But we were too late—it was then closed. But one part of it was open. It was the 'Green Vault', containing a valuable collection of precious stones, pearls and curios, and articles in gold, silver, ivory, etc. One of the caretakers pointed out to us some of the gems which had come from India. India has enriched many a country and town, but herself

remains poor. The Public Library, the churches, the factories, etc., for which Dresden is famous, I had no time to see. I, however, saw an international exhibition of modern paintings which was then being held there. Artists from all countries of Europe and from America had sent their works there. I do not now remember whether Japan was represented, but India was not. The collection was very large. The paintings were, however, too modern for an old-fashioned man like myself, who, moreover, cannot pretend to be an art critic or connoisseur. Though Mrs. Tagore and I could appreciate a few works of art, I could not make out what real or imaginary objects or ideas many of them represented. I could only see that their colour scheme was striking. Within the same extensive area, there was also an international exhibition of gardening and of flowers. Models of many famous historical gardens were kept there. And there were other models suggesting how gardens might be planned. As for the flowers, they were one mass of colour. From the exhibition grounds I went by tramcar to the hotel where the poet was putting up. The car was overcrowded; many could have only standing room. But when I got into it, some of the passengers, including some girls, seeing an old man standing, stood up to make room for me. This politeness to an unknown old foreigner showed their good breeding.

We went to the big hall where the poet was to lecture, a few minutes before the time fixed. There was not a single unoccupied seat. Some had to remain standing. A large section of the audience consisted of women. Many men and women could understand what the poet said in English. Others, the majority, understood the lecture from the translation in German delivered fluently by Professor Tarachand Roy of Berlin University. There were many reporters, several being women. After the lecture, the poet recited many of his English and Bengali poems. The lecture and the recitations were frequently applauded. His poems, particularly those from "The Crescent Moon," were highly appreciated, so much so that he had to recite more poems than he had originally intended to do.

When the lecture and recitations were over, we made our way with difficulty through crowds of people to the theatre. There also not an inch of space was left un

occupied. Considering the unfamiliarity of the subject and the dramatis personae, the acting was creditable. Some of the dresses were rather funny. I do not, as I should not, say this in a fault-finding spirit. The part of Amal, the sick boy, was played by an actress. At Prague also, both in the Czech and German theatres, actresses played that part. Everywhere, the parts of the boys also who came to play with Amal were played by actresses. Both in Germany and Czechoslovakia the poet asked why actresses played these parts. He was told that boys could not be had to play these parts. It is different in Bengal and with Bengalis living outside Bengal. Some boys have played the part of Amal to perfection. I do not know whether "The Post Office" has been staged anywhere in India by non-Bengalis. So I cannot say whether non-Bengali boys have played the part of Amal, and, if so, how. When the play was over, the proprietor or manager of the theatre read out a highly respectful and appreciative address to the poet, who received an ovation also from the audience.

Looked at from the outside, the architecture of Dresden appeared to me more interesting and artistic than that of Berlin.

From Dresden the poet came back to Berlin. His daughter-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Mahalanobis, Prof. Tarachand Roy, Mr. P. C. Lal and myself accompanied him. In the train the poet said many things, grave and gay, worth recording in permanent form; but I am sorry I did not take any notes. Their flavour would be lost, if I attempted to give their mere substance from memory in English translation.

As Berlin is built upon a flat sandy plain whose average height above the level of the Baltic is only 100 feet, the site it occupies cannot be said to be favoured by nature so far as scenic effect is concerned. But what man can do for his habitation has been done for Berlin. Its industrial, commercial, and educational and other cultural activities and facilities have made it one of the foremost cities of the world. The advance of the city in population has been extraordinary. In 1804 the population was 182,157, in 1919 it was 1,902,509. In 1920 seven suburban towns and a number of other districts were formed with Berlin into a single commune with a population of 3,803,901. The centre of the city is now given up almost exclusively to commerce. Most of the houses in it are

built of brick, plastered or stuccoed outside. The city contains a large number of very fine buildings. The former royal palace stands at the centre. It has nearly 700 apartments, including the richly adorned state rooms. There are also the crown prince's palace, the old and new museums, the national gallery, the arsenal, the theatre, the opera house, the guard-house, and the university. 'Unter den Linden,' so called from its double avenue of limes, not unmixed with other trees, is one of the finest streets in Europe. The Prussian State Library contains over 1,750,000 volumes and 50,000 Mss. Numerous statues of national heroes adorn the city. It has more than 20 theatres. There are numerous classical and other gymnasia, higher boys' and higher girls' schools, middle and elementary schools. Berlin University, though not as old as many other similar institutions, having been established only in 1809, has taken a distinguished place among the universities of the world. It has counted among its professors such men as Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Eichborn, De Wette, Wolf, the Grimms, Niebuhr, Savigny, Neander, Bopp, Ranke, Curtius, Lepsius, Mommsen, Dörner, Virchow, Du Bois-Raymond, Helmholtz, Hofmann, Sybel, Van 't Hoff, Harnack, Treitschke, Fischer, Einstein. There are now about 600 professors and lecturers and about 12,000 students. There are various ethnological and other museums. Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar kindly showed me some of the museums and picture galleries. The six mural paintings by Kaulbach in the grand staircase of the New Museum appeared to me magnificent. In my drive through the main road of Charlottenburg, Mr. Arabinda Bose showed me its great technical school from the outside.

Owing to my short stay in Berlin and other causes, I could not see Berlin as thoroughly and know it as intimately as I could wish. In Kaiserhof Hotel I made the acquaintance of M. Paul Birukoff, friend and biographer of Tolstoy. M. Birukoff had come to see Rabindranath Tagore. I also met there Dr. and Mrs. Sten Konow of Norway, of whom I had been for months a neighbour at Santiniketan. Dr. Sten Konow invited Rabindranath Tagore and his family, Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Mahalanobis, and myself to dinner at the residence of a relative of his. We spent an enjoyable evening there. Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose and Lady Ghose were in London when I was there; but I did not meet them there. I was glad to have some talk with them at Kaiserhof Hotel in

Berlin. There, too, I had a long conversation with Mr. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya. I could not fail to admire his intelligence, wide knowledge and patriotism. He did not appear to me to be a bloodthirsty man, as typical Anglo-Indians would perhaps make him out to be. At Kaiserhof Hotel I also made the acquaintance of Mr. Ranjit S. Pandit, Barrister at law, of Allahabad, who said he was a friend of my eldest son.

Mrs. Chattopadhyaya kindly took Mrs. Rathindranath Tagore and myself one day to the studio and home of Madame Kathe Kollwitz, Germany's artist of the masses and of social misery, about whose works an illustrated article appeared in the *Modern Review* for August, 1925. She lives in the poorer quarters of Berlin. Though workingmen and other persons of scanty means live in this part of the city, its roads and foot-paths are almost as well kept as the best streets of Calcutta. Madame Kathe Kollwitz received us very courteously and took great pains so to place her pictures before us that we might see them to the best advantage. Many of her drawings are very powerful and realistic. She is an elderly woman and showed us photographs of her grand-children.

I enjoyed our two visits to the residence of Dr. Mendel, a young medical man of 29 years of age who has given up his rising practice and has devoted himself to investigating the causes and cure of cancer. He explained to us some of his researches and the results he had obtained, requesting me not to publish anything before he himself had done so. The Mendels live in a suburb of Berlin, which is very beautiful.

When I was at Berlin, a police exhibition was being held there, in which, among other things, the methods of dealing with revolutionary activities were being shown. I did not go to see it. Some parts of the exhibition were open only to the German and foreign police.

Here in India, we have read much about the sufferings of Germany and her impoverishment in consequence of the world war. That may be true. But I must say that in Berlin and Dresden and in the parts of Germany through which I passed, I did not notice any signs of poverty. That may be due to the fact that, even during times of peace, the utter destitution, misery and sufferings of the majority of the inhabitants of India are such that no European who is not an eye-witness can believe that such things can be. Going from a country where millions upon millions never know a

full meal from the cradle to the grave, Berlin may have appeared to me to be extraordinarily prosperous.

The people of Germany have great mental hospitality. However heterodox a man's theories, opinions or ideas may be, if he can state them with tolerable clearness, he may find some persons in Germany to give him a hearing. No people can become culturally great without this kind of intellectual curiosity.

In Germany I found the word "verboten," which I suppose means "forbidden," in many street notices. I was told, they used to occur even more frequently before the revolution. Perhaps it was and is the practice of the public authorities in Germany to tell the people what they are not to do.

From Berlin I went to Prague, the capital of the new republic of Czechoslovakia. It is called Praha in the Czech language. The only European language which I know is English, which contains a large number of words derived from Latin—many of them through French. In my boyhood I had read a little Latin, too. The linguistic affinities of German and English are well-known. For these reasons, in Italy, France, England, Switzerland and Germany, many words in placards, sign-boards of shops, notices to the public in railway stations and elsewhere did not seem entirely unfamiliar to me. But when I came to Prague, except for a few words like hotel, telegraph, radio, etc., the rest appeared quite strange. For Czech is only remotely related to the languages named above. There were some Russian shops of which the sign-boards were in Russian characters, some of which are like the first funny attempts of abecedarians to write Roman letters.

As I went to Prague in the company of Rabindranath Tagore, I found on arriving at the railway station of that city that Professors M. Winternitz and V. Lesny were waiting there to receive him. I was an old acquaintance of theirs and was recognized by them. We all put up at Hotel Julis.

I had noticed at Dresden and Berlin that I was suffering from night sweat. There was no fever, nor had I become physically weak. At Prague, I used to perspire rather profusely after going to bed. So I desired to consult a good physician. Dr. Max Winternitz, youngest son of Prof. Winternitz, is a qualified physician. So I asked this young doctor whom I should consult. He kindly took me to the leading

physician of the city, who, after asking me various questions and examining me very thoroughly, could not discover any cause of the night sweat. He suspected that it might be due to malnutrition. Considering the cost of living in Europe this doctor did not charge any very high fee. He prescribed some pills, which I took for some days without any perceptible change. He advised me not to use warm night clothes. As I had sent home all my summer wear with Mr. Surendranath Bose, Dr. Max Winternitz said his mother would purchase for me some night clothes which were not woollen. She very kindly did so. The price charged by the shopkeeper was not high. The Winternitzes showed their kindness to me in other ways, too.

Prague has this peculiarity that there are separate institutions for the Czechs and the Germans. There is a German university, and there is a Czech University. There are separate theatres, lecture halls, etc., for Czechs and Germans. Some Russian institutions have been established in the town, including the small Ukraine university (1921). Owing to there being separate institutions for the two largest communities, Rabindranath had to lecture and recite poems separately to them. As usual, the audiences were large and enthusiastic. *The Post Office* was played separately in Czech and German in the two national theatres. In the Czech theatre the scenes and dresses were more expensive than in the German theatre. This may have been due directly or indirectly to the Czech's receiving more state patronage than the Germans. As regards offices of State and appointments in public services, particularly the higher ones, it would seem from the names of the incumbents that Germans were perhaps to some extent discriminated against.

One evening, when Rabindranath was to recite some of his poems, Professor V. Lesny, who knows Bengali, read a long and learned paper on Bengali literature.

At the dinner given to Rabindranath by the Pen Club, which I believe is a Czech institution, Professor Lesny welcomed the poet in Bengali. For a foreigner who was in Bengal only for a short time, this was a creditable performance. Besides the speaker the only European who perhaps understood him was Mr. O. Pertold, formerly Consul for Czechoslovakia in Bombay, who told me that he could understand, though he could not speak, Bengali. Mrs. Pertold, by the way,

told me that she was engaged in writing a book on Indian authoresses. Prof. Lesny afterwards wanted to know my opinion of his Bengali. I said that, except for his pronunciation, there was not much fault to be found with it. At this dinner of the Pen Club an elderly lady, perhaps Czech, sat next to me. As I am a vegetarian and could not always judge from the mere appearance of the dishes what to take and what not, she helped me to choose some of the dishes, for which I was grateful. But I did not quite appreciate one of her questions. She asked me why Indian women looked prematurely old, which, by the way, is not at all universally true, as there are very many Indian women who look young for their age, and that without any artificial make-up. Perhaps the question did not clash with her ideas of civility. Even the fact that an Indian lady was sitting almost in front of her did not prevent her from saying what she did. I might have retorted by asking her why many old European women tried their utmost to conceal their age by the use of cosmetics, etc.; why it was bad manners in Europe to ask a woman's age; and so on. But my antiquated oriental manners prevented me from putting such questions.—This is a minor incident. The dinner was excellent and the speeches unexceptionable.

Besides this public entertainment, Prof. Winternitz asked Rabindranath and his companions to tea one evening. Many prominent men and women of Prague were present. The refreshments provided were excellent and on a lavish scale, and the music was appreciated by those who understood European music. Prof. Lesny also asked the poet and his companions to tea. On this occasion, too, many prominent men and women of Prague were present. On both the occasions, "tea" was a misnomer;—the dishes were so many that no one who wanted to have his dinner also on those days could possibly do justice to them. As I do not understand European music, I can pronounce no opinion on the songs sung by the Czech singer at Professor Lesny's tea party. I can only say that his voice was very big and powerful.—Rabindranath and his companions, lunched with the Winternitzes on another day. This was entirely a family affair. The absence of any formality made us feel quite at home.—The poet and his companions visited the villa of a millionaire Czech poet by invitation one day. The library:

in the villa was beautiful to look at. Owing to the owner's or some one else's eagerness to show Tagore the garden attached to the villa when it was raining, the poet got wet and had fever at Vienna. One afternoon we went to see a Czech school for physically defective children and orphans. Besides general education, the children were there given training in different kinds of handicrafts. The things made by them were very nice. They presented every one of us with some article or other made by them. Though unacquainted with European music and the Czech language, I was charmed with the songs sung by the children—their voices were so sweet and powerful and they sang with so much feeling. The children performed some very interesting folk dances dressed in the fashion of their ancestors. We saw one boy there who was born without both the hands. He has been so well trained that with his legs, feet and toes he can do what others usually do with their arms, hands and fingers. We found him engaged in engraving a pattern on wood with the red-hot point of electric wires. He showed us how he could with the utmost ease pull out a stick from a match box, rub it on its side, place a cigarette between his lips and light it with the flaming match. The school authorities photographed Rabindranath and his companions. I desired a copy to be sent to my hotel with a bill. I saw one there while at Prague, but did not myself get it either for love or money. I was so impressed with the good work done at this institution that I requested Prof. Lesny to let me have some particulars about the school, which he kindly promised to supply, but perhaps has had no time to do.

The history of Prague dates back to the year 722 A. C., when, according to popular tradition, it was founded. From the beauty of its site, and the numerous lofty towers, more than 70 in number, which rise above its many noble palaces, public buildings, and bridges, it has a highly picturesque appearance. I am sorry, therefore, that, owing to various causes which I will not mention, I could not see much of Praha, the beautiful. Englishmen and their friends try to explain away the poverty of India by dwelling on its enormous increase in population. They forget that in many very old countries and towns of Europe, population increases much faster without producing poverty. For instance, the population of Prague in 1880 was 293,

822, in 1921 it was 676, 657; and when I was in Prague (October, 1926) Prof. Lesny, if I am not mistaken, told us that it was 800, 000 in round numbers. But in spite of such phenomenal increase in population, I did not notice any poverty there. House accommodation has not, of course, been able to keep pace with the increase in population. We were shown from a distance a line of old railway carriages which were being used as dwelling-houses.

When driving in an automobile to the villa of the rich poet spoken of above, I noticed that there were good hotels in the villages through which we passed. The peasants, men and women, were adequately clothed and had heavy boots on while working in the fields or conveying from the fields crops in waggons drawn by oxen and by horses. I also noticed that the course of a river (the Elbe?) has been changed for greater facility of navigation.

Prague contains the splendid royal Mausoleum and the shrine of St. John of Nepomuk containing 1½ ton of silver. It has many other catholic churches, and the grave of Tycho Brahe, the astronomer. It has many striking bridges. Other noteworthy objects are the townhall, the Pulverturm, the Czech Theatre, the old Jewish graveyard, the vast Czerni palace, the picture-gallery and the Promonstratsian monastery of Strahow. It has numerous public gardens and walks in the suburbs. The university, founded in 1348, had in the 15th century 10,000 students; but afterwards it passed through a long period of decay. In 1882 it was divided into the German and Czech Universities. The city has also polytechnics (German and Czech), academies of art and science (German and Czech), a great library, a fine observatory, museums, a botanical garden, etc. Machinery, chemicals, leather, cotton, linen, gloves, etc., are manufactured here. I learnt from the ex-Czech Consul of Bombay that at present Czechoslovakia exports to India large quantities of enamelled hardware, glass, and some textiles. What manufactured goods do we export to Europe?

On account of the night sweat and uncertainty as to its cause, I wanted to go back to Geneva and, after resting there for a few days, return home. But Prof. Prasanta Mahalanobis suggested that, as I had come so near to Vienna, I should go there and consult Dr. Wenkebach, who is a famous physician. Acting up to this sugges-

tion, I accompanied Rabindranath Tagore to the capital of Austria. I have said above that he fell ill there. I think it was due to his getting wet at the millionaire poet's garden near Prague. During the journey from Prague to Vienna, he felt indisposed. So at lunch he remained in his carriage, and Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Mahalanobis

and myself went to the restaurant car. While we were seated at table, a Japanese gentleman, eyeing me from a distance, got up, came close to me, and asked me, "May I ask whether you are Rabindranath Tagore?" I said, "No, I am not. He is in this train, but is indisposed." On this, the Japanese gentleman went back to his seat.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

The Authorship of "A Prayer for Freedom"

Will you allow me to point out a mistake that has crept into p. 577 of the May issue of your esteemed monthly?

The poem "A Prayer for Freedom" which you have published therein as being written by Sister Nivedita, was really written by Swami Vivekananda. The poem as you quote it is really the last two stanzas of a longer poem on the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence, entitled "To the Fourth of July". A reference to p. 102 of Sister Nivedita's "Notes on Some Wonderings with the Swami Vivekananda" (1st edition) will bear out my statement.

SWAMI ASHOKANANDA

EDITOR'S NOTE

The manuscript of the poem in question was kindly given to us by Sir J. C. Bose. The first stanza of it was missing. The manuscript was throughout in the handwriting of Sister Nivedita. The corrections were also in her handwriting. As we had some doubts about the reading of one word we consulted Sir. J. C. Bose and Lady Bose.

Political Persecution in Italy and England

I was interested to read in your Notes of your March number a letter on Italy under Mussolini, and other European countries, in which is mentioned the foundation of the Union of Democratic Control. While the main facts are correct, there are one or two statements which do not give quite an accurate impression to your readers.

In the first place your correspondent says that

the U.D.C. grouped "800,000 adherents against the war and the Government policy". The U.D.C. was not started as a "stop the war" movement in any sense nor was there even any suggestion as to the stage in the military operations at which peace should be urged. I enclose a copy of the original letter which was sent out in September 1914 by the founders of the U.D.C. which shows clearly that the object of the U.D.C. was to think out and advocate a policy which would build up a peace after the war which would be of a more enduring character than the one which was so rudely shattered in 1914. The Cardinal Point of U.D.C. policy, as shown on page 3 of the enclosed pamphlet, and which were adopted in November 1914 are not strictly speaking, an indication of a campaign "against the war and the Government policy."

There is one other minor point. The original founders of the U.D.C. were:—J. Ramsay MacDonald, Charles Trevelyan, Norman Angel, Arthur Ponsonby and E.D. Morel. Bertrand Russell was not one of the founders but was amongst the earliest supporters.

The main point of your correspondent's statement, however, remains unaffected by this explanation. In spite of such minor inconveniences as tapped telephone wires, raided offices, smashed-up meetings, etc., etc., it is true to say that there was no persecution of the U.D.C. which can be compared in any way with that in Fascist Italy. E.D. Morel was imprisoned on an absurd technical plea but, in reality, because it was hoped that if the Secretary were removed the U.D.C. might collapse or its work be seriously curtailed, but other members of the U.D.C. who went to prison did so as conscientious objectors and not because of their connection with us. I should think there can be no reasonable doubt that had the U.D.C. been located in Fascist Italy instead of in Great

"Britain its founders and prominent members would not now be alive to carry on this or any other work.

E. G. WEBB,
Secretary, The Union of
Democratic Control.

The League of Nations and the New British move

Speaking at the League Council, on the subject of the future form of treaties, Sir Austin Chamberlain is reported * to have said "that the covenant of the League had omitted to recognize that the British Empire was *an entity*. He sat as the representative of the British Empire and the dominions each in their own name." Italics are mine.

The claim is frequently made by British statesmen that "the British Empire is a commonwealth of free Nations." Consequently when the peace treaty of Versailles was signed, the British delegates did not affix their signatures as "the representatives of the British Empire and the dominions each in their own name." The representatives of the Dominions and India had to travel thousands of miles in order to sign the treaty, on behalf of their respective countries. When the League of Nations was inaugurated all the states which joined the League, except Great Britain, did so as one unit, *viz.*, one single state was given one seat whatever may have been its size or the number of its dominions, colonies or dependencies. Great Britain alone of all the states and Empires which joined the League was represented separately by its constituent members *viz.*, Great Britain, Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand and, in 1923, Irish Free State. Thus all the first five countries became *original* members of the League each in its own right (by virtue of signing the peace treaty) as *distinct and separate entities* quite independent of each other. These countries pay directly their quota of the League budget from their own finances. It is not paid for them by the British Exchequer.

* Vide an official wireless message, dated London, March 10, 1927 printed in *The Leader* for March 13, 1927, at page 7, top of column.

If the claim had been put forward in 1920 at the time when the League came into existence that the British Empire was "*one entity*", the other members of the League would have allowed it only one seat. But by side-tracking the issue and claiming for the British Empire the position of a commonwealth of free Nations, Britain managed to have six seats instead of one. And this is the real British Diplomacy. It is not consistency. It is the policy of heads I win, tails you loose. In 1920 it was a question of multiplying and increasing its voting strength and therefore Britain managed to pack the League with its constituents. There were 42 members in 1920 out of which five belonged to the British Empire. Thus its voting strength instead of being * 38:1 was 42:5. In 1927 there were in all 56 members out of whom six belonged to the British Empire. Consequently its voting strength, instead of being † 51:1, is 56:6.

Thus when it was a question of rallying the Empire and gaining more strength in the League Britain did not fail to kill two birds with one stone by putting forward the high sounding and glorified claim that its Empire was a commonwealth of free Nations. Now perhaps, Britain feels the necessity of claiming the Empire as "*one entity*" and consequently it does not hesitate to make that grandiose claim in such polite and polished words (which seem saturated with brotherly love and affection for the constituent members of the Empire) that none dare object to them. But let not soft words deceive us. Let us look ahead.

JYOTISWARUP GUPTA.

EDITOR'S NOTE

If the League admits that the British Empire is a single entity, then the consideration of any possible complaints of India against Great Britain must be excluded on the ground of such matters being domestic or internal concerns of the British Empire!

* If Britain had only one seat, there would have been 38 members of the League.

† If the British Empire had only one seat instead of six the total number of members would have been 51.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indian and Western Art

Mr. Jamini-kanta Sen observes in *The Visvabharati Quarterly* :

The Greeks were masters in the representation of "the tension of bodily strife," but the facial expression fails to harmonise with the physical pose. The human countenance was taken only as a "part of the body" which had no right to special attention,—a point of view which Ruskin

probably summarises in the sentence : "A Greek never expresses a personal character and never expresses a momentary passion."

I venture to declare that, in spite of its many phases, Indian Art has the general characteristic of being pan-psychic, that its main object was the expression of the tension of *mental* (in the wider sense of non-physical) strife. This, further, is in tune with the objective of the sister arts of Indian Music and Drama and the rest, all of which sought to express or elucidate mental or emotional

states or qualities, that constituted, in their case the basic fact for artistic exposition.

Indian Art, as it were, accepted in anticipation and met the challenge of the West, that complicated emotions or violent cogitations of humanity could not find expression in marble. This is not the place where the idea can be fittingly elaborated. But even a cursory consideration of easily available specimens will, I trust, be enough to show how wide a gamut of the emotions of man,—his moods and hilarities, his profound sorrows and beatific visions—were rendered in the figurations of Indian art, both in its earlier and its later Tantric phases, as will also be evident from the renderings to be found in the *Sadhan-mala* and *Tanggyur*. It is of further interest to note that, apart from this, the Indian Pantheon itself,—not only the Buddhist deities, but also the non-Buddhist gods or goddesses,—represented so many psychological qualities crystallised into marvellously expressive forms.

It is quite natural that this should be so, for it must not be forgotten that the Indians were the first psychologists of the world. It is this characteristic, this creative impulse, that broadly differentiates Indian Art from that of the West, making it an art of expression, while the Occidental art, with its call to imitate Nature, is an art of impression,—using both these terms in their non-metaphysical sense.

Muslims Ignorant of Islamic History

Mr. A. Hussain writes in the *Dacca University Journal* :

To-day among the Muslims we find a group of people, well-versed probably in Arabic and Persian but ignorant of modern historical developments or the progress of modern life, whose only business is to indulge in tall talk of the glories of Islam in days gone by and sigh with self-complacency. Their function is only either to justify every bit of Islamic history dogmatically or to enjoy a boastful indifference towards the present, thinking that Islam has achieved enough.

But this attitude of self-complacent boasting and pompous polemical justification is the cause of our ruin and stagnation in the modern world where we are being thwarted in the race of life. The ambition, self-confidence and power of grasping problems that a critical study of history can give are woefully lacking in us. Our knowledge of Islamic history is staggeringly insufficient.

Some Objects of Anthropology

In an article contributed to *Man in India* by Mr. J. P. Mills, we read :

Anthropology indeed might almost be defined as racial introspection, the study of the human race by itself.

Anthropology links up the sciences, and combines them where they converge on man. That is why there is no science which an anthropologist can study without becoming a better anthropologist, and why every scientist is to some extent an

anthropologist (albeit often an unconscious one), since the object of all science is to make man more fitted for his environment, and Anthropology is the study of how man reacts and has reacted, physically and mentally, to his environment.

"But", says the critic, "there is no time in the busy world of today for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. We must all be practical men nowadays." Here he is wrong, very wrong.

Knowledge only grants her choicest gifts when she is sought for her own sake and we are content to follow where she seems to lead. No increase of knowledge, however trivial and useless it may seem at the moment, is without value, for a way of applying it will most certainly be revealed in time. The hard-headed businessmen of the time probably regarded as idle cranks the first scientists who toyed with an electric current.

The dress of the West, even when new, is probably the most unlovely ever devised by the wit of man; when it is in rags (as it usually is when worn by a savage) it is horrible beyond words. Worse still it is utterly unsuitable for hot climates, and has brought with it disease and death. More destructive even than the trader with his stock of cheap finery and unsightly chemises is the would-be reformer who regards as only fit for destruction any custom differing from his own. In many lands have such men ruined primitive races by destroying the old cultures, laboriously built up in generations of experience in that particular environment, long before those who held them could understand and absorb the new one. It is not always realised by those who have not themselves watched them how deliberate and thorough are the efforts made to sweep away indigenous customs just because they are indigenous, substituting for that variety which is the spice of life a flat uniformity. Needless to say it is the reformers who settle the customs which are to be adopted, often quite regardless of the particular environment in which they are to be exercised. Dr. Parke in his foreword to Maurice T. Price's *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations* leaves no doubt in our minds. He says, speaking of the objects of American Protestant Missions, "It is this task of hastening a common culture in which all races and peoples may share that constitutes the real mission of Christian Missions". Or again later in the book (pp. 495-496) "Sociologically speaking, this aim [i. e., the Protestant Missionary's aim] implies, first, producing such disintegration of social organization as dethrones any forces that oppose him or that will not submit to him.....Conflict and disorganization are specifically aimed at, systematically planned for, and persistently and thoroughly worked toward.....". We, anthropologists, know that this is wrong. While it would be far from true to say that all customs of all races are good, yet suddenly to sweep away the entire culture of a race is to ruin it. To expect a race to adjust itself immediately to a new social scheme is like trying to turn a tank fish into a sea fish by putting it into salt water; it dies, and so does the savage. The late Dr. Rivers has shown that races deprived of their old interests tend to dwindle and become extinct.

Indian Leadership of State Delegations

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri says in *The Hindustan Review* :

The Viceroy is, indeed, to be congratulated on his courage in choosing an Indian for leadership of this Delegation. The result has amply vindicated his choice. Let us trust that it will embolden him to select Indians for responsible offices of this kind in future, and thus dispel once for all the impression which long practice has created abroad that the paucity of qualified Indians makes it necessary to hold the country in the leading strings of Britishers. No one will venture, in matters of this high order of importance, to deprecate caution, but even a conservative student of Indian affairs will allow that Britain has never taken a forward step a day too soon. On the contrary, by being behindhand even in second-rate innovation, she has again and again lost credit for courage and generosity. May we indulge in the hope that the lesson will not be lost on the Secretary of State for India? He and his Council have allowed India and South Africa to settle their dispute without the intervention of the India Office. If the experiment has succeeded, it may well be repeated with equal chances in its favour. It may be hard to stand aside and let others do the job which one has long considered one's own. But constitutional progress is a series of such self-denying acts and Lord Birkenhead, we trust, is as capable of them as any Secretary of State before him.

Primary Education and Co-operative Societies

Mr. Sukumar Ranjan Das observes in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* :

It is in the fitness of things that the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society is going to launch on a scheme for village reconstruction, including, of course, spread of primary education. The Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society with its numerous affiliated societies in the villages is placed in a more advantageous position to tackle this problem than any other body, corporate or otherwise. Spread of primary education in the villages is essential for the development of the co-operative movement. Co-operation can be successful in the real sense of the term only when the masses in the villages are educated, and this cannot be expected so long as provision is not made for the introduction of compulsory primary education among the masses. No movement, however beneficial it may be to the masses, can be crowned with success without so much education of the people as would enable them to appreciate the value of the movement in all its bearings. Lack of education to appreciate the movement has often been the cause of the failure of many a co-operative organisation in this country.

Primary education, in order that it may be effective, should be free and compulsory. This is the first step towards making it universal. Every civilised country has arranged to impart free and

universal primary education to its children by making it compulsory. The adoption of the principle of compulsion should follow the establishment of a network of primary schools in the villages. Before primary education is made compulsory, it would be necessary to open a sufficient number of schools for accomodating all children of school-going age requiring free primary education. It is also urged that no scheme for the spread of primary education can be worked out on voluntary basis. A large number of schools may be established all over the province, but students will not be forthcoming if primary education is not made compulsory. Whatever be the difference of opinion regarding this point, it is admitted on all hands that primary schools should be started at once in the villages and vigorous steps should be taken to make primary education in the near future compulsory throughout the province. This is the first step towards the reorganisation and reconstruction of the villages.

Hindu-Moslem Relations

Sir P. C. Ray has contributed some notes on Hindu-Moslem Unity to the *Dacca Muslim Hall Magazine*. According to him,

The causes of antagonism are small and few, but how wide is the field of co-operation and mutual help! Disease is no respecter of religion; cholera and malaria have their ravages in both Hindu and Moslem homes. The problems of rural sanitation, good drainage and water supply can only be tackled by the joint efforts of both communities. The remedial measures that can remove poverty from the land must also be adopted by the country as a whole; piece-meal efforts here and there among isolated communities of ten times will fail in achieving the desired end, because the background of economic enterprise is not there in the heart of the nation. Compulsory elementary education, training in agriculture and craftsmanship, co-operative societies for purchase of manufactured articles and distribution of agricultural raw-products, in fact, all the problems of rural re-construction depend for their solution on the mutual goodwill, confidence and the re-united civic activities of the two great communities of Bengal.

The Taoist Way to Wisdom

Dr. J. H. Cousins writes in *Shama'a* :

There is something also characteristic of the Taoist attitude in the fact that its mind moves automatically from the higher to the lower degrees of life. From the point of view of the *Tao* all else is but a degradation of itself. Standing on the pole of its universe, everything lies everywhere to the south of it. This is seen in a passage in the "Tao-Teh-King" ["The of Virtue"] in which Lao-tze follows the order of descent from wisdom into worldly shrewdness and thence into a very human, if not very Taoist, mood of satire.

"When the great *Tao* is lost, men follow after charity and duty to one's neighbour" (which may

or may not be a side-stroke at the doctrine of the young Confucius).

"When wisdom has met with honours, the world is full of pretenders" (as Rabindranath Tagore found after he had been awarded the Nobel Prize).

"When family ties are severed, filial duty and parental indulgence take their place" (see the western world to-day).

"When a nation is filled with strife, then do patriots flourish" (observe the mischievous twinkle on the word "patriots" and look at India, and America, and Ireland, and other places).

Graeco-Bactrian Origin of Indian Architecture

Pandit Manomohan Ganguly, B. E. writes in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* :

I look upon Indian architecture not from the standpoint of those who look back to a past age, with some of that wistful regret for what has disappeared and is outworn, as a fit theme for academic discussion prompted by a pious but passing impulse, but as a living art to be practised so as to fit in with our present ideal and necessity, not in the sense of architectural excrescence but as a part of an organic whole.

He states the considerations which have led him to reject the theory of Graeco-Bactrian origin of Indian architecture, although he repeats that

The craftsmen of those days in the frontier provinces were certainly tinged with the Hellenistic ideas of decoration to some extent which are infinitesimal considering the vastness of the indigenous system as evinced in the details.

Until the Greek plan and elevation of building are discovered we cannot fairly speak of the Greek influence on Indian architecture. The adoption with material alterations of a very few decorative motifs does not justify the supposition of Greek origin or Greek influence.

Mangalore "Government College Miscellany"

The series of 12 drawings, entitled "The Woes of a Principal," are clever and enjoyable.

Education and Child-marriage of Girls

Hansa Mehta, writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* on the All-India Women's Conference on educational reform, opines :

The most important resolution in the group (a) was about prohibition of early marriages. There was a certain section in the Conference which was

not in favour of any legislation being passed on the subject. It was pointed out that early marriage, apart from being a social evil, is a great factor in hindering the progress of education. As soon as a girl gets married she is generally taken away from school. Primary education after all is very elementary, a mere smattering of knowledge. With such poor equipment, a girl would not be able to make life a success. Unless the minimum age of marriage is fixed, it would not be possible to chalk out any further programme of education for girls. There have been social conferences in the past which have been urging parents to stop this evil custom without any marked effect. Where persuasion fails, legislation becomes an absolute necessity. In almost all countries, reforms, whether social or otherwise, have been brought about by wise legislation. There is no reason why the same method may not be resorted to on this very vital question which affects not only women, but the future generation, the men and women who are to mould the future of this country. As a corollary to this, the Conference demanded that the age of consent should be raised to 16. Once that the age of marriage is fixed at 16 the age of consent within marriage automatically rises to 16.

"Divide and Rule" in the Philippines

Mr. St. Nihal Singh's article in *Welfare* on American economic policy in the Philippines shows how Imperialists adopt the same methods all over the world. British rubber-growers have been forcing up its price by curtailing production. So an American capitalist wanted to put 100,000 acres of land under rubber in Mindanao, an island in the Philippine group. But an American-made law in those islands makes it illegal for any individual or corporation to acquire more than 40 or 2500 acres respectively. So an effort has been going on to make the Moros of Mindanao, who are Muslims, demand separation from the other Philippine islands. Mr. Singh concludes his article thus :

Little would have been heard of the Moro agitation for separation from the rest of the islands if Mindanao had not been capable of producing rubber, and if Americans had not at last awakened to the necessity of growing that commodity under their own control instead of continuing to be dependent for their supply on British growers, who for years have been forcing up the price of rubber by curtailing production.

From such portions of the report made by Colonel Carmi Thompson to the President of the United States as have been released for publication, it appears that he favours the "strengthening" of the "American control over the Moro islands." That recommendation will not further the cause of unifying the Moros with the Christian Filipinos, which he professes to have at heart. It will, on the contrary, help to widen the gulf which exists between the two sections of the people, whereas

every effort should be made to bridge it. Only by trusting the Moros to the integrity of character of the Christian Filipinos and making the latter responsible for the advancement of their Muslim countrymen, can the cause of nationhood be advanced.

If left to themselves there is little doubt that Muslim and Christian Filipinos would come together, and in course of time—and not a long time—form an indissoluble nation. The Christian Filipino being better educated than the Moro, realizes more keenly the necessity for union than does the latter. The Christian Filipino, dominating the Philippine Legislature, has certainly shown a fine spirit in making liberal grants, during recent years, for the advancement of the Moro through education and other means.

According to all accounts the Moros have indeed made much progress especially during the last decade. They are realizing more and more the necessity of settling down and mastering the arts and crafts of peace. They are beginning to show even signs of toleration.

The separatist agitation which is outside economic interests, is encouraging—if not actually creating—threatens, however, to thwart the work of nation-building.

Treatment of Chinese and Indians on Steamers

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in *Current Thought* :

One of the things which very deeply impressed me, with its serious importance, when I was studying the Indian problem, was the way in which the Indian labourers were treated on the steamers coming across from Madras and Negapatnam to this country. I wish to tell these Chinese here, who most naturally take the deepest interest in their own countrymen,—the Chinese themselves, that there is suffering on these steamers that is incredible, in the lot of the Chinese labourers who come over. On some of the steamers, the conditions are just as terrible as the conditions on those which come from India. What I wish to leave with you tonight, on this my last day in Singapore, is this, that just as we are trying our utmost, with the help of this Government, to improve the lot of our Indian labourers who are coming over on the steamers from India, even so, I do wish that I might leave the word with you, that you too, who are Chinese residents in Singapore, should take up the cause of the Chinese labourers who come over from Canton, and should see to the uttermost of your power that they are not cheated, that they are not wronged, or treated in an inhuman manner, on the steamers, but that they get such humane treatment as you would wish to receive yourselves.

Messages of the Vedas

According to Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, as published in the *Vedic Magazine*, the following are some of the messages of the Vedas :

Our ancient ancestors were a united people, without any division into numerous castes, as at present, and without any restriction as regards intermarriage and inter-dining.....

Woman should be looked upon as an equal of man, possessing equal rights and privileges. The status of the Aryan woman in the Vedic age was high. She was never married in her infancy, and allowed to grow up into youthful womanhood in her father's home, and to make a suitable choice of her husband. She was the mistress of her own house, having complete control over the domestic servants, performed the worship of Fire and of the Devas with her husband, and was honoured and respected by her husband, children and relations. Ladies could become Risis, and Ghosa, Lopamudra and Visvavara composed Vedic hymns, and performed the duties of a Hotri also at a sacrifice.

Our ancient ancestors were a people with domestic instincts free from the domination of Autocrats, Plutocrats or Priestcrafts and framed their own constitution, elected their own king, willingly paid taxes for the maintenance of the Government presided over by the king and his representative councils, withheld the payment of their taxes, if the Government failed to discharge its duties properly, and even deposed the king when he proved to be tyrannical or oppressive...

We can build a Greater India and spread Aryan culture all over the world as our ancient ancestors did in the Vedic times, uplifting the human race, and as was done by the Buddhist missionaries going abroad from India in still later times. The Rigvedic Panis, Vaniks or Aryan merchants visited the then known world in their merchant-ships, which the Rigveda makes frequent mention of, bringing wealth into our country, from abroad and spreading Aryan culture in the Deccan, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Egypt.

We have got to know ourselves and realise Brahman in our souls, and through Brahman, the unity of human race, and thus to effect our emancipation from the bonds of superstitions that serve only to retard our spiritual progress and prevent us from living up to the highest ideals of true manhood. We should learn to see God in everything and everything in God. Our love of God should be as wide as the Universe itself, comprising within its vast compass, not only humanity as a whole, without any distinction of race, caste or creed, but also life in every shape and form; and our mind and soul should be saturated with a world-wide good-will and compassion for all living creatures, such as the great Buddha felt and taught to mankind, and such as our Risis and Sanyasis sacrificed and are still sacrificing everything to cultivate and realise.

India a Grave-Yard

Dr. N. S. Hardiker writes in *The Volunteer* :

In 1918 Lord Sinha who was then a member of the Imperial War Cabinet made a statement to the Overseas Press in London and remarked that :—

"It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India but contentment and prosperity. However, efficient the system of Government might be in

India, it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed, was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past, and was not prosperous now..... Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of affairs."

This has affected the average length of life in India. The people are gradually becoming dwarfs and weaklings. They are losing their vital vigour and are falling easy prey to diseases. *The longevity of the Indian people to-day is only 24.7 years.*

Herewith a table giving the relevant and comparative figures :—

Country	Average Length of life
1. England and Wales	51.5
2. United States	50.0
3. France	48.5
4. Germany	47.4
5. Italy	47.0
6. Japan	44.3
7. India	24.7

That means premature deaths in the country. The infant dies. The mother and her family suffers.

The mortality rate is very high. It is 30 per thousand.

As compared to other countries it is :—

Countries	Population	Rate
1. New Zealand	12,00,000	9.5
2. Austria	55,00,000	10.5
3. New Foundland	2,50,000	10.6
4. U. S. America	10,00,00,000	12.9
5. Norway	26,00,000	13.2
6. Sweden	60,00,000	13.8
7. United Kingdom	4,54,00,000	14.6
8. Belgium	75,00,000	15.2
9. Germany	6,00,00,000	16.2
10. India	31,90,00,000	30.0

The Ideal of Buddha's Life

It is stated in a paper by Rai Bahadur Jadunath Majumdar, published in *The Mahabodhi*, that the ideal of Buddha's life was universal love.

Love not only for human beings but also for beasts and birds—love not only for beasts and birds but also for trees and plants. The whole universe was his kith and kin and he could see himself in everything.

Every man loves himself—he loves his parents, brothers, sisters, wife, children. In fact, he loves those whom he considers to be his own. This love is implanted in human nature, proceeds from himself to his children—to the family—to the community—to the nation—to the entire mankind. The ideal of Buddha was even higher. His love extended to the whole universe.

This world of ours consists of contraries, if there is love in this world, there is hatred as well, and Buddha fully recognised that fact and therefore it was the aim of his life to promote love and banish hatred from among mankind.

The Lord Buddha preached the ethics of self-reliance and exhorted them to discard faith in fate.

Freedom based on fearlessness was the consummation of the dharma. There is no doubt a peace based on fear, cowardice and unmanliness, and which we have in abundance at present, but the Tathagata preached the peace of fearlessness, based on wisdom, prajna, Love, Maitri, and self-sacrifice, and Nishkama Dharma and that is what we need.

The Work of Raja Rammohun Ray

The Standard Bearer observes :

Modern India, since the days of Raja Rammohun Roy has been busy revisioning her ancient idealism through a new and larger perspective. The Raja was not merely a religious, social or political reformer, what he was or was not it is rather difficult to say—in one word, he represented the Zeitgeist or Time-spirit, of which, he was the most catholic, most capacious and most powerful exponent of his days. Raja Rammohun indeed, belonged to that species of supermen, who are ushered forth into the world to create or destroy an epoch of civilisation, to help or obstruct the march of progress in their own superhuman way, and sometimes even as he, our Raja, was destined to raise a fallen country from the mire. Born at the fag-end of a closing century, he ruled the morning twilight, the opening *sandhya* of a new age, that was fast dawning upon the land.

Raja founded the Brahma-Samaj in 1830. Strange as it may seem to say, the spirit of freedom which he imparted through the Brahma Samaj to Hindu life, culture and society, will live there to make his name immortal even more than in his special creation—the symbolic mould of his superhuman labours. For the Raja truly came as the messenger of the Time-spirit, to rejuvenate and re-vitalise the ancient body of Hinduism itself. If he battered and fought against the degradation and decadence that had set in, it was because he wanted to operate like a stern but merciful surgeon whose sole object was to cure and renew.

The South-African Indian Agreement

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes in the *Young Men of India* :

I admit that there is ample room for disagreement and misunderstanding as regards one or other of the heads of the agreement. Ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and racial bitterness are not entirely exercised in an instant by the waving of a magician's wand. I have seen enough of State documents to know, that, without the desire and determination to implement them in the spirit in which they were devised, they are not worth the paper upon which they have been written. But I do believe that there are enough men of good will on both sides to see that an honest effort is made to give effect to the agreement in the right spirit. I do not regard the agreement as finally settling all outstanding questions. In its very nature it is of a partial and limited character, and it places no obligation upon the Indian community to rest content, even at this moment, with what has been achieved. It is to the interests of White South

Africa to use its utmost endeavours to help the Indian community to advance along the road indicated in the agreement; but the Indian community itself would be wise to recollect its deficiencies, its weaknesses, its limitations, and to take up this task, a very long and arduous one, in a humble, hopeful and helpful spirit.

Compensatory Allowance to Telegraph Officials

We read in *The Telegraph Review* :—

It is nearly 3 years that the Compensatory allowance has been granted to all the Gazetted officers of the Department stationed at Rangoon, Bombay and Calcutta, but it is only three months ago that the Government woke to the necessity of granting that allowance to the subordinate staff at those places and that also to a very limited number. The attitude of the Government in this case may be compared to that of some rich men who take a great delight in entertaining their compeers every year and then placing before them all sorts of rich dishes to which scant justice is done by the latter, while they consider it a nuisance and a sheer waste of money to entertain a few beggars once in a way with the coarsest dishes which, by the bye, these poor men will devour with the greatest relish!

"The Good Work Begun in South Africa"

The National Christian Council Review writes :—

Reports from South Africa show that there are forces in operation in that country trying to set aside the settlement of the Indian question arrived at recently. This is easily explained, for South Africa has been for years the field of a great conflict of colour, and those in political power in that country have acquired an outlook in regard to the treatment of non-whites which cannot be changed easily. When we consider the racial feelings prevalent in South Africa, it is remarkable that the Government of South Africa has agreed to the present settlement, which is an effect a reversal of the policy pursued in the past. No Government can initiate such bold changes unless it has the support of a vigorous public opinion.

Education in Germany and India

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

"The total number of German students enrolled in German universities during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 82,602 which is 13,000 more than were registered during the pre-war period and respectively 1 and 4 per cent. more than the number matriculated during the two previous semesters." The number of women students registered in German Universities during the

Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 6,983. During the previous semester, their number was 6,923.

There had been marked increase in the ranks of students devoting themselves to Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine, technical subjects as well as Philology. *The total number of medical students during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926, in German Universities, was 6,438.* This shows that the German nation has recovered educationally from the set-back it received during the World War and the years following it. *The German nation as a whole to-day is more keenly interested in elevating the status of its national health, technical and industrial efficiency and the possibility of greater activity in Foreign Relations and Foreign Commerce than ever before.*

It is also noteworthy that the death-rate in Germany is decreasing and population is increasing. Universal sports are taking the place of universal military training; and Germany will have more efficient medical men and women to serve the nation. If Germany is to recover her former position in the field of industry and international commerce, it is imperative that she must have better trained industrialists and salesmen, who will excel those of other nations in technical efficiency, industrial organisation, and capturing foreign markets. To meet these requirements, the German Universities are going to turn out large number of technical men and industrialists who can speak the languages of the peoples whose markets they wish to capture. To-day more German students are engaged in gaining proficiency in Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, English, Italian, Persian, Turkish as well as Hindustanee than ever before.

Let us compare the present educational condition and facilities for higher education in India with the existing condition in Germany. First of all we have to admit that the educational standard, including curriculum and efficiency in high schools and universities of India is lower than those of Germany. For this drawback, the British Government in India, Indian politicians, educators, and general public are to blame.

Secondly, India has a population about five-times as large as that of Germany. If the educational standard of Indian Universities were equal to that of German Universities, there should have been at least 400,000 students in Indian Universities; and the number of women students in Indian Universities would have been about 28,000. It is safe to say that it is not the case.

Thirdly, the death-rate in India is about double the rate in Germany. Germany is not infested with the preventable diseases such as Malaria, Plague, etc., as is India. The need of medical education in India is far greater than that of any other civilised country. No Indian politician should forget that the British Indian Government claims that as there are not sufficient medical men and women in India; it cannot change its "opium policy" and it now allows practically unrestricted sale of opium, which is a government monopoly, and opposes the policy of restriction of production of opium to medicinal and scientific purposes. The British Government contends that Indian masses should have the privilege of using opium, "as household medicine for ailments" because there are not enough doctors in India to look after the general well-being of the people. Supposing that

the need of medical men and women for the people of India is equal to the need of the German people, then there should be at least 32,000, or more medical students in Indian medical colleges. Alas, there are not even 3,200 medical students in Indian Universities.

Fourthly, in Indian Universities the number of students, who are pursuing studies in technical subjects and philology, should be five times of those in German Universities. Undoubtedly that is not the case.

The "Budget commission of the Reichstag has just voted a credit of 500,000 Marks (about Rs. 375,000) for the erection of a building for the reception of foreign scholars who come to work in Berlin."

Although for the promotion of the best interest of India, a large number of well-selected and most efficient students should come to Germany to study, the number of Indian students in German Universities is even less than those from Turkey, Japan and China. It is generally regarded that the Government of India discourages Indian scholars from going to Germany or America, by giving special preference to those who are educated in British Universities. There again there is the language difficulty, as Indian Universities do not require Indian students to learn the German language. If India is to establish cultural, commercial as well as political contact with other nations, then Indian University students should be encouraged to study foreign languages; and German, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese should receive special attention.

A Feature of Indian Thought

Prof. M. Hafiz Syed writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*

One of the most outstanding features of Indian Thought as stated by Dr. Miller is the immanence of God and the solidarity of man. Man is not a mere particle of dust visible to-day and gone to-morrow. Contrary to the Christian doctrine, the Vedic conception of man does not find any trace of what is called the original sin in his nature. As against this view man is believed to be an Amsa, an essential part of God Himself. All schools of Indian Philosophy insist upon the Divine nature of man. In the words of the Upanishads, the highest product of the human mind, man is the form of being in whom the Self and the Not-Self are balanced. A Jivatma is Ishvara with name and form. We read in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, "That Immortal is hidden by existence." Again in the same Upanishad (I, vi, 3) it is said that "Life is verily to the Immortal. Name and form—mere existence, by these the life is concealed."

Thus all the Upanishads are unanimous in proclaiming that Jivatma in essence shares the Divine characteristics, namely, that it is Sat, Chit and Ananda, self-existent, source of all knowledge and blissful in its nature. Therefore, by long and steady process of evolution man progresses onward and upward endlessly until he realises his oneness with the Supreme Self. By virtue of his being

Divine in essence he is capable of achieving any mental or moral height he himself chooses.

Persia and Cairo-Karachi Air Route

The Indian and Eastern Engineer, a British journal, observes:—

Persia means to stand alone and her achievements in a few short years in the building of a foundation plinth for the new Kingdom of Persia have been notable. Her language is compulsory in all schools and with it the study of history and national literature: the budget has been balanced, public security is a fact, and the army has been reorganised. National union and cohesion are being developed and encouraged, motor transport is increasing and different parts of Persia are coming into contact with each other. The Government can always count upon ecclesiastical support, as the Shiah form of Islam is practically a Persian State Church and is almost universal in influence. The State is yet young and feeble and must be carefully guarded by its rulers against internal and external shocks, but, possessing as it does an enlightened and patriotic ruler, a virile young army and a strong State Church, all of which are objects of pride to a healthy and growing nationalisms there are present all the conditions conducive and necessary to the growth of a healthy state.

With all this there inevitably grows up an intense national pride, such a pride as animated Tudor England under Elizabeth to withstand and repudiate the pretensions of the greatest foreign monarch of the day, and this national pride of a young state is of all things one of the most delicate in the field of world politics. If through omission or commission we have in this matter of the Cairo-to-Karachi Air Service failed to consider, or perhaps even wounded Persia's praiseworthy national feeling it is incumbent upon us forthwith to seek with single heart to make good the damage done.

In our haste to rush along the path of progress it becomes us, if we would make real speed, to consider always those in whose paths we would travel. Our material interests, like those of Persia, are bound up with the progress of industry and the best interests of both will be best served by each step forward being taken in a spirit of complete understanding.

Indian Sandhurst Committee Report

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, writes in *The Indian Review*:—

If the Imperial Government could make up their mind to carry out the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee as well as of the Territorial Forces Committee, it would go a long way to remove the discontent of thwarted military aspirations. To shelve or to throw them overboard will only have the effect of deepening the discontent and undermining the faith of the public in the pious professions of the Imperial Government. Judging from the utterances of Lord Brienhead and the *Communique* of the Government of India,

the odds are apparently against the acceptance of the recommendations of the Committee. The issues involved in the Reports of these Committees are of grave and far-reaching importance and if Indian politicians were well advised, they would concentrate their attention and energy upon the problems of defence rather than upon others. An intensive agitation should be organised throughout the country and the Government of India must be pressed to carry out the schemes recommended by these Committees or publish the rival schemes contemplated by them before they come to a decision upon the latter.

Not the least of the services rendered by the Skeen Committee for which the public in India should be grateful to them is their condemnation of the 8 Units' Scheme. It is to be hoped that this ill-begotten and mischievous scheme will be abandoned by the authorities in deference to the weight of public and expert opinion.

Alleged Espionage through Post Office

We read in *Labour*:

A most serious indictment was brought against the Bow Bazar T. S. O. Calcutta by Mr. S. C. Bose in the Bengal Legislative Council. He stated that there were spies in that office who tampered with letters passing through that office. A similar idea is prevalent in respect of the Barisal Head office. The seriousness of this charge is obvious, which cannot but considerably lower the reputation of the Department for honesty and fair-dealing in the estimation of the public. The men receive remuneration from the Criminal Investigation Department for correspondence handed over, surreptitiously of course, obviously the men concerned must be employed in the Delivery Department and their transfer is desirable and necessary and at an early date. The men are guilty not only of a breach of the rule which enforces secrecy on every Post office employee but also of theft and therefore are not deserving of any consideration whatsoever. A spy of this type is a loathsome reptile and should be treated as such.

Filigree Works of Orissa

The following appears in *The Federation Gazette*:

Babu Sarat Chandra Ghose sends us an article on "Filigree Works of Orissa," in which he regrets that the time-honoured cottage industries of Orissa, such as, stone carving or sculpture, bell and brass metal industries, horn works and fine filigree works, are dying away rapidly. If proper stimulus is given to these industries, if the workmen are properly organised, they will bring home a decent amount to the workers, and the bread-problem of many will be solved to a great extent. Orissa has her own charms and in filigree industry she stands unrivalled in India. The principal

seat of this industry is Cuttack. There are silver-smiths who are in no way inferior in their workmanship to the workmen of other parts of the world. They make war-ships, motor cars, chairs, easy chairs, flower-vases, photo-frames, *Attardans*, etc., and good and choicest designs of *Taj-mahal*, *Jumma-masjid*, etc. They are also experts in producing toys of various kinds, viz, elephants, lions, tigers, peacocks, etc. But the most pitiable thing is, they are exploited by the *Mahajans* or shop-keepers and middlemen. If the middlemen could be eliminated, the real producers could reap the full benefit of the cottage industry. The workmen take silver from the shop-keepers as advance, prepare articles and sell them to the *Mahajans* at a very cheap rate, otherwise the rate of wages per tola, varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 15 according to the workmanship. The *Mahajans* or shop-keepers, in turn, stock these finished products and sell them at a high price, thus making a good bargain out of this business. For the development of this industry, Mr. Ghose points out the following methods:—(1) Holding exhibitions and awarding medals to the best producers, (2) Opening training classes throughout Orissa, (3) Opening a permanent show-room at Cuttack, which will be maintained by the Development Branch of the Co-operative Department. To these, we may add starting of Co-operative Societies for the workmen and advancing money to the members in order to make them care-free.

"Forced" Service in Mysore

The Karnataka writes:

In an official version (issued by the Government Publicity Officer) of the deliberations of a conference of officers presided over by the Dewan on the 19th of February, we read:—

The practice of compulsorily impressing private carts was ordered to be restricted to strictly public purposes, *e. g.*, carriage of Government treasure and tours of high personages.

This we must say, humiliatingly antediluvian for Mysore. Why should not the "high" personages be asked to make it worth while for the cart-man to offer his services voluntarily? If Government and their guests agree to pay him at a tempting rate—say twice as good as that ordinarily paid in the locality, is it possible that he would still be unwilling to ply his cart? It cannot be so. His unwillingness arises all out of the wellknown tendencies of official underlings to employ *razim* and deny him his dues—or a goodly part of it. This question of impressed cart-service has for many years been a grievance of the Representative Assembly; and we are amazed at the high-scrupled complacency of the above decision. We think the unjust system can be put an end to, without the least inconvenience to Government or anybody else, by their having one or more cart-contractors appointed for each town or by sanctioning really generous rates of cart-hire.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and the League of Nations

The following article, contributed by the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland to the Chicago *Unity* substantially confirms what has appeared in this *Review* from time to time regarding the League of Nations, and what the editor of this *Review* has said in his lectures on the League in Rangoon, Allahabad and Calcutta :

It seems to be everywhere understood that one of the reasons why the United States Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty, and instead signed a separate treaty with Germany, was the fact that the Treaty of Versailles created the League of Nations in such a form that several of its features were objectionable to the Senate. But I think it is not generally understood that one of the reasons why the Senate objected to the League was because some of the Senators were clear-visioned enough to see that notwithstanding its ostensible purpose of promoting justice and freedom, it was framed in a manner actually to strengthen and perpetuate some of the most flagrant existing cases of political bondage in the world, in the forefront of which is India. It was felt by these Senators that there was no more vicious feature of the Versailles Treaty than Article X, which under the seemingly innocent purpose of guaranteeing the "territorial integrity" of the States composing the League actually guaranteed Great Britain's unjust *possession and domination* of India. Thus it sanctioned, and also pledged the nations of the League to support, the most conspicuous case in the whole world today of political slavery—of the rule and exploitation of one civilized nation by another.

In other words, the League, which was organized ostensibly and distinctly to promote justice and freedom, made itself the guarantor and defender of the most stupendous example of political injustice and oppression known in our modern day. The League of Nations, in order really to be an agency (as the world was told it would be) for promoting justice and freedom, ought of course to have been made a tribunal open to hear appeals and complaints, and ready to investigate charges of injustice and oppression, coming from India and from any other people held in subjection; in other words, it should have been made an instrumentality through which all such oppressed peoples could get their wrongs righted and obtain the liberty and nationhood to which they are justly entitled.

But instead of that, Great Britain, the nation which held India and other rich possessions in its grip, and France, Italy and Japan, which also held valuable foreign "possessions," so framed the League as to shut its doors and its ears against any possible complaints or appeals coming from India, or from any other land or people held as "possessions" by any of the "Big Four" nations

which were instrumental in framing the League in its present form. Indeed, as already intimated, these "Big Four" nations so framed the League (America's representatives unwillingly assenting) as to make it an *additional chain about the necks* of India and all the rest of their "possessions,"—a chain holding them in *bondage actually more securely than before*.

This is what is meant, that the League "*guaranteed the territorial integrity*" of the States within it. The guarantee meant that the League promised to aid in protecting any State against the revolt or rebellion of any subject people who might attempt to throw off the yoke of its oppressor and obtain its freedom. That is, in the case of India, the League promised, if there were need, *to help in holding India down*. In view of these facts, is it any wonder that India condemns, and from the beginning has condemned, the League; that the United States has refused to join it, and that so many lovers of liberty and justice in all lands are dissatisfied with and repudiate it.

Whether all the objections which we hear urged against the League of Nations are valid or not (and the present writer believes that some of them are not) at least this one—that the League in its present form *rivets more firmly the chains that bind great historic civilized India*—is plainly valid and very serious.

In the minds of all earnest lovers of human freedom and justice the question presses for answer; Can the present League be so changed, within any discernible future will it be so changed as to make it no longer an enemy of India and the other subject peoples but, what it ought to be, a friend, a righter of wrongs, and in the end a liberator?

"An Oriental Looks at Christian Missions"

This is the title of an article contributed to *Harper's Magazine* by Mr. John Jesudason Cornelius, who is described as follows :

The author of this article, a distinguished native of India who holds degrees from four American universities and has been professor of philosophy for several years at Lucknow University in India, is a fourth-generation Christian.—*The Editors*.

The American institutions whose degrees he holds are Ohio Wesleyan, Boston University, Harvard, and Columbia. Doctor Cornelius was a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield, Massachusetts, in May, 1924, and to the nineteenth World Conference of the Y. M. C. A. at Helsingfors last summer. He was also a special lecturer at the Williamstown Institute of Politics in 1925, a member of the Institute of International Politics at Geneva in 1926.

We give below some extracts from Professor Cornelius's article.

Fired by unquenchable enthusiasm, the Christian missionary pushed his way through scorching deserts, over dangerous mountains and boisterous seas, to the uttermost parts of the world. Wherever he went he founded schools to dispel the darkness of ignorance and superstition, hospitals to heal the sick and the wounded, orphanages to provide homes for the homeless, asylums to minister to the deaf, the dumb, and the blind.

But as years went on, commercial and political interests began to influence the missionary's activities without his being very conscious of it. The accumulated experience of the East with many undesirable consequences of those influences, having been focussed by the new spirit of nationalism, has resulted for many in a genuine dislike of the missionary and a decided aversion to his religion.

Rightly or wrongly, the East has come to think of Christianity as part of the political game of the West. In religion it talks of "going about doing good"; in politics this takes the form of "ruling others for their good." Has the East reasonable grounds for thinking so?

Let us look at China through Eastern eyes. She has been in continuous contact with organized Christianity for about three hundred and fifty years. Her early relations were most friendly; she undoubtedly found many of the missionaries to be sincere men, who had given up the comforts of "civilized" countries to dwell among "backward" peoples and to save their "heathen" souls from perdition. But the tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that foreign governments have frequently followed the path which the missionary had blazed. Where the missionary find his field of activity, there the Chinese finds—not infrequently—the fixed bayonets of a foreign power.

The killing of a missionary, whether it be due to his own indiscretion, to the anti-foreign fury of some Chinese zealot, or to some other cause, has often been used by his government as an occasion for making demands for concessions from the Chinese Government.

The feeling in India is not very different; it is the common belief that the Bible comes first and then the gunpowder. Wherever the Christians go, says the Hindu, they somehow manage to meddle with the political rights of the people. Before the Christians went to Africa the Africans had lands but no Bibles; now they have Bibles but no lands. In Kenya, for instance, the poor helpless natives are being driven out of all their desirable and fertile lands. Under the Lands Act of 1913, eighty-eight per cent of the land of the South African Union was reserved for the white men, leaving twelve per cent for the five million black men, who are four times as numerous. Again in Kenya we find that of the good land available six thousand square miles have been allotted under a system of "Reserves" giving no permanent but only an indefinite tenure, so that it may be said that the Africans there have no legal rights whatever to their own native land. Hence the East concludes that the political method of the West is first to send missionaries, then traders, and then gunboats to deprive the helpless peoples of their lands and to take possession of their natural resources.

Is it any wonder if, with such knowledge of Western penetration, the East becomes distrustful

of the professed philanthropy of the Christian, turns hostile to a religion which has let itself be used by foreign powers for political expansion, and grows more and more suspicious of the real mission of the missionary?

Rightly or wrongly even to-day the missionaries are frequently thought of as the "political agents" of alien governments. Does the missionary allow himself to be so mistaken by the East? Let us look into his political relations.

Unfortunately an alien society, if it wishes to undertake missionary, educational, or other philanthropical work in a dependency, must first be recognized by the government concerned. Only on such recognition will permission to enter the country be given. Any American Society wishing to undertake work in India must be recommended, according to the present arrangement of the British Government, by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. But before the Conference can recommend the society, it must obtain from that society a declaration recognizing "that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted Government, and that, while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it is its desire and purpose that its influence, in so far as it may be properly exerted, should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government of the country concerned, and that it will only employ agents who will work in this spirit." (British Memorandum A, Article 5: iii.) The society or the board in turn requires every missionary who goes out under its auspices to sign a similar declaration.

The foreign missionary society which signs such a declaration for an imperial government may not realize the seriousness of the implications of this act, but to the East all these are so many evidences to confirm its lurking suspicion of the political mission of Christianity. The East sees two striking points in the declaration: First the missionary should, carefully abstain from politics; and second, whenever his influence can be properly exerted in such matters, it should be in loyal co-operation with the Government. Or, in other words, the missionary is to support the iron arm of imperialism which, be it understood, is not politics! and to refrain from helping the people to the realization of legitimate national aspirations—and this, beware, is politics!

To be more specific, let us take the case of an American missionary in India. Having signed the declaration and having been duly recommended by the Conference, he is sent out to India. There he is to consider himself the guest of the British Government. His schools are inspected by the Government agent; his work is visited in a most friendly way by the Governor of the state or province. He frequently receives Government aid for the maintenance of the mission school and for the erection of new buildings. In return for all these and in accordance with his declaration, he holds himself responsible for the behavior of the pupils and of the teachers in the schools of which he is in charge. He is expected, of course, to be careful to do or say nothing which would render the working of the British Government in India more difficult. These regulations and guest-relationships very seriously influence the work and attitude of the missionary, to an extent to which he himself is not fully aware. He believes

he is neutral; but under the conditions of his declaration is real neutrality possible?

The missionary is thus placed in a false position and is subjected to very serious accusations. The British Government has a ruling that no student should take part in politics, though at present it is not quite so strict as it used to be. In a certain town a political meeting was held in the courtyard of a temple, and the missionary principal of the school was expected to keep the boys from going to the meeting. Some of the young enthusiasts attended the meeting and the missionary securing their names reported them to the local Government School Inspector. Immediately the news spread that the missionary was a spy of the alien government and that instead of training patriotic citizens to live for the country and work for its emancipation, he was trying to develop "slavish mentality" in the pupils and to promote loyalty to the British Government. In such cases the missionary appears to the non-Christian as a political agent masquerading under a religious cloak.

Instead of being powerful forces for righteousness the missionaries have too often become instruments in the hands of political forces and have allowed themselves to be tied hand and foot by imperial governments.

The attempt of the missionary appears to be to make Christianity the Nordic among religions. The Nordic-complex in religion shows itself clearly in all Christian literature.

The fundamental object of all religion is the same: the promotion of love, peace, good living, and the general welfare of all human beings. "Instead of hating and killing each other because of differences in faiths" says the East, "let us join hands to destroy vice and to promote virtue throughout the world". But such loyal co-operation in human service is not possible so long as there is religion in imperialism and imperialism in religion.

Indian Troops for China

Prof. Sudhindra Bose writes in the *Chicago Unity* :

China and India, though close neighbors for uncounted ages, have never been at war with each other. The relations between these two nations from the earliest times down to the present have been those of friendship and cooperation—a long unbroken record of peace with which no two neighboring countries of Europe can be said to equal. But, alas! From this year of grace India ceases to be the friend of China. The recent despatch of Indian battalions to fight Chinese Nationalists substitutes hatred for friendship, destruction for cooperation, and violence for peace.

Let it be understood, however, that India has had no free choice in the matter. The English rulers of India have dragged it into war without the slightest regard to the wishes of the Indian people. Indeed, they feel doubly humiliated in being forced to send reinforcements to China at a time when it is engaged to free itself from foreign domination.

Political Internments in Italy: "Eliminating the Different-minded"

Arbeiter Zeitung, a Vienna daily, has an article on the above topic. It is said there, in part:—

Since the attempt to assassinate Mussolini at Bologna last November, the Fascist Government has adopted strenuous measures against its enemies, or suspected enemies. Of these the most oppressive is what is called *confino de polizia*. So many people have suddenly disappeared after these arbitrary arrests that Mussolini, in order to lull public resentment, has ordered that the names of persons 'confined' shall not be published.

The condition of these interned opponents of the Fascisti has been misrepresented to the public. For instance, we are told that they receive a per diem of ten lire for their subsistence, when in truth it is only four lire, or the equivalent of twelve or fifteen cents. Official statistics as to the number of people thus confined without trial are contradictory. One week it was publicly stated to be five hundred and twenty-two, and a week later it was reported as nine hundred and forty-two. Since the lists are secret, the public naturally has no control over their accuracy.

The procedure under which people who have made themselves unpopular with the present Government are interned is more arbitrary than that under which Russians were exiled to Siberia in the days of the Tsars. A man is confined by administrative order, without trial or sentence by a magistrate. In each town the local fascio and the police compile a list of people they consider undesirable, entering after each name a history of the person's political offense or the reasons for suspecting him of disaffection. This list is submitted to a commission consisting of the local prefect, the chief of police, the district attorney, one officer of the carabinieri, and one officer of the Fascist militia. The commission condemns people to internment for from one to five years without hearing them in their own defense or bringing any formal charge whatever against them. The accused is not even notified that his case is under investigation. Consequently, he has no opportunity to prove his innocence either by his own testimony or by that of witnesses. Under the ordinance a person condemned to confinement is permitted to appeal to a central commission, presided over by an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, within ten days of the publication of his sentence. In numerous cases, however, the police manage to prevent the person from making use of this privilege. In a few cases Mussolini has intervened, personally and reconsidered such sentences. In instances where he has suspended or shortened sentence he has been careful to have the fact recorded in the press.

A person marked for confinement is almost invariably arrested before the commission passes upon his case. As a rule he does not know even what the trouble is. If he is taken into custody on the street or at his place of employment, his family may not learn for several days where he is. He does not know his sentence until he has been in jail for a couple of weeks; he is informed of it only a day or two before he is transported to his place of internment, where he is to spend several years separated from the world, his family, and his

trade or profession. His family is notified but a few hours before his departure, when it is permitted to have a ten-minute interview with him, but only in the presence of an agent of the police and a prison warden. These parting visits are generally heart-rending scenes.

No effort at concealment is made when the prisoner is taken away. He is carried to the railway station handcuffed and surrounded by a number of gendarmes. He is taken to his destination in the cell of a prison car, still handcuffed, and if his home happens to be in Northern Italy the journey lasts several days. He has ordinary prison fare,—two small loaves of bad bread and a flask of water daily,—and is not unhandcuffed even when he eats.

The victims of these arbitrary measures are sent to Lipari, Ustica, Favignana, or Pantelleria, all places of ill repute, familiar in the songs of jailbirds and *galeriens*.

Travellers who visit these islands are cautioned to take mineral water and provisions with them, for the rain water upon which the inhabitants depend is often dirty and contaminated. The climate is deadly—an alternation of snow in winter with broiling heat in summer. The miserable flat-roofed, windowless shelters, resembling Arabian *toukous*, afford little protection against either heat or cold.

Dysentery is playing havoc among these unacclimated prisoners, who are inadequately supplied with food and water, and have no physicians.

Letters which they have smuggled back to their friends at home give a dreadful picture of the dirty and verminous conditions under which they are obliged to live. Their miserable food is confined to corn bread and boiled greens, and the dysentery is raging among them. There is not a physician on the island. The luckiest of the sick are those who have a little damp straw on which to lie.

Men, women, children, and animals live together. There are no facilities for washing or shaving or changing clothes.

Congress Against Imperialism

The Living Age writes thus on what has been styled the 'League of Oppressed Nations':—

It attracted more sympathetic attention in Germany than in other great European countries, probably because the Germans have no axes to grind in colonial lands. The comment of *Vossische Zeitung's* correspondent is typical: 'After discounting all rhetorical exaggerations and distortions of fact, enough remains to show that century-old injustice and bloodshed and forced labor cannot be brushed away with a wave of the hand, that an atmosphere has been created in which the spirit of a world-wide servile revolt may easily wax strong. The real object of the promoters of this Congress was to organize that spirit, to strengthen the demand for freedom among all nations, to form a world-wide trust of the oppressed.'

'Muslim Brotherhood'

"A Mohammadan Indian" says in *The Indus* :

We, Mussalmans, may be callously indifferent to the gravest events at home, but every gentle rustle of leaves in far-off Turkey or Africa is accompanied by the wildest and most unnatural breaking of our dear, sympathetic hearts. Millions of our own poor countrymen are dying of exposure and starvation. We cannot clothe or feed them; we are too poor. But we can afford to send millions of rupees to support wars in distant lands in which we have no interest except that they concern some people who also happen to call themselves Mussalmans. Such is our wholehearted generosity that we do not even mind not getting simple thanks for the "widow's mite" we can so ill-afford. Our co-religionists' affection for us is so deep and sincere, that they cannot bear to go through the futile and awkward formality of displaying their gratitude in any way; they content themselves with just feeling it! This is the most remarkable part of the whole heartbreaking business. As a Mussalman somewhat bitterly remarked: "They don't care a damn for us. They see that we are fools, idiots and naturally take advantage of the fact. But apart from that, we don't exist for them. And we go on running after them like a pack of snivelling dogs. Damn fools, that's what we are." I wish I could disagree. No one can fail to observe that this great "Muslim brotherhood" exists only for us, Indian Mussalmans. No one else has a notion of it. Turkey may go to dogs, but the fact does not trouble either the Moroccans, or the Egyptians, or the Persians, or the Afghans, or anyone else. Yet our Indian Mussalmans butt in and "kick up an infernal row." The poor, gallant Riffs were fighting for their very lives. The Indian Mussalman made some futile demonstration of sympathy, otherwise not a Mussalman from Egypt to China raised his little finger. Were the English out of India to-day and we fighting the Hindus, not a "brother" would come to our aid, unless for purely personal reasons. And yet—I put forward a test question before a Punjabi Muslim friend of mine, I asked him what he would do in the event of India (Indian India, that is to say) being attacked, say by the Afghans! After an unsuccessful attempt to avoid a direct answer, he confessed that he would take the Afghan side! This sort of fanaticism is even more prevalent among the newly converted than among the older Mussalmans. It is perfectly comic how a person, whose, perhaps, father became a Mussalman, or quite possibly who has himself just embraced Islam, waxes eloquent about "our great Muslim culture," "our great Muslim tradition," and, of course, "our great Muslim brotherhood."

The whole position is entirely false, utterly impossible.

The Road to Peace

Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., observes in *The Review of Nations* :

So far as the Governments are concerned the question of disarmament must be taken up serious-

ly. It must not be left in the hands of Military, Naval and Air experts. Limitations of expenditure or the fixing of rations and standards will not suffice. There must be a fuller realisation of the underlying principle that force in any and every case is the wrong method of obtaining the desired result. Statesmen will receive the backing of their countries if they will take a courageous line in the right direction. The element of force which by the Covenant still remains as the basis of the authority of the League of Nations must be completely eliminated. Resting on moral authority alone the League will be in a far stronger position, it may fail from time to time, but it will never be destroyed. Whereas if force is used, a League war between two sections of the League will be as destructive and barbarous considering the modern weapons of warfare, as any other war and it will be the end of the League of Nations. The nations which first propose such an amendment to the Covenant will not only contribute to strengthening the League and to ensuring its continuance but will earn the eternal gratitude of the peoples of the world whose opinion they will at last be expressing. Relieved of the burden of expenditure on armaments and freed from the last excuse for the use of force the nations will be able to devote themselves to the great work of improving the conditions of their own people and of co-operating with one another in the struggle against the social wrongs which the formidable enemies—ignorance, poverty, and disease inflict on them with such deplorable results.

Muslims and European Political Control

We read in *The Asiatic Review* :

At the present day, in Muslim countries, just as in most other parts of the world, there are those who look backwards into the past and hope for the revival of ancient glories by means of the resuscitation of decayed institutions, while opposed to them are those who strive to adjust their lives and their social and political forms of organization to the conditions of modern life. How far either of these two parties in Islam will succeed in winning over their co-religionists to the acceptance of their particular ideal, only the future can decide; but both are equally resentful of political control by the powers of Europe, and chafe at their own commercial and scientific inferiority. Despite the recent Caliphate Congress held last year in Cairo, zeal for the revival of this institution appears to be on the decline, and the possibilities of any united action on the part of the separate Muhammadan populations scattered throughout the world seems now even more remote than in the days when journalists tried to excite alarm by the bogey of a Panislamic movement. But the feelings of resentment and hostility that contributed to such movements as may be described as Panislamic are still present.

Viceroy Lytton on British Promises

In reviewing Mr. V. H. Rutherford's book on "Modern India" *The Indian* writes :—

"Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and India appear to me unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear," said a Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, during Disraeli's time. Mr. Rutherford deliberately accuses the British Government today of the same thing since the reforms of 1919.

French Problems in Indo-China

French Indo-China has a "Socialist" Governor-General. Of him Foster Rhea Dulles says in *Current History* :—

The conservative elements in French politics fear that M. Varenne is prejudicing France's position in Indo-China and their fear goes back to the first speech he made upon his arrival. On Dec. 21, 1925, he told the Superior Council at Saigon that when France had accomplished her mission of civilization in Indo-China "it may be believed that she will leave only the memory of her work; that she will no longer claim any role in the life of the peninsula, neither to direct nor even to counsel, and that the peoples who have profited by her tutelage will no longer have any ties with France other than those of gratitude and affection."

This speech produced the impression on conservative French minds that M. Varenne "was going to give away one of France's richest colonies." On the other hand, "the natives" hailed him as a Messiah. But when he tried to explain away his speech there was disappointment among them, which led to agitation and slight disturbances.

Assailed then by conservatives at home and unpopular among the natives in Indo-China, M. Varenne went slowly ahead working on moderate reforms. Toward the end of his first year in office, on Sept. 20, 1926, he again spoke of the position of Indo-China. In words which might have been borrowed from General Leonard Wood in the Philippines he reminded the Annamites desirous of independence that there were "on the soil of this great empire other races and other people to whom we have promised protection" who were not ready for self-government. He warned them of the danger of Indo-China breaking up into separate countries or being swallowed by some other Power if France should ever withdraw her protection, and he pointed out that under the French regime prosperity and order had become the rule. "Nothing," he declared, "is opposed to France continuing her work in Indo-China."

Does France face in her Far Eastern colony the problems which the United States faces in the Philippines and Great Britain in India? Whatever his real attitude, this seems to be the question which M. Varenne has brought up, and it is because of this that the Nationalists in France are opposed to his continuing in office. He has raised the spectre of an independent Indo-China.

which was a new apparition in French eyes. Is it real?

America on Filipino Aspirations

The New Republic observes :—

For the first time, a President of the United States has vetoed an act of the Philippine Legislature. President Coolidge has rejected the bill which asked a plebiscite among the Filipinos as to whether they want "immediate, absolute and complete independence." The President, or whoever wrote the veto message for him, was not in a happy vein. There are some legitimate arguments against the holding of the plebiscite, but the official statement centered its emphasis on other aspects of the matter which it would have been better to omit. Mr. Coolidge, seemingly, does not even realize the absurdity of arguing, at great length, with the Filipinos to prove that they are so happy under American rule that they have no occasion to vote to say whether they are happy or not. The whole tenor of his message was that the United States will continue to hold the Philippines for a very long time to come, and in support of this doctrine he advanced the usual arguments to show why independence is impracticable.

"A Race Congress at Brussels"

Arthur Holitscher says of this Congress in *Berliner Tageblatt* :

Unquestionably the Congress registered a significant step in the evolution of human freedom. It was a body with which men of all classes and nations, no matter how unsympathetic they may be at heart with its ideals and purposes, must hereafter reckon. Do not bury your heads in the sand, gentlemen. Do not shrug your shoulders. Look this Gorgon-visaged vision of human liberty straight in the eye!

Several Types of Revolution in China

The World Tomorrow observes :—

China today is going through not one type of revolution but several: political, educational, economic, social, and religious. Tremendous strides have been made in popular education. A literature in the vernacular has been created and the foundations laid for an intellectual renaissance throughout the masses. This intellectual revolution is by far the most significant fact of recent years in China. It has prepared the soil in which the seed sown by the Kuomintang, the political party founded by Sun-Yat-Sen, have sprung up with such amazing rapidity during the past two years. The present political upheaval in China differs from the revolution of 1911 in that it embraces not only intellectuals but commercial interests, industrial workers and peasant farmers. For the first time in its long history a genuinely national consciousness is being generated in China. A

decade ago the statement was frequently made that the Chinese were lacking in national patriotism. Now the fear is that national emotions may become so intense that they will get out of hand.

The second all-important fact is that, as a natural consequence of the emergence of nationalism in China, white domination is rapidly ending. Vestiges of foreign control may continue for a number of years. The great powers may retain control of strategic centers for a time and may even intimidate the Chinese Government as did Japan with the notorious Twenty-One Demands. National unity may be delayed by partisan controversies or the personal animosities of the leaders. But nothing is more certain than the fact that the Chinese are going to gain freedom from Western control. Three hundred and fifty million people, with an increasing national consciousness, will find a way to gain their liberty.

The perpetuation of the policy of military and naval intervention in China will prove fatal. The truth of the matter is that the lives and property of foreigners in China can no longer be protected by bayonets and gunboats. The policy of armed intervention will merely increase the peril of our missionaries and merchants. There is no way to guarantee the security of life and property in a country which is in the throes of a titanic social upheaval.

"Sic Transit Europa"

The Modern World says :—

At the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, H. G. Wells declared that if Europe did not re-adjust herself rapidly to the inexorable conditions of the new era which has so rapidly developed she would, in the future, "bear to America and other new centers of power the relationship which Asia Minor has, up to this time, borne to her."

While there are unmistakable evidences of some realization of the new era by a few men and movements in Europe, the same ideas and forces which have historically moulded that continent still seem very vitally in being.

Television

The Literary Digest observes :—

So rapid is the pace of science to-day that the theoretical possibility of a great invention is hardly grasped by the public before we learn that it has become a reality. This was the case with the transatlantic radio-telephone. And now, only a few weeks after this invention is put to commercial use, we enter a new era of communication "as fascinating and stupendous in its potentialities as the radio or the telephone", according to the conservative *New York Times*. Yesterday, observes the neighbouring *World*, "television was a dream; now it is a fact. In time millions of people may watch and listen to a Presidential inauguration, a championship football game, or even the clash of armies on a battle-field."

Television, we are informed, is a method of transmitting synchronously a voice and a picture of

the person speaking. In the first public demonstration of this new method of communication, the apparatus shot images of Secretary of Commerce Hoover by wire from Washington to New York City, a distance of more than 200 miles, at the rate of eighteen a second. The speaker at the New York end, Walter S. Gifford, President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, looked Mr. Hoover in the eye as he talked with him. It was as if a photograph of the Secretary had suddenly come to life. Later the experiment was carried out just as successfully by radio. Radio program was broadcast, and the likenesses of the performers were transferred to a screen while their voices went out on the air.

Red-India's Death-rate Rising

We read in the same journal that in U. S. A. the death-rate of the aboriginal Red-Indians was 17.5, 19.2, 22.5 and 25.9 respectively in the years 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924. It is added :—

Figures in the "World Almanac", supplied by the [American] Indian Commissioner, give our [Red] Indian population in 1865 as 294,574, in 1920 as 333,702, and in 1926 as 349,964. But on another page of the Almanac the Indian population is given as 265,633 in 1910 and 244,437 in 1920.

National Thought Not to be Repressed

Dr. Toru Nagai, formerly Director of the Labour-Capital Reconciliation Society in Japan, writes in the *Japan Magazine* :—

I must emphasize that national thought should never be repressed, but it must be edified and illumined; that the problem regarding social thought should not be controlled, but be carefully studied. It should not be artificially unified, but be properly guided.

"There is no smoke without some fire"

Mr. Ronald Melville exclaims in the *Theosophical Path* :—

How often has this sophism served to shield a slanderer while confirming the infamy that he launches under cover of a false analogy: for the implication is that no evil tale is wholly false, no character above reproach! What then? Is slander justifiable? How can that be?

Smoke is allied to fire as slander is to truth, Smoke is a refuse; it owes its foulness to the quality of the fuel, not to the purifying fire. Bad thought is the fuel; truth is the purifying flame. Bad thought makes foul smoke when burned. Does smoke owe its foulness to the purifying fire? Let us beware of this analogy; for there are many kinds of fire. Indeed, fire was a different manifestation on every plane of the universe.

The flame that burns up the unclean fuel of

the slanderer's foul thoughts is perhaps the same as that which inspires the hero in some deed of god-like mercy;—but who would recognise it in that guise?

A Fundamental Buddhist Principle

Prof. Takakusu states in the *Young East* :

The fourth fundamental principle of Buddhism is the elevation of personal character. Ethics, philosophy and religion have all this as its aim, but this is especially the case with Buddhism. It may even be said that the elevation of personal character is the one and sole aim of Buddhism. In Buddhism there are a certain number of stages of development, through which one must pass in elevating his character. Buddhism teaches us to raise ourselves from the stage of common mortals to that of superhuman personality of a Bodhisattva and even to that of absolute personality or Buddhahood. In this way, from beginning to end, Buddhism keeps in view the principle of the elevation of personal character. In most of other religions man is denied the privilege of making himself a superhuman being, but Buddhism teaches us that all of us can attain Buddhahood without exception. In this respect Buddhism is unique, being the only religion that teaches us to elevate ourselves to the supreme or absolute height.

Life Before and After

Swami Paramananda writes in *Message of the East* :

We often ask why and wherefore there are certain conditions in life which we are not able to explain, such, for instance, as a child deformed from birth. If we go to a minister, or a priest, or some orthodox teacher, he invariably tells us it is God's Will, but that is a tremendous responsibility we lay upon the Divine Providence, Whom at the same time we call all-loving and all-merciful. Therefore, there must be some way of finding an explanation that is not merely more logical, but more true.

Greek philosophers, and further back, the ancient Hindu sages, did not try to throw upon Divinity the blame for all the miseries and unpleasant experiences in this world of life; they worked out their problems in a definite, systematic way, always finding a cause for every effect, and as a result they have given man a most scientific explanation for the solution of life's difficulties. We find the reflection of their wisdom in the words of many Western philosophers. Lessing writes: "Why should I not come back every time I am capable of acquiring fresh knowledge, fresh experience."

The Indo-Aryans went so far as to say: "As a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold turns it into another newer and more beautiful shape, so does this soul, after having thrown off this body and dispelled all ignorance, make unto itself another newer and more beautiful shape. And as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill, dead and

cast away, thus lies this body; but that disembodied immortal Spirit is Self-effulgent and one with the Absolute."

In order to understand life in its entirety we have to connect up two loose ends, the past and

the future. This present life of ours, if it is to become complete and comprehensive, must be joined with these two ends,—the one which lies before us, and the other which we have left behind.

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

(Concluded)

ABOUT four days afterwards, the day before Bindu's parents, aunt and others were going back, Bindu was quietly lying in bed after she had had a fit. Kadam was fanning her; there was no one else. Bindu signed to her to come closer and asked in a low voice, "Kadam, has didi come?"

Kadam consoled her, "No didi, she has not; but we are so many here, what is the necessity for troubling her?"

Bindu remained silent for a while, then said, "That is a great defect in you, Kadam! You try to apply your own intelligence in every thing! I believe you will kill me one of these days by going on like that. You were all here on the day of the Puja; but what could you do till that little person appeared on the scene?—Oh! you and she! Her one little finger has more ability than the whole lot of you put together."

Bindu's mother entered the room and said, "My son-in-law has no objection; so you too come along with us for a few days."

Bindu looked at her mother and said, "Does my going depend on his will, that I should go at his word? I cannot come unless I get my enemy's permission."

Her mother understood what she meant, and said, "Are you referring to your sister-in-law? You need not take her permission. When you have separated from them, your husband's permission is quite enough."

Bindu shook her head and said, "No mother, that can't be. So long as she is alive, wherever she may be, she is everything. Whatever else I may do, I cannot leave the house without her permission. Bara-thakur would be angry if I did so."

Elokeshi had just come in and was listening to what was being said. She cut in, "Oh, all right, I am telling you, you may go."

Bindu did not even answer her. Her mother said, "Well, then send somebody to get her permission, Bindu."

Bindu said surprised, "Send some one! That would be far worse. I know her. She will say 'go' outwardly but will be angry in her mind, perhaps concoct things to report to Bara-thakur—no, mother, you go; I cannot come." Her mother did not press her. She went away. Now the empty house began to open its jaws wide every moment to swallow her up. Elokeshi lived in the ground-floor. Bindu occupied a room in the first floor, the rest of the house was absolutely empty. She wandered aimlessly about the house and came at last to a room on the second floor. This was to have been occupied by her son and daughter-in-law in some remote future. She had it specially constructed for that purpose. Coming to this room she could not hold back her tears. As she was descending the stairs, she met her husband, and asked him impulsively, "Tell me, how are we going to make anything out of this!"

Her husband could not follow her and asked, "Make what out of what?"

Bindu could not answer him. She heaved a deep sigh and said, "No, no, you may go,—it is nothing."

The next morning, Madhab was at work in his room when she suddenly came and asked him, "Has he joined service?" She was holding back her tears with great difficulty.

Madhab grunted in affirmation without even looking up.

"What do you mean ? Is it his proper age to join work again ?"

Madhab kept his eyes glued on his papers as before and said, "People do not join work on account of age ; they do so owing to want."

"Why should he have any want ? We have quarrelled ; we are not of the same blood ; but you are his brother, aren't you ?"

Madhab said briefly, "Step-brother, distant relation."

Bindu was speechless. She said slowly after some time, "And you will let him work while you are alive ?"

Madhab looked up this time and fixed his eyes on his wife. He said quietly and deliberately, "Why shall I not ? People live in this world according to their fate. I am a living example of that. I don't even know when my parents died. I have heard from Bara-bou-than that we were very poor, but I never saw the shadow of that poverty. I do not know even now wherefrom came always my clean clothes, school and college fees, price of books, messing and what not. Then I became a lawyer and did not do badly in that either. After that you came from somewhere with a heap of cash and this huge house grew up—but look at Dada, working his whole life, hard and uncomplainingly, sewing up torn clothes to wear—I have never seen him in a coat even in winter—eating his one meal a day, all for us—I cannot remember everything, nor is there any occasion to do so—he was taking things a bit easy only for a short spell—but God is making him pay up with full interest for that." He suddenly looked away and began to search for an important paper.

Bindu was speechless, motionless. She felt, with every drop of blood in her body, the terrible rebuke that was hidden in this easily told tale of bygone days. She remained with her head lowered.

Madhab went on hunting for his paper and said as if to himself, "And it is work without any doubt ! The court at Radhapur is ten miles going and back—one has to go out at four in the morning, remain the whole day without food and live on a meagre meal a day taken late at night, and the salary is twelve rupees."

Bindu was shivering, "The whole day without food ! And for twelve rupees only !"

"Yes, twelve rupees. He is aged, takes opium and has to do without even a drop of milk.* I believe God is arranging, in His kindness, to end Dada's earthly troubles soon."

Bindu's eyes overflowed with tears and she did something she had never done before. She knelt down, clasped her husband's feet tightly, and cried, "Do find a way, I am begging you, holding you by your feet ! He is weak and old ; he will not live even two days if it went on like this !"

Madhab wiped his own eyes somehow surreptitiously and said, "How can I find a way ! Bou-than will not take a grain of rice from us ; and if he does not work, how will they run their household ?"

Bindu said in a half-choked voice, "I do not know that. You are my God, he is even greater. Oh shame, what one cannot even think of, such things...." Bindu could not say anything more.

Madhab said, "Well, why don't you at least go to Bou-than ? Try to appease her anger and make her friendly to you. You cannot gain anything even if you held on to my feet the whole day."

Bindu at once left his feet and said, "It is not my habit to hold people's feet. Now I know why you kept quiet that day when she stayed here the whole day without taking a drop of water ! It made me guilty, but you, like an enemy, kept silent and never said anything to me."

Madhab concentrated on his papers, saying, "Oh, I learnt that from Dada. May God will it that I may depart one day from this world without breaking my habit of silence !"

Bindu did not say anything more. She went and shut herself in her bed-room.

Madhab was about to get up when she came back again. Her eyes were red. Madhab was moved to compassion. He said, "Go to her once. You know her. Only go and stand near her and it will all be over."

Bindu said in a piteous voice, "Do go, yourself ; I am swearing by my son's—"

Madhab understood her and said rather hotly, "You may take a thousand oaths ; but I will not approach Dada. I shall never have the boldness to go and open the subject

* Opium-eaters need a drink of milk every-day to keep them in health.

to him if he did not take the initiative himself. I could not do it, even if you cut my head off."

Bindu did not move even then.

Madhab asked, "You wouldn't go, isn't that so?"

Bindu did not answer; she went away with her eyes downcast.

(8

The road leading to the school lay along the front of the house. The first two days Amulya had gone to school along this road, taking cover behind his umbrella; but since two days ago the red umbrella was not seen there any more. Bindu's eyes were nearly bursting by constantly gazing at the road, but she overlooked the pain and kept up the watch from a corner of the roof, in the shadow of the little room which enclosed the staircase. At about nine or ten in the morning many an umbrella passed down the road, covering many a boy, but that particular gait and that particular umbrella did not cross Bindu's eyes. She came down in the evening, wiping her eyes, called Naren to a corner and questioned him, "Naren, this is the shortest way to the school; then, why doesn't he go along this way any more?"

Naren kept silent.

Bindu suggested, "Wouldn't it be nice if you two walked together to school, talking to one another as you went?"

Naren loved Amulya in his own way. He said in a whisper, "He doesn't go by this way because he feels shy; he goes round that way over there."

Bindu smiled with great difficulty and said, "But why should he feel shy? No, no, ask him to go along this way."

Naren shook his head and said, "No, he would never do that. Do you know why?"

Bindu asked eagerly, "Why?"

Naren asked, "You won't be angry, will you?"

"No."

"Nor send the news to the other house?"

"No."

"You wouldn't even tell my mother?"

Bindu got impatient, "No, no, tell me, shall not tell anything to anyone."

Naren whispered, "The third master boxed Amulya's ears very hard."

Bindu flared up at once and cried, "How dare he? Didn't I forbid him to beat Amulya ever?"

Naren waved his hands about and said, "But what is his fault, he is a new man? Our servant, this scoundrel Hebo, is to blame. It is he who came and complained to mother. And my mother is no less wicked; she ordered him to tell the teacher and he boxed Amulya's ears pretty hard---do you know how, Mami? Like this---" Bindu stopped him hurriedly, "What is it that Hebo told." Naren said, "Do you know Mami, Hebo takes my tiffin to school. Amulya runs up and asks, 'let me see Narendra, what tiffin you have got'. Mother says, on hearing about it, that Amulya puts the evil eye on my food."

"Doesn't anybody take Amulya's tiffin?"

Naren put his hand to his forehead once and said, "Where will he get any, they are so poor? He carries some fried gram in his pocket and eats the same surreptitiously at tiffin time, hiding behind the trees there so that no one can see him."

The house, the courtyard, the whole creation began to sway before Bindu's eyes. She sat down where she was and said, "You go, Naren."

That night when she went to have her dinner after everyone had been shouting for her for hours, she could not find heart to lift her hand to her mouth. At last she pleaded sickness and went away. The next day also she starved, but could not say anything to anybody nor find a solution for her problem. She was in constant fear lest if she spoke, she aggravated her guilt all the more. In the evening she went as usual and sat near her husband while he was having his meal. But she was looking all the time the other way. She had not been able to look at any edibles since the day before. There was a lamp burning in the room, Madhab was lying with his eyes closed. Bindu came and sat by his feet. Madhab looked up and asked, "Well, what is it?"

Bindu began to toy with one of her husband's toe-nails.

Madhab guessed what was in her mind and was softened. He said, "I understand all, Bindu; but what is the use of crying before me; you better go to her."

Bindu was really crying---she said, "You go."

"If I went and pleaded for you, wouldn't Dada come to hear of it?"

Bindu did not answer his question, she persisted, "You go and tell them. I am own-

ing up my fault, I am asking for their pardon."

"I can't do that." So saying Madhab turned over and lay quietly.

Bindu waited for some time in the hope that he would say something more but as he did not, she slowly got up and left the room. Her husband's behaviour had in a single moment turned her heart into stone and filled her soul with a feeling of endless self-debasement. To-day she fully realised that everybody had forsaken her.

The very next morning Jadab sent a letter giving Chhoto-bou permission to go over to her father's house. Her father was ill and she was asked to start as soon as possible to go and see him. Bindu got into the carriage, her eyes full of tears. The Brahmin woman came up to the carriage and said, "See your father and come back soon and safely, mother."

Bindu came down from the carriage and took the dust of her feet, which made the Brahmin woman very shy.

Nobody had ever seen Bindu in such a mood of humility. Bindu took the dust of the Brahmin woman's feet and said, "No, no, daughter, you are after all a Brahmin and senior to me in age—bless me that this may be my last journey, that I may never again return."

The Brahmin woman could not answer her—she merely looked at Bindu's pale and thin face and wept.

Elokeshi was there. She protested in a high metallic voice, "What strange ideas Chhoto-bou ! Do other people's parents never fall ill ?"

Bindu made no reply to her—she wiped her eyes and said after a short pause, "I also salute yon Thakur-jhi—I am going."

Thakurjhi said, "Go, Didi, go ; I shall stay at home and shall be able to look after everything."

Bindu did not say anything more. The coachman started on the journey. Annapurna kept quiet when she heard all this from the Brahmin woman. Before this Bindu had never gone to her father's house without Amulya. She had not even seen Amulya now for over a month.—Annapurna understood her sorrow.

At night Amulya was lying in bed with his father and talking with him. Annapurna was sewing a quilt of torn cloths in the light of an earthen lamp. She suddenly heaved a deep sigh and exclaimed, "May God

protect her ! To say at the time of starting out, 'may this be my last journey' ! May the goddess Durga bring my darling back in safety !"

Hearing her words Jabab sat up and said, "You did everything wrong right from the beginning, Bara-bou. None of you ever understood my little mother."

Annapurna said, "But she also never even came and called me, 'didi', in a friendly way. She could have taken away her son by force ; but she did not do so. That day when I was coming home after working hard the whole day, she only had some harsh things to say to me."

Jadab said, "Only I understand my little mother. But Bara-bau, if you could not pardon her these small things even, why were you born elder to her ? You and Madhu are both alike. You have jointly probably killed my mother at least !"

Annapurna began to shed tears in big drops.

Amulya asked, "Father, why has Chhoto-ma refused to come home ?"

Annapurna wiped her eyes and asked him, "Will you go to your Chhoto-ma ?"

Amulya shook his head and said, "No." "Why not ? Chhotoma has gone to your grandfather's house. Why not go there ?"

Amulya kept quiet. Jadab asked, "Will you go, Amulya ?"

Amulya buried his face in the pillow and said, "No"

Jadab used to prepare to start for his place of work while it was still dark in the early hours. About five or six days later he was pulling at his hookah after finishing his preparations.

Annapurna said, "It is getting late."

Jadab hurriedly got up and said, "I am feeling very uneasy and upset today. Last night I saw as if my mother had come and stood by that door. Durga, Durga !" So saying he went out.

The next morning when Annapurna was wearily doing her kitchen work, a servant from the other house came and informed him that his master had left for Farashdanga the night before—the mistress was seriously ill. Annapurna trembled with fear as she remembered, what her husband told her the day before—"What kind of illness is it, do you know ?"

The servant said, "That I don't know. She fainted and then it developed into something serious."

In the evening when Jadab came home and heard the news, he burst into tears and said, "Oh, with what hopes did not I bring home my golden statue, and Bara-bou, you cast it into water ! I am going now."

Annapurna felt as if her heart would break with sorrow and self-reproach ; she probably loved Chhoto-bou even more than Amulya. She wiped her own eyes, washed her husband's feet and made him sit to perform his evening religious duties. She then went and sat out on the verandah in the dark. A little later she heard the voice of Madhab out in the courtyard. Annapurna held her breath and closed her ears with her fingers.

Madhab found the kitchen dark, went to the other room and at last found her sitting in the dark. He asked in a tired voice, "Bou-than, you have heard, haven't you ?"

Annapurna could not lift her face. Madhab said, "Amulya must go once. Probably her end is very near."

Annapurna fell face downward on the floor and cried aloud. Jadab came running like mad from the next room and said, "Such a thing cannot happen, Madhu ! I have never pained a soul consciously or unconsciously. God will never punish me like this at my age !"

Madhab kept silent. Jadab said, "Tell me everything. I shall bring back my mother—do not be upset, Madhu—have got a carriage with you ?"

Madhab said, "I have not been upset, Dada ; you should control yourself."

"No, I am all right. Bara-bou, get up ! Amulya, come along."

Madhab protested, "Let the night be over, Dada."

"No, no, that can't be, do not be worried, Madhu ; get a carriage or I will go on foot."

Madhab did not say anything more. He fetched a carriage which all four of them got into.

Jadab said, "Well, tell me all about it."

Madhab answered, "I was not there—I don't know everything in detail. I heard she had frequent fits and high fever about four days ago ; but no one has been able so far to make her take a drop of medicine or milk—I do not know exactly her condition ; but there is no hope."

Jadab said with conviction, "Of course, there is hope ! A hundred times so. My mother is alive ! Madhu, God will not make

me utter an untruth at this age. I have never told one in my life."

Madhab bowed down, took the dust of his elder's feet and remained sitting quietly.

(9)

No one knew since how long Bindu had been wearing herself out by starvation. She got fever on her arrival at her father's house. The second day she fainted twice or three times. The last time she would hardly regain consciousness. After many attempts she came to ; but her pulse was nearly gone. Madhab arrived when he got the news. She took the dust of her husband's feet, but lay teeth to teeth without taking any food whatever.

Madhab asked in disappointment, "Why are you committing suicide ?"

A few drop of tears rolled down the corner of her eyes. After a while she said slowly, "All that I possess belongs to Amulya, only give about two thousand rupees to Naren and pay for his studies—he loves my Amulya." Madhab bit his lips to keep himself from crying.

Bindu signed to him to come closer and whispered, "Let none but him give me fire."*

Madhab got over that as well and asked, "Would you like to see anyone ?"

Bindu shook her head and said, "No, let that be as it is."

Bindu's mother tried once more to give her medicine, but she would not open her mouth.

Madhab got up and said, "That cannot be, Bindu ! You may not listen to us but I am going to fetch her whose words you will listen to. Only remember that when I get back you must still be here." So saying he went out. That night Bindu slept quietly.

The sun had just come up. No sooner did Madhab enter the room, blow out the lamp and open the windows, then Bindu opened her eyes and saw her husband's face in the mellow morning light. She smiled softly and asked, "When did you come ?"

"Just now. Dada is crying like a mad man."

Bindu whispered, "I know. Have you brought the dust of his feet ?"

Madhab said, "He is smoking outside. Bou-than is having a wash-up. Amulya fell

* At a Hindu funeral the nearest of kin generally sets fire to the pyre.

asleep in the carriage. I have put him into bed upstairs. Shall I bring him down?"

Bindu kept silent a while; then said, "No, let him sleep." She then turned over and lay quietly.

She started up when Annapurna went to her room and put her hand on Bindu's head. Annapurna waited a minute to pull herself together, then said, "Why have you not taken any medicine, Chhoto-bou, do you want to die?"

Bindu did not answer.

Annapurna put her mouth against Bindu's ears and said, "Do you know that my heart is breaking?"

Bindu whispered, "Yes, Didi."

"Then turn your face. Your Bara-thakur has come to take you home, your son has cried himself to sleep—listen to me, turn round."

Still Bindu kept her face averted. She shook her head and said, "No Didi, first say!"

Annapurna said, "Yes, yes, I am saying it; do come back home, come back."

Just then Jadab came and stood near the door and Annapurna veiled Bindu's head with a sheet.

Jadab looked at the covered-up figure of his dear little Chhoto-bou for a minute; then said, choking back his tears somehow, "Come home, mother, I have come to fetch you."

His wan and pale face brought tears to the eyes of those present. Jadab said again after a little silence, "Another day, when you were very small, I came to take you home. I never thought then that I should have to come again. But listen mother, when I have come, I shall either take you home, or never again turn my steps that way. You know, I never tell a lie."

Jadab went out. Bindu turned round and said, "Give me whatever you want me to take, Didi. And let Amulya lie in my bed; then you can all go and rest. There is no fear—I shall not die."

THE END

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND JOINT ELECTORATES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Working Committee of the Congress placed the following resolution before a recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee:—

(1) That in any future scheme of the constitution, so far as representation in various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all provinces and in the central legislature be constituted;

(2) That with a view to giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the legislatures for the present and, if desired, such representation of communities should be secured by reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the central legislature, provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities, including the Sikhs in the Punjab, may be made by mutual agreement, so as to give them representation in excess of proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis, in any province or provinces and proportions so agreed upon in the

provinces shall be maintained the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces;

(3) (1) That the proposals made by Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N.-W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is in the opinion of the Committee fair and reasonable;

(b) That the proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted in the constitution of the Congress on the principle of redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to;

(4) That in the future constitution the liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed; and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience, the liberty of belief and worship and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of

others and without interfering with the similar rights of others.

(5) No bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, issued, or passed in any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourths majority of members of either community affected thereby in that legislature is opposed to the introduction, discussion or passing of such a bill, resolution, motion or amendment. Intercommunal matter means matter agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of Hindu and Muslim members of the legislatures concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

It was accepted by the A.-I. C. C. in an amended form, the two new features introduced into the original resolution being the inclusion of Andhra and the Karnataka along with Sindh for being reconstituted into separated provinces on the linguistic basis and the principle that, simultaneously with the other measures of administrative reforms, an adequate system of judicial administration should be introduced in the N.-W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The A.-I. C. C. resolution has been passed in response to the proposals accepted at a meeting of Mr. Jinnah and some other Muslim leaders at Delhi. Considering that no Muslim organisation had previously accepted the principle of joint electorates even with reservation of seats for Muslims, and considering further that the Punjab Muslim League, the Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference at Barisal, and many Bihar Moslem leaders have declared themselves in favour of the retention of separate communal representations, the Delhi proposals, in spite of their defects, evinced much courage and patriotism on the part of their sponsors.

We are entirely in favour of all reasonable proposals calculated to give all communalists a national outlook and effectively and permanently put an end to the present communal tension. For this reason, the resolution adopted by the A.-I. C. C. is worthy of calm and serious consideration. It is in that belief that we propose to make some remarks on the subject. As we are not connected in any way with any party, we feel we can do so with our mind completely at ease; because, if our observations be not considered free from prejudice, no party will be compromised thereby.

We do not think the subject has been considered as carefully and from as many points of view as it deserved. The time devoted to such consideration has not been sufficiently long. The Congress and all other

political bodies in the country are professedly constituted on a democratic basis and claim to carry on their work in a democratic manner. Therefore, all the parties whose interests are concerned ought to have had opportunities of having their say on the matter. But they have not had such opportunities. The views of the Hindu Mahasabha, as expressed in its resolution on the Delhi proposals passed at Patna, do not appear to have been considered. Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya are the two most outstanding personalities on the Hindu Mahasabha side. They have not been heard. We do not make any insinuations as to the existence or non-existence of motives. But it is a fact that the A.-I. C. C. was, as originally arranged, to have met on the 5th of May. If that date had been adhered to, Lala Lajpat Rai could have taken part in the deliberations and debate on the subject before leaving for Europe on the 7th. But, for some unknown reasons, the date was changed to the 15th. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been ill for some time, and has not yet been able to resume his public activities. So he, too, has not been able to assist at the deliberations, formally or informally. The provinces likely to be most affected by the resolution are Bengal, the Punjab, N.-W. F. Province, British Baluchistan and Sindh. At the A.-I. C. C. meeting the Frontier Province and Baluchistan were entirely unrepresented. Sindh was very inadequately represented. The Sindh Provincial Congress Committee was not consulted. Bengal, too, was very inadequately represented, the only Bengalis present being Mr. T. C. Goswami and Mr. Rajkumar Chakrabarti. In view of party squabbles in Bengal, the less said of any Bengali's representative character, the better. The Punjab Musalmans, Hindus and Sikhs are all to be held to have been represented by Mr. K. Santanam. (Is he, by the way, a domiciled or an indigenous citizen of the Punjab?) We do not know, too, who among the members present had mandates from Andhra and the Karnataka to support the proposal to constitute them into separate Provinces. All these facts would show that the resolution was not quite democratically arrived at.

Before offering any observations on the resolution itself, we may be allowed to offer some remarks on points which are not entirely irrelevant. Mr. Jinnah's 'request' that the Delhi proposals were to be accepted

or rejected in toto, have been considered in some quarters as an ultimatum, and their acceptance by the Congress leaders as an abject surrender. We think the affair may fairly admit of such an interpretation, though it may nevertheless be a wrong construction. As no party or community in the country should suffer loss of self-respect, except possibly by its own action, and as no party or community should be made to labour under the inferiority complex, in all negotiations each and every party should try its utmost to consult the dignity of all other parties. For genuine intercommunal unity and cordial relations can spring up only if the conditions be conducive to the maintenance of self-respect by all. We do not, in the present case, take it for granted that Mr. Jinnah was actuated by any dictator-like hauteur or pride of power;—he may have simply felt that the bulk of his Muslim compatriots would not accept joint electorates if Sind were not made a separate Province and the "Reforms" were not introduced in Baluchistan and the Frontier Province. If so, he could have used such language as would have obviated any misconception.

Dr. Ansari is reported to have told a *Bombay Chronicle* interviewer that "if Orissa and the Hill Tracts of Assam are fit for the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the North-West Frontiers are also fit." The speaker forgot to consider the very relevant fact that the Hill Tracts of Assam are not by themselves a separate administrative province. Had they been so or had anybody proposed that they should be made a "Governor's province," Dr. Ansari's analogy would have been worth considering. As for Orissa, surely Dr. Ansari does not mean to say that the Frontiers possess the culture, the architectural and other skill and the public spirit of Orissa. Can the Frontiers show public-spirited and self-sacrificing leaders like Mr. Madhusudan Das, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, etc?

Pandit Motilal Nehru said in the course of one of his speeches:—

He was sorry that his opening remarks yesterday had not been followed, for he had clearly said that they were not entering into a pact nor accepting a pact, but merely putting forward their own proposals. It was only coincidence that the Delhi Muslim proposals were in the same nature, but he would assure the house that it was not an offer and was not taken by his Committee as one.

It is very often true that "great wits

jump", i. e., agree in their ideas, conclusions, etc., as the result of independent cogitation. But if the Pandit meant that the Moslem leaders and the Congress Working Committee had been thinking independently on parallel lines and had accidentally come to almost identical conclusions, we must say, without calling in question the sincerity of his advocacy, "*Credat Judaeus*". The *Sind Observer* appears to suffer from a similar fit of incredulity when it writes:—

The Pandit said the resolution as passed by the A.-I. C. C. was not identical with but nearly similar to that passed by the Muslim leaders at Delhi. It is true, as we shall presently show. But when he says it is not in response to the Jinnah resolution, he draws too much upon our credulity.

Some speakers urged that we should cease to speak of communal majorities and minorities, in view of the fact that we were preparing to think and speak nationally.

Mr. Haroon Jaffar appealed for unity. He spoke on the need for the separation of Sind if only because that province was backward in education and in other spheres and needed an independent outlook if it was to progress materially at all. To his mind the question of Hindu minority did not arise at all, for there was a promise that the Hindu minority would be protected adequately.

Mr. Chagla, explaining the Mohammedan mind, averred that the proposals constituted a great advance. It did not appear proper to him to speak of Hindu and Mohammedan majorities and minorities at a time when they were talking of a larger national spirit and national life.

Mr. B. G. Khare said the Mohammedan mentality ought to change.

Maulana Mohamed Ali, though he was there as a member of the Congress Working Committee to watch the discussion silently, explained what transpired at the Delhi Muslim Conference. He said that when they were exploring the possibility of agreeing to joint electorates the question of the separation of Sind cropped up incidentally. Mohammedans then said that if they could be in ten provinces with a Hindu majority nothing mattered if Hindus were so in five provinces with a Mahomedan majority. It had been further said at that conference that if they were to trust each other no distinction must be made.

Exactly! But why then insist at all on the creation of new Moslem majority provinces? Transparent diplomatic talk, like that of some Muslim leaders, is very amusing. Maulana Mohamed Ali is a master of phraseology. But may we ask him, if "no distinction must be made," why out of ten (?) provinces he and other Moslems want that Hindus should be in a minority in five provinces, because Moslems are in a minority in an equal number or so? Is there any sub-conscious underlying idea that if the Hindus did not

behave in their majority provinces, the Moslems would take suitable action? By the by, if provinces be reconstituted on a linguistic basis, there is bound to be a far larger number of Hindu than Muslim provinces, because the Hindus outnumber the Moslems in India taken as a whole.

Mr. Haroon Jaffar wanted education and material progress, both of which require greater expenditure. Would Sindh be able to stand on her legs financially as a separate province and spend more money for education and material progress than she now does?

Mr. Mohamed Ali and other Moslem leaders appear to think that the position of a Hindu minority in a predominantly Moslem area is the same as the position of a Moslem minority in a predominantly Hindu area, and therefore, "nothing mattered" if an addition were made to Muslim majority provinces. But have the Hindu majority in any province treated the Moslem minority in the way that the Muslims in Pabna, for instance, have treated the Hindus? Muslim leaders should not be wilfully blind to the fact that Muslim minorities need not fear Hindu majorities as Hindu minorities have had to and continue to have to fear Muslim majorities.

It is a rather curious idea this, that because the Hindus are in a majority in so many provinces, Muslims must also be made to predominate in an equal number of provinces by some means or other. One cannot all at once go against or heal the "wound of fate." There are in this world of ours several countries still where the Musalmans are almost the sole inhabitants and some of these are independent. But there is not a single country in the world of which the Hindus are almost the sole inhabitants, and only a small part of India, *viz.*, Nepal, is independent. Therefore, even if Hindus were in a majority in all the provinces of India, that should not have excited the envy of any member of the Muslim World-Brotherhood. To match the desire of Indian Muslims for Muslim majority provinces, Hindus do not ask the Congress to give them as many independent Hindu countries as there are independent Moslem countries in the world. "What a ridiculous idea or argument!" some would say. But the Congress has in fact no more real power to constitute new Muslim or Hindu majority provinces than it has to constitute independent Hindu countries. We do not find fault with

the Musalmans for their desire to be in India, in quality and quantity, as great a community as any other. But their object can be gained only by education and public spirit, as the case of the small community of Parsis shows.

The proposal in favour of the constitution of joint electorates has our full support, though we do not think that such a step alone will by itself bring about cordial relations between different communities, if other causes of friction and dissensions between them be not removed. If these latter remain as they now are, joint electorates may even furnish occasion for more communal riots. For this reason, if the Muslim leaders of Bengal can be persuaded to accept joint electorates, they should be asked to pay serious attention to the problems of abduction and ravishment of women, the desecration and destruction of temples and images, and interference with religious processions on the alleged ground that music before mosques is prohibited in the Quran.

The reservation of a number of seats in the legislatures for different communities on the basis of population is likely to nullify to a great extent, if not entirely, the nationalizing tendency of joint electorates. Some publicists even apprehend that reservation of seats combined with joint electorates would prevent the ablest and most earnest-minded candidates of the different communities from being returned, and that the election of men with more accommodating views, who can be all things to all men, would be more likely. While this is not entirely impossible, we do not think that this would happen certainly or most probably. The counterbalancing advantage of the elimination of men of extreme communal views has, on the other hand, to be taken into consideration.

The second part of the resolution speaks of giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the legislatures, and provides for concessions in favour of minorities, including Sikhs in the Punjab. India does not contain only two or three communities, but many more. So, if seats are to be reserved for any of them, they should be reserved for all. In fact, we have all along contended that, if any protection by means of communal representation be at all needed, the weakest and the smallest communities

require such protection more than the most important and numerically strongest ones. But in politics, it is often the most clamorous who have their demands met, and the weakest go to the wall. Expediency, not justice, guides the actions of politicians, including our Congress and Swarajya party leaders. It may be contended, and contended rightly, that it would not be practicable to reserve seats for all communities. That has been one of our main reasons for being all along opposed to communal representation. If justice be meant to be done to different communities by a particular method of communal representation, but if in attempting to do so it be found impracticable to help those who stand most in need of help, that method stands self-condemned. But the advocates of conciliating only the Muslims throughout India and the Sikhs in the Punjab may contend, if we cannot have an ideally comprehensive scheme of communal representation, let us at any rate have one which placates those whose dissentient voices may destroy the harmony of the national chorus. From the point of view of expediency, there is some force in this contention. But let us then cease to talk of justice and of protecting the interests of minorities.

If joint electorates, without any reservation of seats, were agreed upon by the different Indian communities, the Government would be deprived of the use of the argument that, since other communities have had seats reserved for them, the European and Anglo-Indian communities must be similarly provided for. This would deprive the Government of the support of some pro-Government votes. No doubt, Hindu-Moslem acceptance of joint electorates without any reservation of seats may not ensure its acceptance by the Government. Even if the Government accepted it, it may invent sufficient excuses to give special representation to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. But what we wish to impress upon the Indian public is that we should do nothing which would give a handle to the Government to do a wrong thing to prop up its autocracy and would thus indirectly make us consenting parties to such a step.

The language of the resolution does not make it quite clear whether majority communities in particular provinces are to have seats reserved for them, nor whether reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities in

the form of representation in excess of what their numbers would entitle them to, would be governed by the same rule or principle in each and every province automatically. What we mean is this. Supposing in Madras, U. P. or Bihar, where Muslims are in a minority, it be agreed upon that they are to have seats 25 or 50 per cent in excess of what their numbers would entitle them to, would the Hindu minority in Sind, or Punjab, or Bengal have the same percentage of excessive representation? Further, if a Muslim or a Hindu minority in a particular province asks for and gets excessive representation, would that lead *automatically* to the giving of such excessive representation to minorities in all other provinces? Or would it be necessary for each minority in each province to petition separately for such concession? One more question. It has been one of the demands of the Muslim League that in no province must a Muslim majority be reduced to an equality or to a minority. If that demand be adhered to, would it be possible to do justice to the Hindus, in Bengal for instance?

By asking these questions we do not mean that the A-I C. C. ought to have settled these details. We draw attention to them in order that, in case reservation of seats be, unfortunately, decided upon, every care may be taken to prevent heart-burning, injustice, inconsistency, and the wounding of the self-respect of any community in any province.

We cannot speak of the relative capacity and public spirit of the two largest communities in any of the other provinces of India with as much knowledge as we can in Bengal. Let us, therefore, say what reservation of seats would mean in Bengal. Here the Muhammadans are the majority community. Therefore, if their capacity and public spirit were at least equal to those of the Hindus, they would naturally secure the largest number of seats. For the bigger community in that case would have the larger number of voters, and they would naturally, capacity and public spirit being at least equal, vote for candidates belonging to their own community. Such candidates might even get votes of some Hindus. We say this, because it has been found in Madras, for instance, that Sir Muhammad Habibullah and M. Osman Sahab were returned mostly by Hindu voters.

But in Bengal, Muslims are not equal to Hindus in education, capacity and public

spirit. This does not mean that there are no highly educated, capable and public-spirited men among them. What we mean is that the number of educated persons among them is very much less than among Hindus, that the number of men possessed of capacity for dealing with public affairs is similarly less, and that their public spirit is in the aggregate less. We shall not refer here to public spirit as manifested in political activities; for Muslim leaders think that Hindus are disloyal and Muslims are loyal and "constitutional," though even in the sphere of strictly legal agitation the Muslim majority has not been able to supply even a tenth part of the total number of workers. Let us refer only to such public activities as do not involve any risk of incurring official displeasure, prosecution for sedition, loss of liberty without trial, etc. When in East and North Bengal, where the population is predominantly Muslim, relief of distress is necessitated by famine, flood, earthquake, cyclone, epidemics, etc., the donors and workers are almost entirely non-Muslims, though those who receive help are mostly Muslims. It cannot be said that the Muslim community in Bengal has no rich and well-to-do men or men capable of working for their fellow-believers. It is lack of Muslim public spirit which throws the burden of relieving Muslims on Hindus for the most part. According to *The Muslim Hall Magazine* of Dacca University (Phalgun, 1333, Bengali section, page 45), out of 908 High Schools in Bengal only 57 are conducted by Muslims, a few are Government and missionary schools and the rest, the vast majority, are conducted by non-Muslims, mostly Hindus. According to the same journal, page 46, in Bengal Hindus have 10,000 (ten thousand) societies or institutions for famine relief, free treatment of patients, cooperative money-lending, nursing and treatment of helpless persons and other kinds of social service work; but Musalmans have only ten. Speaking generally, the educational and social service institutions maintained or conducted by the Hindus do not exclude Muslims from their benefits. As an example, we showed only last month that the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes, which is a strictly non-sectarian association, but is conducted almost entirely by non-Muslims, has 16,274 pupils in its schools, of whom Namasudras form the largest number (5588), the Muslims coming next with 2584 pupils. Muslims, far from having institutions for giving education and

other help irrespective of caste and creed, equal in number to those conducted by Hindus, have not got even a passable number of such institutions for the benefit of their own community. "Literacy is more than twice as frequently found among Hindu than among Muhammadan males aged 5 and over, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as frequently found among Hindu than among Muhammadan females." (Bengal Census Report for 1921, page 290). The number per thousand of persons literate in English in Bengal is 32 among Hindus and 6 among Musalmans. According to the Census of 1921, in Bengal Muslim literates aged 20 and over numbered 936044, and Hindu literates of the same age, 2002074. Muslims and Hindus literate in English of the same age numbered 82941 and 387147 respectively. The spread of collegiate education among the two communities in Bengal may be judged of from the fact that in 1925-26 Muslim students numbered 3178 and Hindus numbered 19743 in Arts Colleges.

The very fact that, in spite of Muslims being a majority in Bengal, they want reservation of seats on the basis of population is a plain confession of inferiority in capacity and public spirit.

If seats were reserved in Bengal on the basis of population Muhammadans would have 53 or 54, Hindus 43 or 44, and others 2 or 3 per cent. of them. This would mean that the Muslims would have a standing and permanent majority in the Bengal legislature, and that they would form the government. In other words, the community which has by far the lesser number of educated, capable and public-spirited men to draw from would be predominantly in charge of the public affairs of Bengal and control its destiny, and those who have by far the larger number of such men to draw from would be precluded from having a corresponding voice in the affairs of the country. Consider another implication. Those (*i.e.*, Muslims) who have done so very little for the good even of their own community are, humanly speaking, to be the arbiters of the destinies of all communities of Bengal, but those (*i.e.*, Hindus) who have done more not only for themselves but for others also, including Muslims, are to play the second fiddle. Moreover, Muslims being in a fixed and permanent majority would not have a sufficient incentive for increasing their capacity and public spirit as they would have if they had to secure a majority by free competition with non-

Muslims. Absence of competition would thus retard their progress.

The community or party which forms the Government of a country permanently, secures thereby the lion's share of the honour, the patronage and some emoluments of office. Patronage and power of appointment being thus at its disposal, men of that community come to have most of the appointments in the public service. Thus, the fact of Muslims permanently forming the government would mean that the community possessed of the lesser number of capable and public-spirited men to draw from would have the greatest share of the power, honours and advantages of being in the ascendant. When necessary, it is usual for controversialists of a certain type to profess to despise worldly advantages and to call upon those with whom they are engaged in controversy to make sacrifices. We appreciate the value of such professions and exhortations. Nevertheless, we do not see why the merits possessed by a community should not bring them worldly advantages. But let us suppose that the Hindus agreed to forego worldly advantages and were content to think that merit was its own reward. Even then the question would remain, who should have the greatest opportunities of serving the people,—the members of a particular majority community who are in the aggregate confessedly inferior in capacity and public spirit, or the fittest members of all communities chosen by free competition and free election? The answer evidently would be, the latter. If self-effacement meant only the giving up of worldly advantages, it could be preached and advocated; but as it would under a fixed majority party mean also the giving up of opportunities of serving the country, such self-abnegation and self-effacement cannot be approved. If the best men, drawn from all communities, in varying proportions from time to time, have the opportunity to serve the country, that is most conducive to public welfare; otherwise the country is ill-served, there is retrogression instead of progress, and both Hindus and Musalmans, as well as others, suffer. For this reason, we are not in favour of a permanent majority party, be it Hindu or Moslem. Neither community, if placed artificially in a permanent position of vantage, can do for Bengal what is necessary for its progress and welfare. Nor would it be Bengal alone which would suffer, if there were such a particular party permanently in power.

Bengal would in that case be unable to send her best men to the Central Legislature and other All-India bodies and services, official and non-official, and would thus be unable to do for India what she is capable of doing in co-operation with the best men of the other provinces. Already Bengal cuts a sorry figure in the Central Legislature and non-official All-India bodies, committees, etc. The continuance or worsening of such a state of things cannot be good either for India or for Bengal.

Should reservation of seats for Muslim majorities and for Muslim and Hindu minorities be decided upon, and should it be further decided that only those minorities (Hindu or Muslim) in the provinces which petitioned for the protection of their interests by the concession to them of representation in excess of their numerical proportion, would be helped, it would then be in Bengal an addition of humiliation to injury. For Hindu Bengalis are well able to take care of their political and civic interests (supposing there are any separate communal interests of this description) in any normal system of representation. Therefore, to devise a system of representation under which they would be obliged to petition for protection and thus indirectly confess their incapacity, would be an undeserved humiliation inflicted upon them.

The difficulties involved in combining the reservation of seats on the basis of population with the concession of extra representation to minorities have been very clearly stated by *The Sind Observer* in the following passage :—

How will the Hindu-Muslim Committee settling the details of the bargain reconcile the League demand that in no province where the Muslims or others are in a majority should they be reduced to a position of equality, much less of a minority in their local legislative council? The Punjab Muslims are 55.32 per cent of the population and they have now under the Lucknow Pact fifty per cent or one-half of elected seats. If the Sikhs are to get more representation under the A.-I. C. resolution it must be at the expense of the Muslim majority and not the Hindu minority in Punjab. In other words, Punjab Muslims have to accept less than 50 per cent of the elected seats by accommodating the Sikhs. Will they make the sacrifice or will they stick to the population basis of 55.33 per cent? And if the Bengal Muslims also claim 54 per cent of representation in their Council and not 40 per cent as under the Lucknow Pact, then the Hindus will naturally say that population alone should count in all provinces and no extra representation should be granted to Muslim minorities elsewhere. Population basis and extra representation to minorities cannot

therefore go hand in hand anywhere. This is the rock on which the whole compromise may come to grief when attempted to be worked in practical detail.

Population basis will certainly frighten the Muslim minorities in U. P. where they get 30 per cent. of elected seats for 14.28 per cent of the population; in Bihar 25 per cent of the seats for 10.85 per cent of the population, in C. P. 15 per cent for 4.05 p. c. of the population, in Madras 15 per cent for 6.71 p. c. of the population and in Bombay including Sindh 33.3 per cent representation for 19.74 p. c. of the population. There will be trouble between minority Muslims in these provinces and majority Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal, if the latter stick to the formulae of representation on the basis of population, because the former would not like to lose what they had got under the Lucknow Pact. And it will be too much to ask the Hindus to accept Muslim majorities in Bengal and Punjab and heavy extra representation for Muslims in provinces where they are a minority community.

If in the provinces there is to be reservation of seats on the basis of population with concessions of extra seats to minorities and if "the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces," then it stands to reason that the number of members sent to the Legislative Assembly at Delhi by all the communities in a province (that is, by the inhabitants of a province as a whole) should be proportionate to the total population of a province. What we mean is that if in the provinces the representation of communities is to be on the basis of population, then in the Legislative Assembly of India, too, consistency and logic would require the representation of the provinces on the basis of their respective total populations. In that case, Bengal would be entitled to the largest number of M. L. A.'s and the U. P., Madras, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, C. P. and Berar, Burma, Assam, and N.-W. F. Province would come next in order; and Bombay and the Punjab would have less than half as many M.L.A.'s as Bengal, C. P. and Berar less than one-third of the Bengal number, Bihar and Orissa about two-thirds, Assam less than one-sixth, and so on. Of course in the

Council of State, each 'Governor's province' may have an equal number of representatives on the United States Senate principle.

Representation on the basis of population, if logically and strictly adhered to, as all principles ought to be, would lead to the consequences stated above. Are the representatives of the provinces on the All India Congress Committee prepared for them?

We are opposed to communal representation as well as to the reservation of seats with joint electorates. But we consider the latter to be the lesser evil of the two. If it be decided to combine reservation of seats with joint electorates, it should be laid down that seats would cease to be reserved at the end of ten years from the date of reservation. This is the eleventh year from the conclusion of the Lucknow Pact. Reservation of seats combined with joint electorates need not have a longer life.

So far as legislation and political and civic interests are concerned, if it be admitted that different groups of people have different and conflicting interests, it would be easier to prove that such difference of interests runs more along professional and occupational lines than along credal and sectarian lines. There is no such conflict of secular interests (with which alone the State in India is concerned) between Hindus and Muslims as there is between actual cultivators and landlords, between capitalist employers and wage labourers, between Indian manufacturers and importers of foreign goods, between foreign and indigenous shippers, between money-lenders and borrowers, etc. Therefore, though we are opposed to any and every kind of separate representation of groups, we cannot but assert that there is a stronger case for separate representation along occupational lines than along the lines of religious profession.

In conclusion we wish to say that it was probably sagacious for the Congress Committee to leave the Government to refuse the Muslim demands than do it themselves.

CONSTITUTING NEW GOVERNOR'S PROVINCES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Congress Committee has agreed to the separation of Sindh from Bombay and its constitution into a new 'Governor's province' with a legislative council and other paraphernalia, and also to the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in the N.-W. F. Province and British Baluchistan, making them also 'Governor's provinces.' The proviso that in the latter two areas there should be the introduction of up-to-date judicial administration along with the introduction of the Reforms was necessary and statesmanlike.

The real object of the Muslim demand in relation to these three areas is to have three more Governor's provinces with a Muslim majority. The bringing in of the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces to justify the separation of Sindh was a transparent after-thought.

We are not quite competent to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the question of the separation of Sindh. Sindh publicists are quite competent to do so and have been doing their duties in the matter. But this we will say that the argument, that "distinguished leaders of Sindh had in the past expressed their disapproval of Sindh being tied to the chariot wheel of Bombay," assuming that it is accurate as a statement of fact, is not a settler. Many circumstances and facts may have in more recent times become prominent owing to fresh developments, which may make even those distinguished leaders change their opinion. For instance, many Muslim Sindhis have in recent years demonstrated their faith in physical force in certain unpleasant ways and have celebrated the conquest of Sindh by Muslim foreigners. Besides, according to some Sindh papers, the Muslim majority's Raj in the local boards has thrown the main burden of taxation on the Hindus, while most of the benefits are enjoyed by the Muslims. So Sindh Hindus are afraid of any addition to the taxing and other powers of Sindh Muslims, and want guarantees from the latter to allay their fears.

Bombay Hindus may not at all dislike

the idea of the separation of Sindh : because its inclusion has given the Bombay Presidency a strong Muslim minority with 33 per cent. of the seats in the Bombay Council, which is practically at the disposal of the Government in all divisions ; because Sindh deficits are believed to be met from the revenues of other parts of the Bombay Presidency ; and because the Sukkur Barrage scheme may after all prove a huge fiasco or in any case not a profitable venture.

Though one of the main objections of Sindh Hindus to separation is financial Pandit Motilal Nehru is reported to have said :—

As for financial commitments of Bombay in Sindh in such projects as the Sukkur Barrage, it was only a matter of book entry and the Congress was not concerned now with it. It was the concern of the Government and the Congress need not allow the considered opinion of members to be affected by those considerations.

A strange statement for a great leader to make ! There is not a single clause or sub-clause in the Congress Committee's resolution which is not "the concern of the Government" in the sense that it is the Government alone which can give effect to it. But is that any reason why the members of the Committee should not have taken care to see that their proposals were sound in every respect ? Is finance a negligible thing ? What is the value of any 'considered opinion' if it has been formed without paying any attention to the financial aspects of a proposal ? We do not understand what the Pandit means by calling the financial commitments of Bombay "only a matter of book entry." We do not think he suggests that public revenues may be treated as the Tilak Swarajya Fund has been treated, or that the Bombay Government may write off the advances made on behalf of Sindh, or that it may repudiate the debts, if any, incurred on behalf of Sindh for the Barrage project.

It is believed in certain quarters in Sindh that, if all the implications of the Congress committee's resolutions were understood by

Sindh Muslims, even they would not welcome separation. For instance, *The Sind Observer* writes :

We are quite aware that many educated Muslims want separation, as almost all educated Hindus are against it. Well may many Sindh Musalmans reject the offer of separation which is coupled with joint electorates, which they abhor, for the fear of the dilution of the hot wine of communalism with the sobering water of a joint Hindu-Muslim vote. Again, the 25 per cent of the Hindu minority in Sindh is bound to claim a forty per cent representation in the Sindh Council, which is an irresistible claim considering the concessions shown to Muslim minorities elsewhere, and the Europeans, who wield such tremendous influence and power with the Government, the Anglo-Indians, the Goans, Indian Christians and Parsis, who are nearly a lakh of the population of Sindh, will claim for themselves another ten per cent of elected representation. The 75 per cent of the Muslim population will hardly have 50 to 55 per cent of elected strength in the Sindh Council. The nominated members will be not all Muslims and, therefore, the talk of a 'Muslim province' having a standing Muslim majority to beat down all opposition and carry all things in a highhanded way is mere moonshine. Joint electorates are, moreover, solvents of fierce communalism, and clever minorities can wag the tail of the majority dog and make the latter dance to their tune.

When people agree to the constitution of Muslim majority provinces or to the re-constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis, they do not always bear in mind the numerical strength of the peoples who are proposed to be given full provincial status. Let us, therefore, quote some figures of the population of different administrative areas in British India. Ajmer-Merwara has a population of 495,271 ; Assam, 7,606,230 ; British Baluchistan, 420,648 ; Bengal, 46,695,536 ; Bihar and Orissa, 34,002,189 (Bihar 23,380,288, Orissa 4,968,873, Chota Nagpur 5,653,028) ; Bombay Presidency, 19,348,219 (Bombay 16,012,342, Sind 3,279,377, Aden 56,500) ; Burma, 13,212,192 ; Central Provinces and Berar, 13,912,760 (Central Provinces 10,837,444, Berar 3,075,316) ; Coorg, 163,838 ; Delhi, 488,188 ; Madras, 42,318,985 ; North-West Frontier Province, 2,251,340 ; Punjab, 20,685,024 ; United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 45,375,787 (Agra 33,209,145, Oudh 12,166,642).

From the figures given above, it will be clear that if British Baluchistan with a population of only 420,648 can be made a province and pay for a governor and a legislative council, etc. Ajmer-Merwara, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Berar, and Oudh may also claim singly to have the status of a province. Nay,

taking merely population into consideration, every one of the districts of Bengal, except Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts, could present a better claim to be constituted a province by itself than British Baluchistan. Mymensingh with a population of 4,837,730 is more populous than Sindh ; and Mymensingh, Dacca (3,125,967), Tippera (2,743,073), Midnapore (2,666,660), 24 Parganas (2,628,205), Bakarganj (2,623,756), and Rangpur (2,507,854), are singly more populous than the North-West Frontier Province. Similar populous districts there are in some other Governor's provinces, *viz*, Saran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, South Arcot, Tanjore, Malabar, and Gorakhpur. But none of these districts have a legislative council apiece, nor has any such district the privilege of being represented in its own name in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. Therefore, the constitution of British Baluchistan, N.-W. F. Province, and Sindh into governor's provinces, with the Central Legislature franchise to boot, would practically mean that the few voters of these new provinces were supermen compared with the comparatively numerous pigmies of the above-named districts which have no legislative councils and which do not singly in their own names enjoy representation in the Central Legislature. Yet each of these districts can show larger numbers of public-spirited, educated men than either British Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. Nay, many of these districts have more educated Muslims even than the latter two provinces. Yet the latter must be made full-fledged provinces but not the more populous and educated districts with more a larger number of public-spirited inhabitants.

There is no logical connection between the acceptance of joint electorates and the stipulation that three Muslim majority provinces are to be constituted. But Indian Muslims would derive this advantage from the latter step that there would be three additional provinces sending some Musalman representatives to the Central Legislature, thus increasing the total number of Muslim representatives therein. True, there would be some additional Hindu members, too ; but the Hindus being in a minority in the new provinces, the increased Hindu membership would fall short of the increased Muslim membership. But another fact must not be lost sight of. The Congress Committee resolution supports the re-consti-

tution of provinces on a linguistic basis. Andhra and the Karnataka are definitely named as such provinces. Both would be Hindu majority provinces. Orissa, another Hindu majority province, is sure to put in a strong claim. These three alone would be enough to counterbalance the Muslim gain resulting from their new majority provinces.

It is rather curious that the Congress Committee resolution mentions Andhra and the Karnataka but not Orissa. The problem of a full-fledged self-contained Oriya-speaking province has been before the public longer than the claims of the former. Moreover, the Oriyas are greater sufferers by being distributed over four provinces than the Telugu and Kanarese speaking peoples. Besides, the speakers of Oriya are equal in number to the speakers of Kanarese.

Like provincialism, lingualism, if we may coin such a word, has its dangers. One of the dangers of too great insistence on provincial autonomy has been indicated in Major B. D. Basu's new book on the *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*. A certain amount of centralization is necessary in order that the people of India may become a strong unified nation. The linguistic basis hobby should not, therefore, be ridden to death. There are so many languages in India that, even if only the principal ones with well-developed literatures were to be assigned separate provinces, great confusion would arise, and there might be even financial bankruptcy in some areas. Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam would all be dismembered if cut up into separate linguistic areas; and the Central Provinces and Berar would disappear altogether, as part of it would go to Maharashtra and part to the U. P. We should not

insist too much on any abstract theory if it stimulates the fissiparous tendency which has been too much in evidence throughout India's long history. Of course, a case like that of Orissa does not derive its undoubted strength from mere abstract theory. And the re-inclusion in Bengal of the Bengali-speaking districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara in Assam, of the Manbhum district in Bihar and Orissa, and of the Bengali-speaking areas in Purnia, Balasore, Singhbhum and Santal Parganas can be supported on historical and ethnological as well as linguistic grounds.

As regards the constitution of Sindh into a separate province on the linguistic basis, the question may be asked whether Sindhi is such a well-marked and well-developed language as, for instance, Marathi or Gujarati or Bengali, with a good and growing literature. Hindu Sindhis prefer to make Hindi their vernacular and Muslim Sindhis, Urdu. We find from the Bombay Census Report for 1921 that Sindhi-speakers have decreased in number from 3,007,000 in 1911 to 2,618,000 in 1921. The Census Superintendent writes :

"The languages of Sindh present more difficulties than those of the Presidency proper. The boundaries of the various languages of the desert region are not at all sharply defined, and the question is still further complicated by the use of the same term as the name of quite different languages or dialects. Thus in Grierson's language Index "Jatki" is given as a name used for nine different things and "Hindki" for seven." P. 152, *Bombay Census Report*, 1921.

All this would appear to show that when the A.-I. C. C. professed to recommend the constitution of Sindh into a separate province on the linguistic basis, they chose a rather slippery basis.

INDIAN'S ABROAD

A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA IN AFRICA

IT appears that the recent appointment of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri as India's representative in South Africa has created hopes of better Indo-South African relation among certain sections of Indians in Africa.

There may or may not be in it any real grounds for such hope; but in so far as it removes the feeling of bitterness in the Indians, it may, if the South African whites do not give too much rein to their superiority complex, do some good by clearing the way for a fuller realisation of the principles of

justice and equity in South Africa. It can, however, only help the process; for actual achievement of the ideal can progress only with the coming of self-government and independence in India.

The *Zanzibar Voice* suggests that a High Commissionship should be created in Africa with local agents under him in every province of that country. The *Voice* believes that this will stimulate Indo-African trade and help Indians everywhere in Africa to improve their condition. The *Voice* bases its claim on the fact that Canada has the right to appoint her own ambassador in the United States, a country outside the British Empire. India therefore should have the right to appoint, and control her own ambassadors at least within the Empire. This is not very relevant as India's status in the Empire is not similar to that of Canada. Had it been so there would have been no occasion to cry over our lack of privileges so frequently. Even in our internal affairs we are bound hand and foot and have practically no rights worth talking about. How can we then hope to do things in our own way in the field of foreign relations? A High Commissioner in South Africa will doubtless be under the Government of India (and not under the Indian National Congress), which can hardly be relied upon to serve *our* interests always and sincerely. The Colonial Office is no worse than the Government of India where it comes to a real clash of interests between "whites" and "non-whites". In small things we may be allowed to act with a show of independence, to tickle our vanity and to provide material for the booting up of British justice and large-heartedness; but the true test will come when something substantial is at stake. And we all know how much (British) Government officials are of help to us in such cases.

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

Sir Frederick Whyte has launched a campaign in London to raise an Indian Colleges Fund of £ 50,000. He is of opinion that in India political reform was in advance of educational and social progress. He also said that the best way to assure good feeling between East and West was co-operation in such admirable objects as women's education.

It is no doubt praiseworthy that Sir Frederick Whyte is thinking so much about India's well-being; but we must say that we do not agree with him when

he says, that: we are making more progress politically than educationally or socially. Political reform in India is more a shadow than a reality. Our educational and social progress, though it may not be very pronounced or as rapid as we would like it to be, is nevertheless real in so far as it goes. The system of education inaugurated by the early British rulers of India with a view to assure a good supply of workers in the lower services, has slowly been changed until today we are beginning to turn out real scholars from our Universities. Our social system is also slowly adapting itself to modern conditions and the new order that is coming into existing is something that is going to last and to help us on to greater things than mere political or economic progress. It may be pointed out that this educational and social change has been evolved from within the nation, as an answer to the attempts that our foreign masters have always made to keep us down morally, intellectually and politically. Those Anglo-Indians who are eloquent over our social and educational backwardness conveniently forget how much they themselves have contributed to it and how little they have done to stimulate our advancement. We hope that Sir Frederick's Indian Colleges Fund will not be used for the creation of a "loyalist" (to the British) camp among educated Indians; for have we not been hearing a lot in recent times about the prevalence of anti-Britishism among "England-returned" Indians? With a liberal award of scholarships and with arrangements for their entertainment on a sumptuous scale by "British friends," some of them may still turn round and swear by the British instead of at them, as is the usual practice now.

THE CASE OF DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Our readers are well aware that Dr. Sudhindra Bose, PH.D., lecturer to the University of Iowa, is an Indian gentleman of high scholarly attainments and with very good family connections. He has no criminal taints in him, nor has he ever been convicted of any offences against the State. Yet to-day, he is an exile in America much against his will; for the benign British government have, in a roundabout way, made it impossible for him to leave that country and come to India. The following letter from Dr. Bose will surely interest those

who are fighters in the cause of justice and fair play.

Personally I have no hankering after publicity ; but I am in a predicament which only publicity can help me get out of. As it is, I have been placed in a false position. A number of Indian papers have of late intimated that I have contumaciously rejected the magnanimous offer of the Indian Government and that I am keeping out of India wilfully. How little the eminent editors understand the subtlety of the bureaucratic mind!

Turn, for example, to the recent pronouncement of the London Government which promises almost to be classical in character. You may recall that Mr. J. Batey (Labour Member from Durham) raised a question about me in Parliament last February of this year. He asked in the House of Commons why I was refused a permit to go to India and whether my case would be reviewed. Mr. H. S. Amery, according to the Reuter cable to India, replied that I "Could at any time obtain a certificate to enable me to travel thither." All blige and blather. In spite of my persistent efforts since Mr. Amery made that statement in the House of Commons, I have not succeeded in getting the certificate yet.

Here are the main facts of the case, which you doubtless know. I am a naturalized American citizen. I had to be during the Great War. And although some question has arisen as to the validity of my American citizenship, I cannot now be considered under the present laws a British subject. I renounced my allegiance to the king of England years ago. Even if I wanted it, the British Government could not confer a British-Indian Citizenship upon me here in America. The naturalization laws of India will require of me five years of residence in India before I can qualify for its citizenship.

Now, what I have been asking the British Ambassador, Sir Harry Armstrong, is the privilege to go to India to see my aged mother.

I have been living in America for over 22 years, twelve of which have been spent in teaching at the state University of Iowa, Iowa City. As to my character and integrity, the University Officials as well as the leading business men of Iowa city have already furnished the British officials in America with sworn affidavits. They go to prove that I am a law-abiding man, a responsible Faculty member of a first class government University.

When I reach India I do not naturally wish to be bothered by government agents, as some returned Indians have been. I, therefore, asked the British Ambassador for safe conduct, which is in International Law another name for an assurance of protection and security.

Moreover, as I am planning to go away from the University of Iowa on a year's leave of absence, I have also asked for assurance of facilities for my return to America. To both these requests, the Ambassador has replied with a flat, No. I should like to know why?

Let us stick to the point at issue; I am either eligible for admission to India or I am not. If I am fit to enter India, why should its government refuse to guarantee my safe conduct as an evidence of good faith? As already explained, I am not a British subject at present and cannot be made one except after years of residence in India. Now the question is this: why does the Indian Government *refuse me in advance* the facilities of getting out to India. Why should any government want to shut up the citizen of another country until he breaks its laws? In any case, it looks as if I have already been convicted of a crime against India, and convicted in advance of trial by court. What is the cause of this ill-disguised active spirit of enmity to me? What have they got against me? Instead of delivering wallops below my belt from the dark, why don't they have courage enough to come out in the open and speak up?

NOTES

Staff List of League of Nations Secretariat and International Labour Office

The total amount budgeted by the League of Nations for its expenses in the current year has been divided into 1015 units. The League of Nations *Official Journal* for January, 1927 contains a statement showing the number of units payable by each Member State. The same Journal contains the staff lists of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office. The statement printed below has been prepared from that statement

and these two lists. It shows the number of units paid by each Member State and the number of its nationals employed by the League. In publishing such a statement it is not our main object to show how much pecuniary advantage each state derives from the League through its nationals in the League, staff, though such advantage is not to be despised nor is illicit. Our main object is to show the nationals of what countries have most to do with conducting the day to day business of the League and with preparing the work of the organs of the League. Such

countries reap the advantages of the influence and experience of their nationals thus acquired. It is stated in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* that

"the day to day business of the League is conducted by an International Secretariat at Geneva, its first head, known as Secretary-General, being Sir Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., formerly of the British Foreign Office,"

who, by the way, continues still to be the Secretary-General. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that

"a further consequence of any attempt to organize international affairs through regular conferences of all the members of the League, and through a smaller executive organ, is the necessity for a secretariat which shall be charged with the duty of preparing the work of the organs of the League, which shall act as a central exchange for information among members of the League and shall organize the central and technical services for conferences and for the meetings of the executive organ. The secretariat would also have to keep the records of the League, supervise the execution of the League's decisions and in general act as an organizing agency for the promotion of international co-operation."

The extracts given above will show what opportunities the League Offices offer for acquiring experience and knowledge of world affairs and also indirectly the resulting influence.

Names of States have been mentioned in the order of the number of units they pay.

States	Units Paid	Number of Posts Held
Great Britain	105	207
France	79	178
Germany	79 (From 25th Sept. 1926)	15
Italy	60	36
Japan	60	9
India	56	2
China	46	3
Spain	40	8
Canada	35	7
Poland	32	13
Argentine	29	1
Brazil	29	1
Czechoslovakia	29	8
Australia	27	4
Netherlands	23	12
Roumania	22	3
Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of)	20	6
Belgium	18	17
Sweden	18	4
Switzerland	17	199
South Africa	15	1
Chile	14	nil
Denmark	12	8

States	Units Paid	Number of Posts Held
Finland	10	2
Ireland (Irish Free State)	10	10
New Zealand	10	2
Cuba	9	1
Norway	9	6
Peru	9	nil
Siam	9	1
Austria	8	12
Hungary	8	4
Greece	7	2
Uruguay	7	1
Colombia	6	1
Portugal	6	1
Bulgaria	5	2
Persia	5	1
Venezuela	5	1
Bolivia	4	nil
Lithuania	4	3
Esthonia	3	nil
Latvia	3	4
Abyssinia	2	nil
Albania	1	nil
Costa Rica (ceased to be a member from 1st January, 1927)	1	nil
Dominican Republic	1	nil
Guatemala	1	nil
Haiti	1	nil
Honduras	1	nil
Liberia	1	nil
Luxemburg	1	2
Nicaragua	1	nil
Panama	1	1
Paraguay	1	nil
Salvador	1	nil
America	nil	7
Armenia	nil	1
Jugoslavia	nil	3
Russia	nil	8
Turkey	nil	1
Without Nationality		1

Great Britain and France pay the largest number of units, but British and French nationals hold a disproportionately large number of posts. The Swiss also hold a large number of posts, but these are for the most part those of porters, messengers, typists, etc. Some States which are not members of the League have more nationals of theirs employed by the League than India, which has been a member from the foundation of the League and stands sixth in order of payment. Among Asiatic States, Japan, which pays only a little more than India, has many

more of its nationals employed by the League; China, which pays less than India, has more nationals employed; and Siam and Persia, both of which combined pay very much less than India have one member each in the staff, India having two. Except in Japan, education, including education in English, has not made greater progress in these Asiatic countries than in India. But they have not got all the knowledge, experience and training which British subjection gives. These we have got and consequently do not require much more of those things, which the other Asiatic countries, except Japan, require. Is not that so?

"Jaundiced Remarks"

We are indebted to *The Tribune* of Lahore for the following extract from *The Civil and Military Gazette* of that city:—

"It cannot be said that Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review*, made very good use of the time he spent at Geneva in studying the work of the League of Nations, judging by the rather jaundiced remarks he is reported to have made to a gathering of journalists in Calcutta. It was at the invitation of the League that he made his investigation, but this manner of requiting the hospitality is ungracious, to say the least."

The Tribune thereupon observes:—

This is absurd on the face of it. Mr. Chatterjee was invited to study things for himself, so that he might give the benefit of his opinions formed on the spot to the public in this country. Clearly the best manner in which he could requite the hospitality was to do what he was asked to do. Had he refrained from doing so merely because the opinions formed by him went against the interests of his host, his conduct might have been gracious but would have been scarcely honest. The journal goes on to say:—

"Mr. Chatterjee seems to be obsessed with the idea that the League does not take sufficient account of Asiatic interests merely because the majority of constituent States are European. As it happens that the States in Asia eligible for membership are few in number, this is unavoidable."

This is rather a confirmation of Mr. Chatterjee's remark than a contradiction of it. Of course, the *Gazette* thinks that the smallness of the number of Asiatic members of the League is Asia's own fault and not the fault of the League or the Powers, but that is an opinion which no Asiatic country will share.

The editor of *The Modern Review* is a native inhabitant of a politically subjected and economically exploited country, and, as such, has brought certain charges against an organization dominated by exploiting imperialist nations. *The Civil and Military Gazette* is an organ of one of the foremost of these

nations. Therefore, the editor of this Review is an accuser and *The Civil and Military Gazette* belongs to the group of the accused. No accused can be held to be an impartial judge of an indictment. It is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss the character of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's remarks.

As for the manner in which Mr. Chatterjee has requited the hospitality of the League, *The Tribune* has put the matter in its true light. We have only to add that when inviting Mr. Chatterjee, the League of Nations Office quite rightly wrote to him: "It is, of course, obvious that there is no intention of interfering with your independent judgment." But what was obvious to all reasonable people is not, it appears, obvious to the *Gazette*. It may also have thought that the League paid Mr. Chatterjee's travelling and other expenses and was therefore entitled to dictate what he would write, according to the *Gazette's* countrymen's proverb, "he who pays the piper has the right to call the tune." If the Lahore Anglo-Indian daily had or has any such notion, we wish to inform it that Mr. Chatterjee knew of the existence of such a British proverb and took care, therefore, not to accept any pecuniary or other help from the League, of which the chief officer is a former British Foreign Office man. Of course, even if Mr. Chatterjee had allowed his expenses to be paid by the League, as proposed by it, he would not have been under any obligation to propagate lies. But he wanted to be above all suspicion.

A Disclaimer

With reference to the lecture on the League of Nations and the subject peoples of the world which the editor of this Review delivered in Calcutta, *The Guardian* observes:—

He did not actually use the expression "League of Robbers," but if the report of the speech published in the press is accurate, its tone was such as to justify the caption under which some of our contemporaries described the proceedings of the meeting. That the League, as at present constituted, is an imperfect organisation, even the most sanguine of its admirers will admit, but from that imperfection to draw the inference that the League is an organisation established with the avowed object of holding in perpetual servility the coloured races of the world, is an unjustifiable jump. The *Forward*, in a summary of the lecture, has a paragraph which—we feel great reluctance to believe it—is supposed to have fallen from the mouth of a man of the standing and balanced judgment of Mr. Chatterjee.

"While outwardly professing peace and equality the League is actually adding to the list of dreadful war ammunitions. Under its dignified name, it is contrived to commit legalised robbery."

All the reports of Mr. Chatterjee's speech were partly inaccurate and defective. As for the caption "League of Robbers", Mr. Chatterjee thinks, that if the organization were called "A League dominated by predatory nations", the description would not be unfair and unjust. Mr. Chatterjee has nowhere said or written that "the League is an organisation established with the avowed object of holding in perpetual servility the coloured races of the world." He only tried to show what would be the natural result of the articles of the covenant of the League. He never wrote or said anything like the sentence quoted from *Forward*. He cannot possibly undertake to correct all wrong reports of his speech. He has written much about the League in *The Modern Review*, *Prabasi*, and *Welfare*, and is fully responsible for what he has written. But he cannot agree to be held responsible for misleading reports of his speech.

An Unpublished Letter of Rajah Rammohun Roy

Mr. P. F. Bowring, the Inspector-General of Police, Mysore, has in his collection a letter addressed to his father (John Bowring) by Rammohun Roy. He has very kindly furnished me with a copy of the letter which is printed below. Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Bowring, belonged to the Unitarian Church, a body whose tenets were similar to those of Rajah Rammohun and with whom he corresponded regularly. Late in his life when the Rajah visited England the Unitarian Association, London, honoured their Indian friend in a crowded meeting held in May (?) 1831, the resolution of welcoming him being moved by Dr. Bowring. I have not been able to ascertain what the "long memorial" mentioned in the letter refers to. It is interesting to learn that Dr. Bowring, in a note on the Rajah, gives the year of his birth as "Bardwan 1774", and not 1772, as accepted by several writers.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI]

My dear Sir,

Having been principally engaged in completing my final appeal to the Christian public, I could not pay due attention to my

intended long memorial. I, however, made an attempt to bring it to a conclusion after I had the pleasure of receiving your note on Saturday last week, but from the want of some additional Revenue documents under the Moghul Government which my native friends of the upper provinces have not yet furnished me with, as well as from a diversion of attention, I am afraid I shall not be able to prepare it before your departure from India; as this will be my first production in political affairs, I am, therefore, very anxious to have it as perfect and well-authenticated as possible, so that having established it on a sane foundation, no person can justly ascribe it to a party feeling or discontent with Government.

As Lord Hastings is going away very soon, I understand that some of my native friends are about to represent to him some of their immediate grievances in a memorial; of which I take the liberty of sending you a copy and I beg to be favoured with your opinion respecting it.

The report of the Duke of Wellington coming out as Governor-General has given me great concern. He knows, I believe, how to preserve military discipline and general subordination; but I have great doubts as to his knowledge of civil affairs. India enjoys now profound tranquillity and stands more in need of an able statesman than a great commander.

I feel a strong wish to have the pleasure of your company, at least once before your departure for Europe and if you will have the goodness to appoint a time convenient for you to spend an hour or two, you will confer a favour on

My dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

December 15, 1822. Sd. Rammohun Roy
P. S. I hope you will not at present mention to any one the purport of the memorial, which is not yet presented to L. H.

English Prisons

The following paragraphs about English prisons have appeared in *The Inquirer* of London:—

The report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons for the year ended March 31, 1926, issued this week, states that the "prison population" continues to decline slowly, 882 fewer prisoners were received during the year under review than in the previous year

The decline is attributed, in part, to probation, allowance of time in which to pay fines, the operation of the Mental Deficiency Act, training during imprisonment, and the greater care of the discharged prisoner.

The Commissioners state that it is the policy of the administration to carry out its duty of protecting society by training offenders, as far as possible, for citizenship, and that every change in the prison system is directed to that end.

The prison administration must do its utmost to restore the man who has been imprisoned to ordinary standards of citizenship, so far as this can be done within the limits of his sentence. Unless some use can be made of the period of imprisonment to change the anti-social outlook of the offender, he will, on leaving the prison gates, after a few weeks or months again become a danger, or at any rate a nuisance. He may, indeed, be worse than before, if the only result has been to add a vindictive desire for revenge on society to the selfish carelessness of the rights of others which he brought into prison with him. The change can be, and is, effected in a good many cases by vigorous industrial, mental, and moral training, pursued on considered lines by officers, teachers, and prison visitors of character and personality. The effect of such training, properly conducted, is to induce self-respect, and to arouse some sense of personal responsibility. Failures there are, and always will be, but the records of successes justify the system.

Bengal-Jail Discipline Committee

Mr. Justice Pearson and Messrs. Marr and Momin, members of the Bengal jail discipline committee, have presented their report. Parts of this report breathe a far different spirit from the report of the Commissioners of prisons and the Directors of convict prisons in England, referred to above. About Messrs. Pearson & Co.'s report *The Bengalee* writes in part:—

The Committee has unbounded faith in fear as a motive of wholesome human conduct. And in the name of discipline the Committee has suggested liberal resort to solitary confinement, penal diet, and whipping. Loss of liberty is no punishment, according to Mr. Justice Pearson and his colleagues. Imprisonment should ordinarily be rigorous. And for the short term prisoners, loss of liberty being no deterrent according to them, the jail must show him its deterrent aspect from the start. The short-term prisoner should not only have rigorous imprisonment, but he should be given hard labour from the first. The only other fear that he may have before his mind's eye after the first day or two in prison will be, Mr. Justice Pearson's panacea for all indiscipline, whipping, solitary cell and penal diet.

The Committee recommends that the detenus, who are not convicts, should not be kept in jails. But if they are there, then according to the Committee they should be treated as convicts, as otherwise it becomes difficult for the jail authorities to maintain discipline among the ordinary convicts. The aversion of the Committee to the detenus is

clear in every sentence of the report dealing with them. While the Committee itself suggests the introduction of indoor games and even simple gymnastic exercises for convicts, the Committee was shocked to learn that detenus in some instances were allowed outdoor games like tennis and badminton. It never occurred to the Committee that detenus had never been tried nor convicted. With that attitude towards detenus the Committee naturally is against the discrimination by prison authorities in their treatment of political prisoners. In all civilised countries that discrimination is shown. But the Committee seems to be in favour of copying the terroristic methods of the Tsarist Government of Russia.

The Meaning of "Bureaucracy"

In Bengali newspapers the Bengali word "*amlatantra*" is generally used to translate the English word "bureaucracy". And in English dictionaries "bureaucracy", when used as a collective noun, is explained to mean "a or the set of dominant officials" (*Pocket Oxford Dictionary*), "Government officials, collectively" (*Webster's New International Dictionary*). In India, Government officials may think that they are, individually and collectively, the Government, and consider that any criticism directed against them is directed against the Government, and even the judiciary may support this attitude of theirs; but that cannot alter the meaning of English words. And it is to be borne in mind that even the British people are not at present the sole or principal custodians of the English language. The number of Americans speaking it is greater than the number of Englishmen, including colonials. So though judges in India may send publicists to jail for severely criticising the "bureaucracy", the word itself will continue to mean what it does.

The whole set of officials of a particular government, from top to bottom, may sometimes act against the ideals cherished or professed by that government, for selfish reasons of their own. In such a case a thorough exposure of the doings of these men should not reasonably be held to be an arraignment of that government.

Appreciation by Brother Journalists

In January last we had the privilege of publishing an article by Dr. J. T. Sunderland on "America's Interest in India". This article has been recently reproduced by

Forward on its editorial page, with the omission of a few lines, and with the heading, "Is India England's Domestic Concern?" and it has also been quoted from elsewhere. But in no case that we know of has *The Modern Review* been mentioned. We do not know why. We are modest, we believe, but we can assure our contemporaries that if they had mentioned our name, it would not have made us blush.

Prisoners Without Trial

Subhas Babu has been released for reasons of health. But why has not the report of the official medical men who examined him been published? Why is it to be treated as confidential? Subhas Babu's countrymen are entitled to know how his health broke down and how and where he caught the infection of phthisis.

And what about the other men detained without trial whose health also has broken down and some of whom are nearer to death's door than he was or is? They may not possess such personal distinction or numbers of distinguished friends as he. And it may also be an immaterial thing that their patriotism has been as genuine as his. But they, too, are human beings, deprived of liberty without any open trial before any ordinary court of law or even any secret trial before any extraordinary court of law. They should either be released at once unconditionally or brought to trial before an ordinary court of law.

The rule is that they are only to be detained, in order that "law and order" and public peace may not be jeopardised by their public activities. No law, regulation, ordinance, or rule lays down that the conditions of their detention are to be such as would impair or ruin their health or shorten their lives. But the fact is, newspapers everyday publish news of the ill-health and maladies of many of them. It is not at all convincing to be told that the incidence of disease among them is not higher than that among the general public. Do any separate statistics exist regarding the incidence of disease among persons of the age, usual health and position, in life of the detenus?

Discovery of Revolvers and Bombs Again

We have not yet heard that any question had arisen regarding a general release of

detenus, or the abolition of any department of the police, or the softening or repeal of any repressive laws, or the granting of autonomy to India. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that the arrest of a young man with a revolver on the day of the last Rajrajeswari immersion procession and the discovery of bombs in the possession of four young men at a railway station in Dacca district are purely lucky accidents. One of these young men, it seems, carried a bomb in his hands as village smokers carry a hookah, and made no secret of depositing it under a table at the station, perhaps just to give his hands some rest. If he had displayed similar nonchalance on some battle-field, he could have qualified for the Victoria Cross. Why did he not apply for admission to Sandhurst?

Sir Atul Chatterjee and the Labour Conference

That Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee has been elected to preside over this year's sessions of the International Labour Conference at Geneva is for him a personal distinction which he may value. But it cannot, as he claimed, be considered "a compliment to India"; for he does not represent India. If he represents anybody, it is the Government of India. Moreover, as in the past he persistently tried to burke the discussion of the question of forced labour in this country, India may not feel proud of the honour done to him.

Geneva, May 26.

In his presidential speech at the Labour Conference, Sir Atul Chatterjee commented on the large number of workers in Asia and the rapid development of industry and manufactures there on modern lines. It would, he said, be a mistake for the International Labour Organisation to concentrate attention too exclusively upon Europe and America.

He declared that it was most gratifying that in both Japan and India the principle of industrial legislation had been accepted not only by all political parties but by employers and workers. The existence of a labour organization guaranteed that the principles of labour embodied in the Treaty of Versailles would not be lost sight of.

He concluded by expressing the belief that the Labour Organization would make a valuable contribution towards harmonizing the serene attitude towards life characterising the East with the strain and stress of the new age.—*Reuter*.

If the development of industry and manufactures in the exploited and subject countries of Asia had taken place purely under the auspices of their nationals with

their own capital or with foreign capital under their control, it would have been a matter for unalloyed gratification.

Sir Atul's warning that "it would be a mistake for the International Labour Organization to concentrate attention too exclusively upon Europe and Asia," shows that attention has hitherto been so concentrated.

It may be all right not to lose sight of the Treaty of Versailles. But Reuter has not informed the Indian public whether Sir Atul touched upon the reasons why India was made to ratify the Washington Hours of Labour Convention in 1921, though the foremost industrial countries of the world have not yet done so—a topic on which we commented in our last issue, pp. 647-48.

of the heaven-born service serving under an Indian.

Mr. Tyson's pay has been fixed at Rs. 2000 per mensem. What is the salary to be paid to Mr. Sastri? We have been told that Mr. Sastri must live in magnificent style to prove that he is not a coolie! He must then have a princely salary and sumptuary allowance; for his personal savings and income are, like those of the proverbial church-mouse, nil. They say, John Bull's heart can be reached only through the stomach. Personally, we think this singling out of John Bull is perhaps malicious. Psychological human physiology says that this is probably true of all races, more or less. So let Mr. Sastri play the host to the extreme limit of his income!

League Commission on Opium

It is an interesting piece of news that a Commission of the League of Nations will visit this country in due course and will report to the League as to India's compliance with the Opium Convention. Has this fact anything to do with the genesis of the Indian States Opium Conference at which the Viceroy delivered his opening speech, and with the appointment of an opium enquiry committee in Bengal?

The time to consider whether India is to be congratulated on the visit of the League Commission will come after its Report has been published and action taken thereupon.

Mr. V. S. Sastri's Appointment

No better selection could have been made than that of Mr. V. S. Sastri for the office of the Government of India's Agent in South Africa. But the appointment of Mr. Tyson, I.C.S., as his secretary has given rise to some speculation. Had Mr. Sastri anything to do with the choice? Or was Mr. Tyson appointed without previous consultation with his principal? It was suspected in the case of some such appointments in the past that Indian officials were given British assistants in order that the latter might control and keep watch over the former. In the present instance there is a redeeming feature also. The white settlers in South Africa look upon all Indians as coolies. They will now see a British member

Mr. Giri's Resolution on Forced Labour

It gave us much satisfaction to note that Mr. V. V. Giri, representative of Indian Labour at this year's session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, had given notice to the International Labour Office that he would, *inter alia*, move the following resolution on forced labour:—

(1) "This Conference recommends to the Governing Body and to the International Labour Office to enquire into and report on the question of "Forced Labour" as prevailing in certain countries, in Asia and in Africa and in some of the colonies, and to place this question on the agenda of the Conference at its early future session."

His other resolutions are also very important. The report of the debate on these resolutions as well as how they have been disposed of should make interesting and instructive reading.

"An International Conscience"

The Guardian, of Calcutta, writes of the League of Nations that "its main service to mankind consists in creating an international conscience and international public opinion." This means perhaps that the League has already created an international conscience. Has it? Or it may be meant that it is one of its objects to create such an international conscience. We certainly admire such an object and should sincerely rejoice if this object were gained. But as *ex nihilo nihil fit*, it should be first indubitably proved that the leading nations (not the leading peoples) of the world possess a

conscience and follow it in their collective capacities. For, national consciencelessness piled on national conscienceless mountain-high cannot give the world an international conscience. If the League of Nations consisted only of those nations which are conscientious in their dealings with other nations, its moral authority would be greater and the chances of the birth of an international conscience would also be greater.

As for an international public opinion, the existence of the League may help to produce it indirectly owing to the demonstration of its impotence on crucial occasions.

The Guardian opines :

The League may be impotent to remedy certain specific grievances of the subject races, but the fact that these grievances may be brought before a tribunal of impartial judges is bound to affect for the good the administration of those races.

The subject peoples of India, Indo-China, Java, Korea, Formosa, etc., should feel much obliged if the *Guardian* would point out to them the article or articles of the covenant of the League according to which their grievances may be brought before a League tribunal of impartial judges. What is that tribunal? There is a provision, we know, for giving a hearing to the aggrieved inhabitants of mandated territories. But is there any similar one for subject countries proper?

Bill to Rid South Africa of Indians?

A letter "from our own correspondent" has appeared in several Indian dailies in different provinces, enumerating the provisions and giving the text of a new South African bill known as the Immigration and Indian Relief (Further Provision) Act, 1927, which the correspondent would prefer to call the Emigration and Indians' Deportation (further provision) Bill. According to him, it "has sounded the death-knell of Indian interests throughout the country". The important points of the Bill have been summarised by him as follows:—

1. The supreme power entrusted to the Immigration Officer, which was held up to the present time by the Minister himself.
2. Children born outside the Union must enter the Union within three years of their birth with their mother.
3. Forfeiture of the rights of domicile if a person absents himself from the Union for the period of more than three years and if he does

not keep on the continuance of residence in South Africa for the period of at least three years.

4. Wholesale deportation of those Indians who entered the Union before through illegal means and who were lately pardoned and considered as the residents of South Africa by the Act of Parliament and the Public Commission.

5. Tempting offers to repatriate the Indians from South Africa.

The correspondent adds:—

There is no mention of any desire on the part of the Union Government to ameliorate the conditions of the Indians as regards trade, education, etc., in the present Bill, whose aim is now quite obvious to weed out the Indian nationals from the country.

Let it be said without the fear of contradiction that this Bill, even without the chapter of the reservation of separate areas, is sufficient to exterminate the Indians from this country. If the Bill becomes a law, more than 75,000 Indians shall be compelled to clear out of the country, in the course of the next five years.

"Sanjibani's List of Outrages on Women

In his presidential speech at the Muslim Conference at Barisal, Sir Abdur Rahim referred to the cases of abduction, ravishment and kidnapping of girls and women in Bengal as a few cases of sexual irregularity. In some cases, the girls or women abducted have not yet been rescued or traced and a few are believed to have been murdered after rape. Many outrages are committed by gangs of Muslim ruffians who remove the girls or women from village to village with the help of their friends and relatives and the connivance or help even of their women-folk. Outrages on Hindu women by Hindu scoundrels are not negligible in number, there are also a very small number of cases of Hindu brutes assaulting Muslim women; but in the majority of cases the offenders are Muslims and the victims Hindu women.

Owing to fear of social ostracism and of loss of social respectability, most of the cases of outrage on women in Bengal are hushed up. But even the small fraction that come to light are shocking. The Bengali weekly *Sanjibani* has been compiling a list of such cases from the year 1329 B. S. In its issue of May 26 the record has come up to the three hundred and fifty-second case.

If this shame and curse of Bengal is to be wiped out, both Hindus and Moslems and persons of all political parties must co-operate. Hindus must not remain content with throwing all the blame on Muslim

ruffians. There are great defects in the Hindu social and domestic arrangements which give ruffians opportunities to victimise girls and women. These must be set right. Muslims also must take a serious view of the matter. They must not try to justify, explain away or minimise the guilt of their fellow-believers. This shame and curse must and will be stamped out. Let Muslims also have a hand in the blessed work.

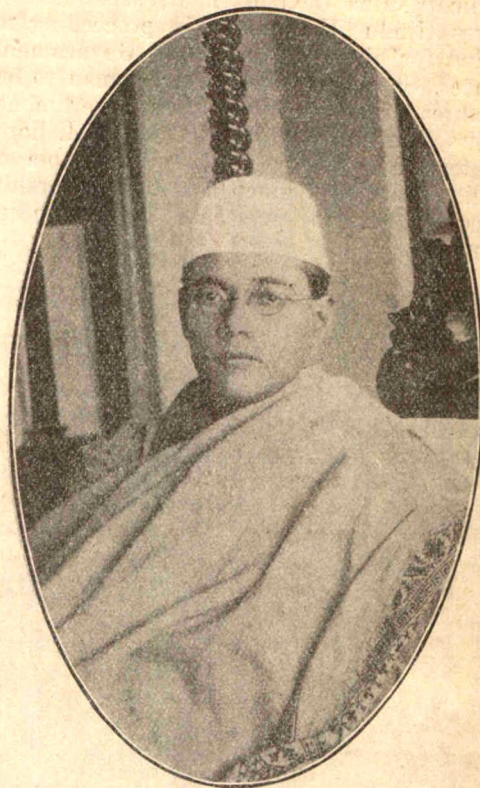
In the history of all peoples, there are facts which they ought to be ashamed of. No amount of "success" can encircle these with a halo of glory. So far as these past signs of savagery go, they should not be used, either overtly or covertly, as precedents to be followed in our modern and more civilised days. One such fact is mentioned in Draper's "Conflict between Religion and Science," pp. 100-101, in the following passage :—

"A nation may recover from the confiscation of provinces, the confiscation of its wealth ; it may survive the imposition of enormous war-fines ; but it never can recover from that most frightful of all war-acts, the confiscation of its women.....It was the institution of polygamy based on the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of those unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished in North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was very striking. In little more than a generation, the Khalifa was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, all the children born in that region were Muhammadans and all spoke Arabic."

Our object in quoting this passage is not to create prejudice against present-day Muhammadans inhabiting India. Even if they could be proved to be the descendants of those who adopted the policy of confiscation of women, which they are not, descendants cannot be held responsible for the deeds of their ancestors. Our object in quoting the passage is to show that the fruits of an wicked method cannot be good : Muslim countries in North Africa are neither politically independent, nor culturally advanced, nor economically prosperous, nor are among the leaders of progress in any other direction. No evil system of the past should influence the mentality of any modern people, even if it could be shown to have produced any lasting worldly advantage.

Release of Subhas Chandra Bose

We are very glad that Babu Subhas Chandra Bose has been released unconditionally. We hope he will recover completely and will ere long be able to resume his services to the country with the zeal and thoroughness characteristic of him.



Subhas Chandra Bose

[From a photo taken two days after his release, Calcutta Municipal Gazette.]

It is fortunate that he was released just in time perhaps to prevent some unknown public servants of India from being charged at the bar of public opinion with culpable homicide or some such offence. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has rendered these men signal service by releasing him in the nick of time. A similar consideration should prompt His Excellency, who wishes to play the game, to release many other detenus.

Higher Education of Indian Women

Miss Sitabai Narayan Ajgaonkar proceeded to Oxford in 1923 after graduating from the

Bombay Elphinstone College with honours in Sanskrit. The following year she got the degree of B. Litt. there for a thesis, which was praised by her professors. In December last her paper on the position of women in the *Mahabharat* earned for her the doctorate of philosophy of Oxford. She is the first Indian and third Oxonian woman to get it.

Srimati Naina Devi of Bihar, a student of Benares Hindu University, is proceeding to England for higher education at Government expense. She is the first Bihar woman to be sent abroad for education by its Government.

Miss Aparna Das Gupta, B. A., of Lahore, daughter of Professor S. N. Das Gupta of that city, has been given a state scholarship to enable her to prosecute higher studies in England.



Miss Aparna Das Gupta

We are not against but for qualified Indian men and women going abroad for education. But ordinary education up to the highest standard should be made available for all in this country.

U. S. A. Wants Human Cattle from India.

The following extract will show that, though America makes racial discrimination against India in an insulting and injurious manner, she has such a low opinion of the self-respect of our people and of the British Government of India that she thinks it would be easy to obtain human cattle from India for growing rubber :—

Special to The New York Times.

Palm Beach, Fla., March 16.—Importation by the United States Government of several thousand Hindu labourers in order to test the possibilities for developing a rubber industry on the Southern cotton lands is advocated by Captain Arthur Herbert Vaughan-Williams, a retired British Army officer and brother of Lady Lauderdale, now in Palm Beach.

Captain Vaughan-Williams, who has been experimenting with Turkish tobacco in Florida since last November, believes, with Thomas A. Edison and Harvey Firestone, that this section of country can be made to produce rubber for commercial purposes at a profit, providing the problem of high labor costs can be solved.

"I am quite sure," the Captain said yesterday, "that if this country were to ask the British Government for permission to import several thousand Hindu laborers from India, such permission could be obtained easily enough.

"These laborers could be brought over for a period of from three to five years and paid at the same rate they are being paid at home, with their board and keep provided. They can live on a handful of rice a day and it would cost little enough to keep them.

"There are vast sections of waste lands in Florida and Georgia which could be converted into rubber plantations, and if nothing else were accomplished the American Government at least could determine what possibilities these lands offer for the development of a rubber industry."

Hindus, Chinese and Japanese have helped in railway construction in America, and have converted deserts and marshes into gardens by their labour and agricultural skill; but they have now no right to emigrate there. For the excavation of the Panama Canal, the services of Negro, Hindu, Chinese and Japanese labourers were obtained; but Asiatics have no longer any right of entry there. We are not masters in our own homeland and are treated with contumely in British colonies and dominions as inferior specimens of humanity. No wonder, then, that America should turn to India for a supply of cheap human cattle, and expect the obliging British Government to give permission to obtain such a supply. But no Indian, be he a so-called legislator or a paid or unpaid servant of the British Government, should be a con-

presenting party to such a humiliating transaction.

Service to Badrinath Pilgrims

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, honorary general secretary, Prayag Seva Samiti, has appealed to the public for cash subscriptions and other contributions, and volunteers to enable the Samiti to help the numerous pilgrims who go every summer on pilgrimage to Badarikashram in the Himalayas. Such help takes the shape of medical relief, blankets, warm clothing, and food. The appeal deserves to meet with a liberal response.

All cash subscriptions should be addressed to Babu Man Mohan Das, Financial Secretary, Seva Samiti, Ranimandi, Allahabad. All other contributions should be sent to Pandit Mool Chand Malaviya, Prayag Seva Samiti, Rishikesh (Hardwar) and all intending volunteers should send their applications to him stating their qualifications. The Samiti will provide free lodging and boarding to volunteers, who will have to meet their travelling expenses up to Rishikesh.

Wanted Organising Ability

We are not Fascists, but we are not above learning from anybody. *The Daily Telegraph* writes regarding the eighth anniversary of the foundation of the Fascist movement:—

The eighth anniversary of the foundation of the first group of Fascists by Mussolini in Milan, and the famous private meeting in the Hall of the Apostles in March, 1919, when hardly fifty of his personal friends and followers attended and had the courage to face what seemed then to be the overwhelming forces of Communism and Bolshevism, was celebrated to-day throughout Italy by the inscription in the ranks of the Fascist party of more than 80,000 new recruits who have been promoted from the Juvenile Fascist organisations into the more advanced ranks of the adolescent advance guard, and in token of his promotion each young member was presented with a militia rifle."

The future of all movements rests with the younger generation. Hence, there is the Russian Young Communists' International, the Young Socialists' Movement, the Y.M.C.A., and the Boy Scouts Movement all over the world, the Juvenile Fascist organisation, etc. Eight years ago, there were hardly 50 Fascists now there are at least 80,000 recruits every year. But in spite of forty years' existence the Indian National

Congress has not yet got 100,000 members, though the population of India is 320 millions.

Widow Remarriage

The Hony. Secretary of the Vidhava Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore, writes:

Reports of 357 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhava Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India in the month of April 1927. The total number of marriages held in the current year, i. e., from 1st January to the end of April 1927 has reached 1188 as detailed below—

I. ACCORDING TO CASTE

Brahman 260, Khatri 156, Arora 141, Aggarwal 163, Kaisth 66, Rajput 111, Sikh 122, Misc. 169, Total 1188.

II. ACCORDING TO PROVINCES

Punjab and N. W. F. P. 625, U. P. 365, Sind 1, Delhi 26, Bengal 61, Madras 18, C. I. 2, Bihar and Orissa 48, Rajputana 31, Assam 11, Total 1188.

III. VOLUNTARY DONATION

Voluntary donation received during the month is Rs. 133, and total amount during the year is Rs. 413.

A Case for Sangathanists

Pandit Lakshmi Kant Bhatt, a Malaviya Brahmin of Allahabad, has published a leaflet stating among other facts that he has been "outcasted" for ever from his community for the "offence" of getting his second daughter married to a gentleman belonging to another branch of the Brahmin caste, namely, Pandit Ramchandra Kukreti, B.A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law. He has also described his other sufferings consequent on his excommunication. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of his statements. He concludes his leaflet thus:—

I love my religion and therefore I am sticking to it. Otherwise no man with even a little of self-respect in him would ever like to remain any longer in a religion which punishes its own innocent adherents. After all I gave my daughter to a Hindu, and that to a high caste Brahmin. I have not chosen yet to go outside Hinduism and even Brahmins. But by the resolution of excommunication I stand condemned in a way that I can mix socially nowhere in Hinduism. I and my family can marry with nobody now and dine with nobody. The same Hinduism which I love so much has no place for me and it is kicking me at every step. I am simply stating a bare truth when I say that if I embrace Islam Religion, I would be accepted as an equal among the equals. If I turn a Moha-

medan there can be no social and religious bar to my forming marriage alliance with the greatest of the Mohamedan community, provided I possess the requisite qualification and status. I can dine with Mustafa Kamal Pasha, if I choose. But in the Hindu Community I have no place under the sun. My brother and relations cannot dine with me and my family. I cannot see my daughters and can be allowed no association with them. These are hard facts which I have related.

As Sangathanist leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others want to reclaim and do justice even to "untouchables," we appeal to them to be just to this gentleman, and, of course, sympathetic, too.

Railway Development in East Bengal

It has been announced that in the course of the next five years 400 miles of new railways will be opened in East Bengal at a cost of three crores and thirteen lakhs of rupees. So far as the travelling and commercial needs of the people are concerned, the conservation and development of the waterways of this region would have quite answered the purpose, and motor vehicles would have met the requirements of those who wanted quicker means of transit. But the waterways are allowed to be silted up, leading to decline in health and the throwing out of employment of numbers of men engaged in building and plying boats. The construction of railways will put money into the pockets of the English people (about 8d. in the shilling spent for construction, etc.), provide new posts for Englishmen and Anglo-Indians, make the country more malarious, lead to the killing of village industries, facilitate the introduction of urban vices, etc., deprive many boatmen and boat builders of their living, and accustom people to insulting treatment at railway stations and trains. Even *The Statesman* writes:—

Much of this mileage, it will be observed, traverses country which is, or was, well served by waterways. Many of these are silting up and are now useless for purposes of transport and communication; but one wonders what might not have been effected if the money which is now being poured out on railways had been devoted betimes to developing the natural transport system afforded by the network of rivers traversing Eastern Bengal.

"Bose Clemency"

Under the above caption, *The Statesman* published the following *Reuter's* message from London, dated May 25, 1927:—

"The decision to release Subhas Chandra Bose is welcome evidence that our Indian Administration is not inaccessible to the considerations of humanity," says the *Manchester Guardian*.

"But we hope more is to come," the paper adds.

It has no doubt come as a pleasant surprise to the *Manchester Guardian* to find the Government of India developing symptoms of being accessible to humane considerations. We also have been surprised similarly; but we do not believe that it was any humane consideration that prompted the Government of India to release Subhas Chandra Bose from his unjust imprisonment. We are of opinion that it was mere discretion that guided the Government of India to release this innocent victim of brainless suspicions.

But *The Statesman* has surprised us even more by using the word "Clemency" in connection with the release of one who has never been convicted of any crime. Get hold of any promising young man of good family and high scholarly attainments, who proves to be an able organiser of the forces opposing bureaucratic administration, proclaim him a potential murderer or incendiary, put him in prison and close your eyes to the fact of his having to share his cell perhaps with a consumptive or a leper, as the case might be; then release him after he is declared by experts to have contracted an incurable disease and rendered completely *hors de combat* AND CALL IT CLEMENCY. This is indeed brass of hardest quality!

Media of School Instruction in U. P.

It is the declared policy of the Government of the United Provinces, and it is the correct policy, too, that all elementary and secondary education should be imparted through the pupil's own vernacular. The Department of Public Instruction in the United Provinces has definitely laid down that up to and including class VIII, English should no longer be the medium of instruction for subjects other than English, and these should be taught in the students' own Vernacular. As soon as the Board of High School and Intermediate Education was formed, it began to discuss this principle with a view to introduce it up to class X. The Board decided last year that all candidates should be examined in subjects like History and Geography for the High School Examination through the medium of

Hindi and Urdu and in special cases, English. The reasons which can be urged against making English the medium of Examination of Hindustani students for subjects other than English may very well be urged against making Hindi or Urdu the medium of Examination in these subjects in the case of those boys whose mother-tongue is not Hindi or Urdu. The Anglo-Bengali School, Benares, and the Anglo-Bengali Intermediate College, Allahabad, have enjoyed and are still enjoying the privilege of teaching and examining students up to class VIII in Bengali. Now on account of the above decision of the Board, a student in any of the two Institutions who is promoted to class IX will have to learn History and Geography in either Hindi or Urdu or English and will also be examined in this subject through the medium of either of these languages, whereas up to class VIII he was taught this subject in Bengali and was also examined through the medium of Bengali. Now the position of such a student can easily be imagined. His knowledge of subjects other than English can not be as thorough as that of his more fortunate fellow-students whose mother-tongue is either Hindi or Urdu, and he would be very much disadvantageously placed in comparison with them.

It is argued that if the Bengalis are to remain in those provinces they must learn the vernaculars of those provinces; and if their children are allowed to be examined through the medium of Bengali, they will not care to learn the languages of those provinces properly and correctly. Nobody says that the Bengalis of the United Provinces should not learn Hindi or Urdu; in fact these languages must be made compulsory for them just as English is compulsory. But this question need not arise at all, as the Department of Education in those provinces demand that boys up to class VIII should learn at least two vernaculars. So every Bengali boy up to class VIII must know either Hindi or Urdu. If the standard of these languages taught up to class VIII is not deemed sufficiently high, then these languages may be made compulsory for the Bengali students up to class X, but they should be examined in subjects like History and Geography through the medium of Bengali.

It may also be argued that the Bengalis, domiciled in these provinces should adopt the mode of living of the people of these provinces and should talk Hindi within their family circles. Such a thing would have

been desirable or possible if the domiciled Bengalis could intermarry with the people of these provinces. But they cannot do so; they have to turn to Bengal for the marriages of their children.

It is also argued that the recognition of Bengali as one of the vernaculars for examination will involve unnecessary additional expense. But, if any body looks into the list of examiners who are appointed year after year in various subjects, he will find the names of a good many Bengali gentlemen amongst them. Some of them may easily be made to examine the answer-books of the Bengali students written in Bengali. Moreover, the Bengali students will not grudge the payment of a rupee or two extra in order to get their answer books written in Bengali examined by examiners knowing Bengali.

Moreover, nothing should be done which would hamper the education of Bengali girls in the United Provinces, and the number of such girls receiving education is increasing year by year. For them it is absolutely essential that Bengali should be the medium of instruction. There are more than 20,000 Bengalis domiciled in these provinces, and the number of Bengali boys reading in various classes of different schools is about 3000.

The number of candidates who take up a subject like Commerce, Modern European Languages, Domestic Science, etc., is exceedingly small, but the Board has made provision for examination in these subjects. So the Board should not grudge making provision for the examination of the Bengali boys and girls through the medium of Bengali.

The Calcutta University recognises many Indian languages which are not the vernaculars of Bengal. The U. P. Education Department and the Allahabad University should show equal statesmanship and sympathy.

A Historic Musical Event

We ought to have noticed in our last issue the celebration of the Beethoven centenary in Bangalore in March last. But better late than never. Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins had kindly sent us a reprint of a very thoughtful and appreciative description of the festival. It is stated there that in India the honour belongs to an advanced Indian state, the state of Mysore, of having recognised that a master artist is a World Citizen.

and of having honoured him as such through giving wide publicity to his best work.

At first sight, one wonders what possible connexion this German creator of noble music can have with India. That the Mysore Ruler, his Band conductor, and the music-loving public of Mysore and Bangalore saw the centenary date as an occasion on which they should do public honour to Beethoven shows how far ahead in culture, in broadmindedness, in musical appreciation Mysore actually is, for it seems to be the only part of India which has, in this way, organised a regular Beethoven Festival lasting practically a week and including a concert for school pupils, an evening Grand Symphony Concert, and a Chamber Concert.

His Highness the Maharaja became patron of the festival in conjunction with the Resident and the General of the British Army commanding Madras Presidency. His Highness willingly lent his Palace Orchestra for the festival and it was supplemented by players from the Bangalore Branch of the British Music Society. There were forty Indian bandmen, several Britishers, an Irish solo pianist (Mrs. Cousins), a German conductor, all sharing in the happiness of recreating the compositions of the master-musician Beethoven. There were 50 players in the Orchestra and 16 different kinds of instruments. A very valuable educational use was made of the festival for school children. About 400 pupils were brought to the final rehearsal of the Symphony Concert, and before the programme began, a melody was played by each kind of instrument to demonstrate to the boys and girls its special quality of tone-colour.....

Months ago, when the suggestion was put before His Highness the Maharaja that such a festival should be held, he saw how increased its effect would be by some representation of Beethoven himself, the man, and he placed an order for the sculpturing of a bust of the composer. This has been cleverly executed by Mr. Alderton of Mysore, almost double life size. It stood on a pedestal by the piano, draped with the Mysore State colours, and crowned by the conductor's daughter with a wreath of laurels. That strong worn face with the noble brow and the atmosphere of victory over deafness, ill-health, loneliness, poverty, and the ingratitude of his loved nephew was an inspiration to the work of the festival.....

Beethoven would have been surprised to hear a band of Indians playing his great and difficult symphony so worthily. For these men to have conquered the technique and spirit of a system of music utterly different from their native Carnatic music, is a proof that music can indeed become a universal language, if only there is the fostering patronage of educational authorities big enough to include all kinds of musical culture in their musical training."

Mrs. Cousins suggests in her letter to us that the Mysore Festival would serve to show how the link Beethoven made with India, as described in one of our articles on him, re-asserted itself spontaneously from India on his death date.

Opium Consumption in and about Calcutta

The Calcutta Gazette has published figures relating to the consumption of raw opium in and about Calcutta and in the industrial districts of Serampore and Barrackpore, which show how shockingly widespread and indulged to excess the drug habit is in these areas. The figures are given below, showing the population of the different areas, the quantity of opium consumed in seers, and the rate of consumption per 10,000 of the population.

Areas	population	Seers	Rate
Calcutta, Howrah and Bally	1350756	11545	85.4 Seers
Serampore	171384	1453	84.7
Barrackpore	337,688	2149	63.6

According to the standard fixed by the League of Nations, only about six seers of opium per 10000 people are required for strictly medicinal use. The amounts consumed in the areas mentioned above are enormously in excess of the six seers standard. The Secretary of state for India thinks that, as medical help is not freely and adequately available in most parts of India and as, according to him, the people use opium largely for medicinal purposes, 30 seers per ten thousand persons should be the standard in India. But that functionary must admit that in Calcutta physicians of various descriptions abound. Why then in Calcutta is the consumption of opium almost three times as large as even the egregiously high standard fixed by him? The fact is, the plea put forward by the Government for fixing a high standard of legitimate consumption in India has been long exploded. If the consumption of opium in different districts were compared with their rates of mortality, it would be found that in some healthy districts the drug is consumed in larger quantities than in some very malarious districts. While on this topic, we may point out that it is stated in the *Assam Congress Opium Enquiry Report*, pp. 46-47, that

In the whole of the medical evidence given by our witnesses, among whom were many doctors with a life-long experience of Assam conditions, there was not one who advocated the free use of opium by illiterate villagers as a cure for the diseases prevalent in Assam. On the contrary, they pointed out to us that opium addiction among the Assamese villagers reduced the power of resistance and rendered severe attacks of infectious diseases, such as kalaazar and cholera, more liable to end fatally.

It is impossible for us to enter at length into a whole medical question, but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to say, that this government contention now carries no weight, either with the educated people of Assam, or with the bulk of the village population.

The Truth about Tagore's "Visit to Java"

A Calcutta message has been published in newspapers all over India that

It is understood that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has received an invitation from the Dutch Government to visit Java, in order to study the remnants of Indian culture and civilisation in that island. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, it is understood, has accepted the invitation. It is likely he will proceed to Java in September, accompanied by some distinguished Indian artists and historians.—Free Press of India.

We have the best authority for stating that Rabindranath Tagore has not received any invitation from the Dutch Government of Java, either is it true consequently that he has accepted the invitation of the Dutch Government.

The fact is, the poet has long earnestly desired to go to the island of Bali with at least one Sanskrit scholar with him to study the Hindu civilization and culture of that land. He also wishes to collect there materials for the history of India and to make permanent arrangements for carrying on research with that object in view. He himself will not probably remain there long. He desires to leave behind some competent historical and Sanskrit scholars to carry on the work. He rightly considers this work of vital importance. And it is a task which may not be impossible of achievement under his auspices. As said before, he has received an invitation from the Government in Java, those from whom he has received encouraging response are archaeologists and students of ancient history there. The research work which they are doing is likely to be facilitated if they receive the co-operation of Indian scholars.

If funds and competent workers be available, the investigation and collection of materials need not be confined to Bali. Java and Sumatra also require to be ransacked in the interests of the history of Indian colonization and of the spread of its culture.

Though the main object of the poet's visit to these islands is cultural and historical, he would

also in effect be the spiritual and cultural envoy of India to the people of those regions. In view of the importance of the visit, it were much to be wished if some Indian lovers of Indian culture and civilisation spontaneously came forward to finance the expedition.

Java and Adjacent Islands

Professor Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee's article in this issue will give our readers some idea of what a rich field for Indian historical and cultural research the islands of Java, Bali, etc., present, and of the results already obtained. Dr. Chatterjee has travelled extensively, in Tibet, Indo-China, and Java, and has already written a work on Cambodia. Should a man like him be able to accompany the poet Rabindranath Tagore to Bali and other islands, he would be able to do much more work.

Bali or Little Java is about 75 miles long and 50 broad. "The Balinese are a superior race, and speak a language related to the Javanese. They excel as sculptors, and in working in gold, silver, and iron. Their religion is Brahmanism of an ancient type."

The Young East (Tokyo) for April contains a very informative and interesting article on Buddhist vestiges in Java, Sumatra, Bali and other adjacent islands, by the Japanese Buddhist professor-priest, the Rev. E. Uno. Says he of the Balinese:—

The natives of Bali are of entirely different origin from those of Java. But, when the Mohammedans conquered the Hindoo race together with the natives of Java, several hundred years ago, and prohibited Buddhism and Hinduism throughout the island, a great number of the believers of the two religions fled to the island of Bali, where they settled themselves, made themselves a homogeneous part of the natives of Bali by means of intermarriages. The present natives of Bali are the descendants of mixed race as stated above. So, if we visit Bali, it is not for the purpose of examining the relic of the obsolete Hindoo-Buddhism, as in Java, but with a view to inspecting a religion now having influence among the native people. Bali is a very small island, but I saw there a good number of magnificent cathedrals of stone. While in Bali, I studied the contents of the Hindoo-Buddhism, which has many believers among the natives. And unexpectedly, I found in it a key to explain the relation between the Buddhism and Hinduism, which flourished in Java in old days. How did I discover the valuable key? I saw that almost all the cathedrals of Bali, and almost all the paraphernalia of those cathedrals were of Hinduism. The ceremonies were observed according to the

manners of Hindoo priests. But, to my pleasant surprise, I discovered that the spirit, which pervaded the followers of Hinduism, was of pure Buddhism. I saw the priests were talking about Karma, the doctrine of transmigration, and everything that Buddhist priests talk about here in Japan. For instance, such sermons as were given at the cremation of the King were absolutely of Buddhist nature. In a word, the religion of Bali is Hinduism in form, but Buddhism in nature.

From this article we learn another interesting fact. It is that a Buddhist revival is in progress in Java. The Rev. E. Uno writes:—

I intended at first to study the relics of the now obsolete Buddhism and Hinduism. But when I visited Djjakarta, I was almost startled with the unexpected news that Prince Notodiradja, younger brother of the King of the country, was making strenuous efforts for the revival of Buddhism. The movement, however, was not permitted, because the country had Mohammedanism for its national religion. Therefore, Prince Notodiradja quit his high post, and is now continuing his movement at Bandoeng of West Java. Fortunately, he found his supporters among the peers of the court of King Soerakarta. With the co-operation of those friends, Prince Notodiradja is freely holding Buddhist meetings. I hear that the number of people now working for the revival of Buddhism in the district is over 6,000. Those friends of Buddhism say that the old people of Java were obliged to accept Islam with the promise that propagation of Mohammedanism in Java would be allowed for five hundred years to come. Now the term of five hundred years has just expired, so it is high time that Buddhism should take its place. I said that the number of the people, who are working for the revival of Buddhism in Java, is about 6,000. But, it is very probable the number is much larger to-day. The result of my investigation in the South Seas Islands is thus very encouraging from the standpoint of a Buddhist. I believe that if we put forth a good effort, we shall be able to revive the spirit of Buddhism even among such savages as Patak tribes, not to say of the peaceful natives of Java and Malay, for, as I have repeated in the foregoing paragraphs, they are still under the influence of Hindoo-Buddhism.

Cow-slaughter during Bakr'id

In view of the coming *Bakr'id*, the following observations of the late revered Swami Shradhdhananda in his *Liberator* for July 1, 1926, should be deeply pondered over by both Hindus and Muslims:—

"As regards the sacrifice of cows, the attitude of the Hindus has never appealed to me.

I do not think more than thirty thousand cows are slaughtered [during *Bakr'id*] throughout India. But the Muslim religiously believes that the sacrifice of one cow can take seven *Momins* to paradise. But not less than ten lakhs of cows and bullocks are annually butchered in cantonments to supply flesh diet to the British Army, about fifteen lakhs are slaughtered for the sake of the Christian and Muslim civil population and about 40 lakhs are slaughtered for foreign trade in hide and beef. Why is no Hindu disturbed at all this butchery? The answer given is that the Muslims make a provoking display of *kurbans* and therefore Hindus become beside themselves. But the 65 lakhs of cows and bullocks are also openly taken to the slaughter-houses. Why are the Hindus not provoked by those processions of thousands of cows? The Muslim in his very ignorance (according to the Hindus) thinks that he is doing a meritorious religious act. Is it an occasion to be annoyed at the ignorant act of our brother? Let the Hindus pray to God to lead our brother right and to convince him that the sacrifice of all passions and not that of blood and flesh is acceptable to the Most High. Not hater but love and pity should be our guide towards them. I am certain that if this attitude is adopted, not only will the idea of teasing Hindus depart from the minds of our Muslim brethren, but they will seriously think whether the sacrifice of the cow is at all necessary.

Sivaji's Impartiality and Religious Toleration

In the course of his Sivaji Tercentenary presidential speech at Bhawanipur, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar is reported to have said:—

Shivaji made no distinction among them in respect of creed or caste, but gave equal opportunities to all and put the fittest man in the fittest place. He had a number of Mahomedan officers—like the admiral Siddi Miri, and His Munshi Qazi Haidar—the latter of whom afterwards entered Aurangzeb's service and rose to be Chief Justice of the Mughal Empire. He had many Muslim horsemen and Captains too. Besides, he richly endowed Muslim saints like Baba Yaqut of Keles, and carefully respected the Quran. Thus he followed the indispensable rule of Empire over a composite population by giving full religious toleration and equal opportunities of service to all. To call Shivaji a Hindu champion is to curtail his greatness and also to be false to history.

Even a hostile Muslim historian like Khafi Khan highly praises his protection of all religions, his personal morality (as regards women) and his strong administration of justice.